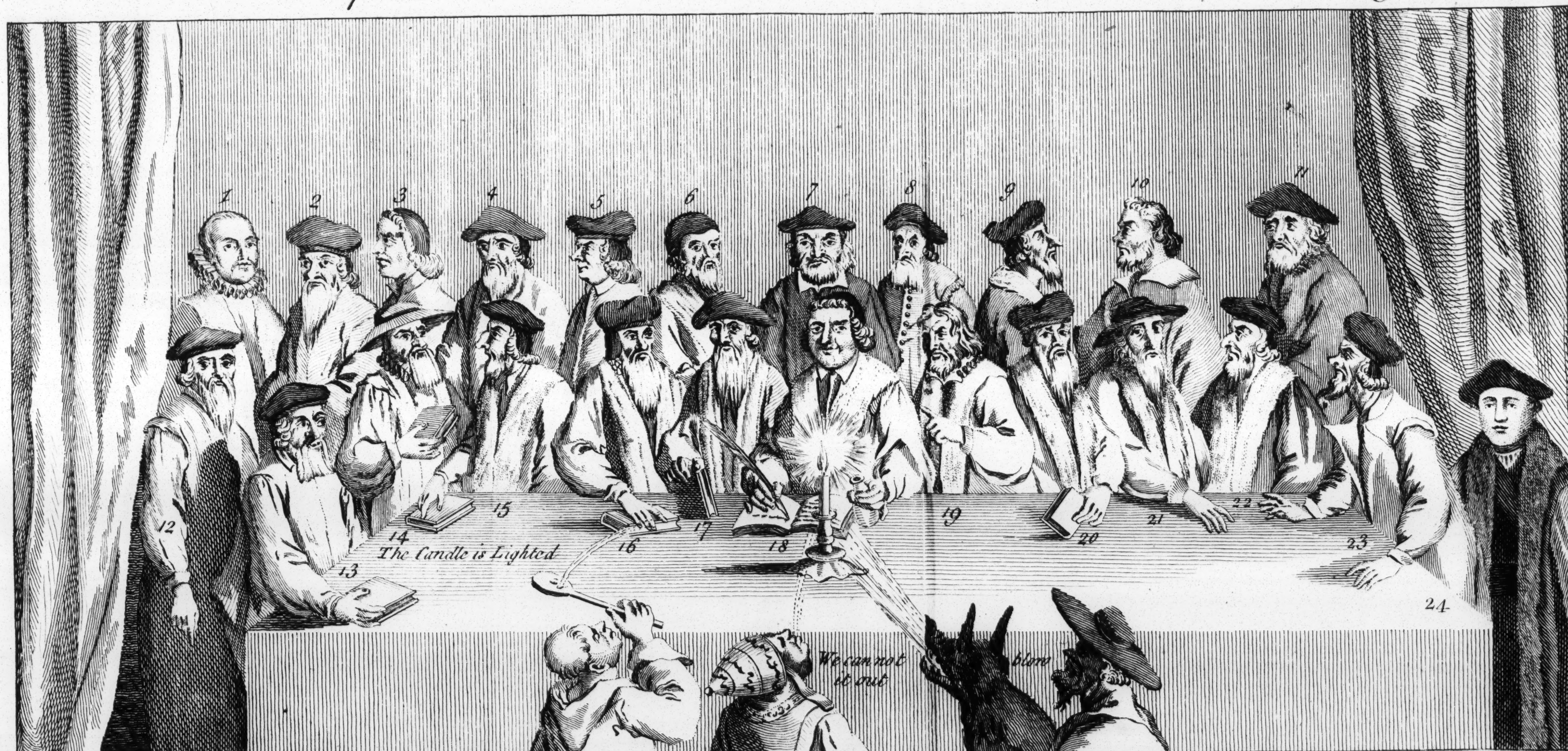
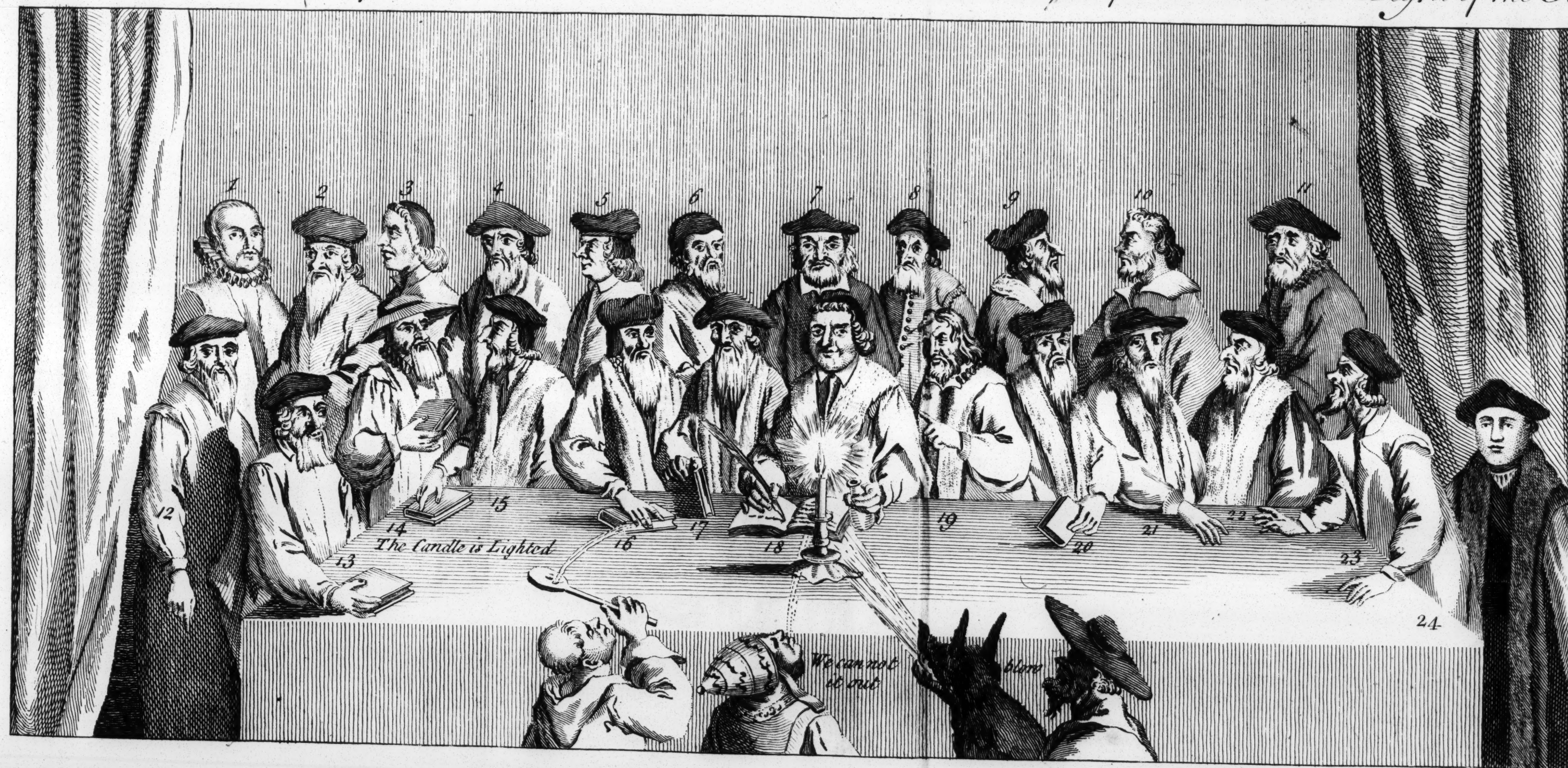


The Primitive Reformers to whom (under GOD) we are indebted for the Glorious Light of the Gospel.



1 Perkins. 2 Prague. 3 M. Bucer. 4 P. Martyr. 5 Zuinglius. 6 J. Knox. 7 J. Lanchi. 8 Bulinger. 9 Occlampadius. 10 Buxtorf. 11 Bolton.
 12 Arminius. 13 Wickliff. 14 J. Beza. 15 Calvin. 16 Ridley. 17 Latimer. 18 M. Luther. 19 P. Melancthon. 20 J. Aquinas. 21. Molem. 22 Grotius. 23 J. Hus. 24 Cranmer.

The Primitive Reformers to whom (under GOD) we are Indebted for the Glorious Light of the Gospel.



1 Perkins. 2 Prague. 3 M. Bucer. 4 P. Martyr. 5 Zuinglius. 6 J. Knox. 7 J. Zanchi. 8 Bulinger. 9 Oecampadius. 10 Buxtorf. 11 Bolton.
 12 Arminius. 13 Wickliff. 14 T. Beza. 15 Calvin. 16 Ridley. 17 Latimer. 18 M. Luther. 19 P. Melancthon. 20 T. Aquinas. 21. Molem. 22 Grotius. 23 J. Hus. 24 Cranmer.

1490.2.10
ENGLAND'S Bloody Tribunal :

O R,

POPISH CRUELTY DISPLAYED.

Containing a Compleat ACCOUNT of the

Lives,
Religious Principles,
Cruel Persecutions,

||| Sufferings,
Tortures, and
Triumphant Deaths,

Of the Most PIOUS

ENGLISH PROTESTANT MARTYRS,

Who have sealed the Faith of our Holy Religion with their Blood.

EXHIBITING

A full View of POPERY, with all its superstitious and horrid Practices; and tending to promote the PROTESTANT Religion, by displaying the Errors of POPISH Idolatry, and confirming the true Believer in the Faith of Our Blessed Redeemer, *who was crucified for our Sins, and rose again for our Justification, and now sitteth at the Right Hand of God, making Intercession for us.*

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A faithful Narrative of the many horrid Cruelties practiced by the INQUISITION, in different Parts of the World.

ALSO

The Lives of the Primitive Reformers, whose Effigies are given in the Frontispiece to the Work.

TOGETHER WITH

A full and plain Refutation of the Errors of the ROMISH Church, laid down in such a Manner as to enable the *unlearned* PROTESTANTS to confute the chief Arguments of the most artful Popish Priests and their Emissaries.

By the Reverend MATTHEW TAYLOR, D. D.

He that is of God, beareth God's Word. 1 John iv. 1.

By the KING's AUTHORITY.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. COOKE, at the Shakespear's - Head, Pater - Noster - Row.

MDCCLXIX.

Taylor (Matthew)
K





G E O R G E the Third,
By the Grace of God, King of Great Britain,
France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.

WHEREAS JOHN COOKE, of our City of London, Bookseller,
has, by his Petition, humbly represented unto us, that he
hath been at great Expence in the Purchase of Books and
Manuscripts, and in employing our Trusty and Well-beloved
MATTHEW TAYLOR, Doctor of Divinity, to Write a valuable and
laborious Work, intituled,

“ ENGLAND’S BLOODY TRIBUNAL, or POPISH
“ CRUELTY Displayed. Containing a complete Account of the Lives,
“ religious Principles, cruel Persecutions, Sufferings, Tortures, and tri-
“ umphant Deaths, of the most pious English Protestant Martyrs, who
“ have sealed the Faith of our Holy Religion with their Blood. Exhibi-
“ ting a full View of Popery, with all its superstitious and horrid Practices,
“ and tending to promote the Protestant Religion, by displaying the Errors
“ of Popish Idolatry. To which is added, a short and plain Refutation
“ of the Errors of the Romish Church.”

Which Work the Petitioner most humbly apprehends will tend in a very
high Degree to promote Religion and Virtue, and to establish in the Minds
of our Subjects a firm Veneration for the Protestant Cause.

Where-

Wherefore he humbly solicits our Royal Licence and Protection to himself, his Heirs, Executors, and Assigns, for the sole printing, published, and vending the said Work for the Term of Fourteen Years, so far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Case made and provided.

We being willing to give all due Encouragement to this Undertaking, are graciously pleased to condescend to his Request, and we do therefore, by these Presents, as far as may be agreeable to the Statute, in that Case made and provided, grant unto him, the said JOHN COOKE, his Executors, Administrators and Assigns, our Licence for the sole Printing and Publishing of the said Work for the Term of Fourteen Years, to be computed from the Date hereof, strictly forbidding all our Subjects within our Kingdoms, or Dominions, to reprint, or abridge the same, either in the like, or in any Size or Manner whatsoever, or to import, buy, vend, utter, or distribute any Copies thereof reprinted, beyond the Seas, during the aforesaid Term of Fourteen Years, without the Consent or Approbation of the said JOHN COOKE, his Executors, Administrators and Assigns, under their Hands and Seals, first had and obtained, as they will answer the contrary at their Peril.

Wherefore the Commissioners, and other Officers of our Customs, the Master Warden and Company of Stationers are to take Notice that due Obedience may be rendered to our Pleasure herein declared.

*Given at our Court at St. James's, the Second Day of August, 1769,
in the Ninth Year of our Re*



By his Majesty's Command,

ROCHFORD.

P R E F A C E.

THE cause of the following work being laid before the Public, arises from the concern with which the Editor has read and heard of the many attempts that have been made by Popish Emissaries, to spread the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome in these kingdoms.

The receiving for doctrines the commandments of men, is the main article of the Popish creed, by which they understand, receiving the scripture, according to the sense in which that church interprets it, without examining whether it be right or wrong. From this accursed and erroneous principle of infallibility, she has infected every institution of Christ with a mixture of her own inventions; for on a general review of the Popish religion, there will appear a mixture of idolatry throughout the whole; in England, indeed, and other Protestant countries, it does not appear in all its hideous forms, because it is exercised under a necessary degree of restriction: but in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, a thorough vent is given to their diabolical purposes, by the constant terror of that Hell called the Inquisition, which can be appointed from no other motives than to deter people from examining into the truth of the least article enjoined by the church.

Nor have their cruelties been confined to those parts of Europe; the accursed influence of Popish principles have even prevailed in these kingdoms; witness the horrid cruelties that were perpetrated during the reign of Henry IV. when the cruel statute *EX OFFICIO* was enacted against the *LOLLARDS* at the instigation of the Popish Clergy, by which all Heretics convicted by the Ordinary were condemned without mercy, to be burned in Sight of all the People, and many were burnt in consequence thereof.

Witness the reign of Queen Mary, at whose accession to the crown, all *THE SANGUINARY PENAL LAWS* against Heretics were revived, and in the space of five years and four months, there were burnt and roasted for their religion, five bishops, one and twenty divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants. Sixty-four more were persecuted on the same account, of whom seven were whipped, sixteen perished in jail, and twelve were buried in dunghills. Some writers affirm, that in the two first years of the persecution, which began in 1555, eight hundred were put to death.

In the following reign, when the Spaniards invaded Queen Elizabeth, at the instance of the Pope, Innocent VIII. (as King Philip himself declared) with their invincible Armada; we learn from the replies of one of their chief officers, taken by Sir Francis Drake, to some questions proposed to him,

the bloody scenes they designed to act amongst us. Being asked their intention in invading England, that officer replied; to subdue the nation, and root it out. And how did you intend to dispose of the Catholics? said one of the lords of the English forces; to send them good men, said he, directly to Heaven, and all you Heretics to Hell.

Being asked the use to which the whips of cord and wire, of which they had abundance in their ships, were destined, he replied; to whip you Heretics to death.

The massacre in Ireland committed by the Irish Papists on the Protestants, was the most horrid scene that ever was contrived or executed, and shews with what a diabolical spirit Popery animates those who are under its power.

On the 23d of October 1641, a day dedicated to St. Ignatius, between forty and fifty thousand English Protestants were murdered, before they could suspect themselves to be in danger, or provide for their defence; and in all one hundred and forty thousand were destroyed by the most exquisite tortures Hell itself could suggest, and put to death in cold blood, by the inhuman Popish butchers of mankind.

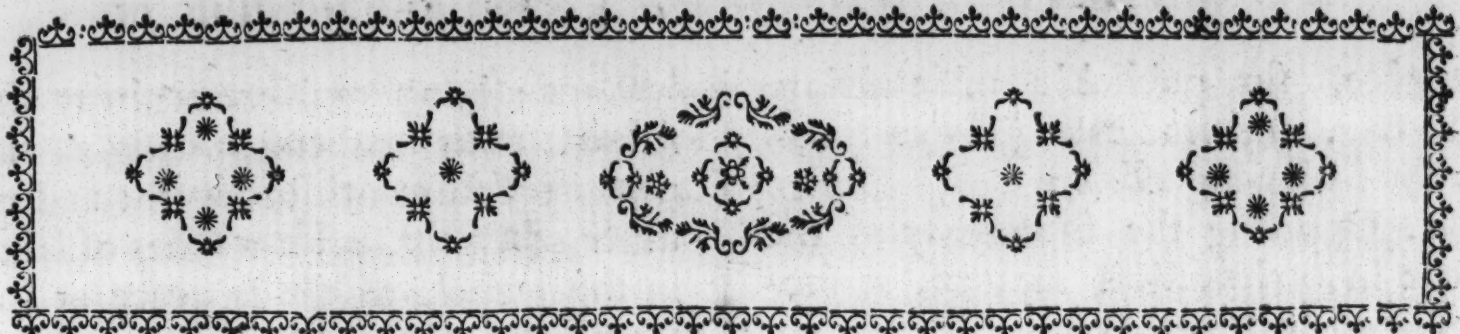
When the bishop of Rome usurped a despotic power as the successor of St. Peter, avarice and ambition had recourse to every barbarous and cruel means to maintain the usurpation: this Papal hierarchy spilt more Christian blood, than did the Jew or Pagan. Then began the use of that artillery of Hell, inquisitions, fires, massacres, wheels, gallies and dungeons.

How different a spirit does the gospel of Christ inculcate from that of the Romish church! that gospel which proclaims peace from God to men, and commands men to cultivate peace and love with one another. Its divine author Jesus Christ lived and taught meekness and humility in their utmost perfection. Though he had all power, he compelled none by force to receive his doctrines, nay, rebuked his disciples for calling for fire from Heaven to consume some who offered him offence. He checked the hasty zeal of Peter, in drawing his sword in his defence, and wrought a miracle to repair the damage; amidst accutest torments he prayed for his enemies; Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.

What a shocking idea must those have who read and duly attend to the following relations! Unless they have lost all sense of humanity, they cannot but detest those monstrous principles, which lead to more than savage practice. How amiable must that religion appear, which afforded such mighty supports to its votaries, amidst a train of long and exquisite sufferings; which worked so divine a charity in their hearts, as to induce them to pray for their very tormentors!

May we of these kingdoms love, and above all live that religion, which our Protestant brethren and countrymen maintained at the expence of their lives, and contemplate on the felicity they now enjoy, till following their faith and patience, we together with them, become inheritors of the promises; being able to say, at the close of life, I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.





ENGLAND'S BLOODY TRIBUNAL:

O R,

POPISH CRUELTY DISPLAYED.

IN the reign of Edward the Third the church of England was dreadfully corrupted with error, superstition, and idolatry; till it pleased the Great Disposer of all events, to raise up a deliverer in the person of John Wickliff, who was a man of sound learning and eminent piety; whose life and conversation corresponded with the doctrines he delivered, or in other words, were such as became the gospel of Christ.

This great reformer, about the year 1372, detected and boldly refuted the errors which prevailed in the church at that time, not only in the course of his lectures in the university, at Oxford, of which he was a member, but also in his sermons in different parts of the kingdom, and particularly

at Lutterworth in Leicestershire, which parish was committed to his pastoral care.

Exclusive of his public lectures and sermons, he wrote and dispersed many books, in which he explained the gospel for the benefit of the poor and illiterate, and thereby reclaimed many from popish ignorance and superstition, and brought them to the true knowledge of God and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whom to know spiritually is eternal life.

The intrepidity of his conduct in so noble a cause exposed him to the censure of the whole ecclesiastical body; and particularly incurred the displeasure of Simon Sudbury, then Primate, who summoned him to attend a Bench of bishops, where, having declared him an Heretic, he was deprived of his bene.

benefice, for publickly maintaining, asserting, and vindicating divers tenets to the following effect :

1. Opposing the supremacy of the Pope in ecclesiastical matters, as successor of St. Peter.

2. Asserting, that the Eucharist, even after consecration, was not the body of Christ substantially but figuratively.

3. Affirming that the gospel of Christ was alone sufficient to direct Christians in all matters of faith or practice.

4. Maintaining therefore, that all injunctions not founded upon the gospel, were the inventions of men and consequently not obligatory on any Christian.

These points our eminent Reformer defended frequently before assemblies both of the clergy and laity, nor could threats or promises induce him to recede therefrom. Finding all endeavours to bring him to a recantation ineffectual, the bench of Diocesans caused his tenets to be drawn up in form, and transmitted to his holiness, Pope Gregory, by whom and his cardinals, they were condemned as damnable Heresies, and sentenced to the flames.

Having thus incurred the censure of the supreme court, this great man would certainly have been imprisoned, and cruelly executed, had he not obtained the patronage and protection of some powerful noblemen, who became converts to the faith which he maintained. With this advantage, he lived privately several years, and sometimes expounded the scriptures to select audiences; though he was often interrupted, and brought before the bench of

bishops; but Providence alway frustrated their malicious designs, and permitted this faithful servant and minister of Christ, after a series of labour in the gospel, to die in peace at Lutterworth, where his bodily part was deposited in the dust.

But such is the inveteracy of popish prejudice, and bigotry, that, in consequence of a decree of the Synod of Constance, the bones of this zealous reformer were taken out of the grave after they had been interred upwards of forty years, publickly burned, and the ashes cast into an adjacent river.

The Persecutions of Sir JOHN OLD-CASTLE, LORD COBHAM.

THE endeavours of Wickliff to abolish popery, and introduce the pure religion, having proved so successful; Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Henry V. thought proper to cause a convocation of the bishops and clergy of England to be held at St. Paul's Church, in order to deliberate on the most effectual means of suppressing that great reformer, whom they deemed an inveterate enemy to the Holy See.

By this synod, it was resolved, that all the books and opinions of John Wickliff were heretical, and his followers were branded with the odious title of Heretics.

And in order to support the Papal authority, it was deemed necessary at this convocation, to apprehend and cause to be punished those who maintained



tained and propagated opinions of the sacraments, of images, of pilgrimages, and of the keys or power of the church, contrary to the received doctrines and determinations of the same.

To execute this decree, twelve Inquisitors were chosen from Oxford; whose sole business was to search for heretics, and the books, which Wickliff had so generally dispersed throughout the kingdom.

These Inquisitors, having in the course of their respective destinations, collected from divers books, two hundred and forty six doctrines positive and inferable; laid them before the synod, which adjudged them heretical, and came to a resolution, that the most effectual method to prevent the growth of heresy, was to take off its most powerful adherents, of whom they deemed Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham of Kent, a principal.

This martyr therefore was charged by the synod, with countenancing, by his presence and property, a number of preachers suspected of propagating errors and heresies, in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, in opposition to the belief and doctrine of the respective Diocesans; and also as the highest aggravation of his crime with having spoke in doubtful if not positive terms, concerning the opinion which the Holy Mother church had taught for many years past, relating to the sacrament of the altar, penance, images, pilgrimages, and ecclesiastical power. It was thereupon resolved that he should be taken into custody, and proceeded against as a most impious and pernicious heretic.

But as Lord Cobham was descended from an honourable family, possessed of great property, and highly in favour with the king; the more cool and deliberate amongst them advised against too rash a procedure, and gave it as their opinion that it would be more prudent first to acquaint his Majesty with his deviation from the Mother church, and maintaining by his influence erroneous and heretical doctrines.

Agreeable to this advice, the Archbishop of Canterbury with divers of the clergy waited on the king at Kingston, and laid before him his lordship's principles and conduct. The king, having heard with patience the complaints brought against him, instead of being fomented by their aggravated representation of the case, coolly admonished them to treat his lordship with the utmost lenity, and endeavour to reclaim him by the gentlest methods, assuring them, that if their efforts should fail, he would exert his utmost power to bring him over to the Mother-church, and that such was his influence with him, he did not doubt of success.

His majesty therefore in consequence of the promise made to the clergy, sent for Lord Cobham, and gently admonished him to forsake the heresies he had maintained; but his lordship after assuring his majesty of his loyalty and attachment to his person as his Sovereign, honestly declared that he could by no means consent to papal injunctions, which from the scriptures he knew were not of God, but the inventions of men; and that as such they were an abomination to the Lord. The king

benefice, for publicly maintaining, asserting, and vindicating divers tenets to the following effect :

1. Opposing the supremacy of the Pope in ecclesiastical matters, as successor of St. Peter.

2. Asserting, that the Eucharist, even after consecration, was not the body of Christ substantially but figuratively.

3. Affirming that the gospel of Christ was alone sufficient to direct Christians in all matters of faith or practice.

4. Maintaining therefore, that all injunctions not founded upon the gospel, were the inventions of men and consequently not obligatory on any Christian.

These points our eminent Reformer defended frequently before assemblies both of the clergy and laity, nor could threats or promises induce him to recede therefrom. Finding all endeavours to bring him to a recantation ineffectual, the bench of Diocesans caused his tenets to be drawn up in form, and transmitted to his holiness, Pope Gregory, by whom and his cardinals, they were condemned as damnable Heresies, and sentenced to the flames.

Having thus incurred the censure of the supreme court, this great man would certainly have been imprisoned, and cruelly executed, had he not obtained the patronage and protection of some powerful noblemen, who became converts to the faith which he maintained. With this advantage, he lived privately several years, and sometimes expounded the scriptures to select audiences; though he was often interrupted, and brought before the bench of

bishops; but Providence alway frustrated their malicious designs, and permitted this faithful servant and minister of Christ, after a series of labour in the gospel, to die in peace at Lutterworth, where his bodily part was deposited in the dust.

But such is the inveteracy of popish prejudice, and bigotry, that, in consequence of a decree of the Synod of Constance, the bones of this zealous reformer were taken out of the grave after they had been interred upwards of forty years, publicly burned, and the ashes cast into an adjacent river.

The Persecutions of Sir JOHN OLD-CASTLE, LORD COBHAM.

THE endeavours of Wickliff to abolish popery, and introduce the pure religion, having proved so successful; Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Henry V. thought proper to cause a convocation of the bishops and clergy of England to be held at St. Paul's Church, in order to deliberate on the most effectual means of suppressing that great reformer, whom they deemed an inveterate enemy to the Holy See.

By this synod, it was resolved, that all the books and opinions of John Wickliff were heretical, and his followers were branded with the odious title of Heretics.

And in order to support the Papal authority, it was deemed necessary at this convocation, to apprehend and cause to be punished those who maintained



tained and propagated opinions of the sacraments, of images, of pilgrimages, and of the keys or power of the church, contrary to the received doctrines and determinations of the same.

To execute this decree, twelve Inquisitors were chosen from Oxford; whose sole business was to search for heretics, and the books, which Wickliff had so generally dispersed throughout the kingdom.

These Inquisitors, having in the course of their respective destinations, collected from divers books, two hundred and forty six doctrines positive and inferable; laid them before the synod, which adjudged them heretical, and came to a resolution, that the most effectual method to prevent the growth of heresy, was to take off its most powerful adherents, of whom they deemed Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham of Kent, a principal.

This martyr therefore was charged by the synod, with countenancing, by his presence and property, a number of preachers suspected of propagating errors and heresies, in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, in opposition to the belief and doctrine of the respective Diocesans; and also as the highest aggravation of his crime with having spoke in doubtful if not positive terms, concerning the opinion which the Holy Mother church had taught for many years past, relating to the sacrament of the altar, penance, images, pilgrimages, and ecclesiastical power. It was thereupon resolved that he should be taken into custody, and proceeded against as a most impious and pernicious heretic.

But as Lord Cobham was descended from an honourable family, possessed of great property, and highly in favour with the king; the more cool and deliberate amongst them advised against too rash a procedure, and gave it as their opinion that it would be more prudent first to acquaint his Majesty with his deviation from the Mother church, and maintaining by his influence erroneous and heretical doctrines.

Agreeable to this advice, the Archbishop of Canterbury with divers of the clergy waited on the king at Kingston, and laid before him his lordship's principles and conduct. The king, having heard with patience the complaints brought against him, instead of being fomented by their aggravated representation of the case, coolly admonished them to treat his lordship with the utmost lenity, and endeavour to reclaim him by the gentlest methods, assuring them, that if their efforts should fail, he would exert his utmost power to bring him over to the Mother-church, and that such was his influence with him, he did not doubt of success.

His majesty therefore in consequence of the promise made to the clergy, sent for Lord Cobham, and gently admonished him to forsake the heresies he had maintained; but his lordship after assuring his majesty of his loyalty and attachment to his person as his Sovereign, honestly declared that he could by no means consent to papal injunctions, which from the scriptures he knew were not of God, but the inventions of men; and that as such they were an abomination to the Lord. The
C king

king upon this declaration retired in disgust, and soon after authorized the Archbishop to cite Lord Cobham into his court; and there proceed against him with the utmost rigour.

The Archbishop therefore with the advice of his clergy, sent his chief summoner to cite his lordship to appear in his court on a stated day; but when he arrived at his place of residence in Kent, fearing to deliver the summons, he returned back without executing his orders.

The Archbishop then sent a superior officer on the errand, who went to Lord Cobham, and informed him that it was his majesty's pleasure, that his lordship should obey the Archbishop's summons; to which he replied, that he was determined at all events never to comply with the infernal practices of the priests.

The Archbishop finding him thus resolute, and thinking that no private man could summon him without incurring much danger, commanded letters citatory, to be fixed upon the gates of the cathedral of Rochester, which was about three miles distant from Lord Cobham's house, enjoining and charging him personally to appear before him at Leeds, on a stated day, and assuring him that no pretence would be admitted as an excuse for his non-appearance.

These proceedings, however, had no effect, so that at length, his lordship was openly excommunicated by the Archbishop for his contumacy, and cited under the severest threatnings to appear before him, issuing an edict at the same time, commanding all persons

to assist him, in apprehending and bringing to ecclesiastical justice the Lord Cobham, a notorious heretic, and dangerous enemy of the holy church.

Lord Cobham finding it in vain any longer to contend with power, wrote the confession of his faith, viz. the apostles creed, with some remarks of his own upon the same, went to London, and presented it to the king, who refused looking into it, and commanded it to be delivered to those persons who were to be his judges. He then proposed to appeal from the Archbishop to the Pope; but the king would not permit such appeal, and caused him to be arrested and committed to the Tower of London.

In a few days, he was brought by the lieutenant of the Tower, before a bench of bishops assembled at the Chapter-house of St. Pauls; when the Archbishop reproved him for his contumacy in disobeying his repeated citations, but told him, that notwithstanding his obstinate behaviour, they were willing to give him absolution, should he confess his faults, and humbly desire the same.

Lord Cobham, regardless of this proffer, said he would make a confession of his faith in the presence of them all, if they would permit him; upon which he produced a paper containing articles to the following purport:

"I John Oldcastle, Knight, Lord Cobham, solemnly declare in the presence of God and this assembly, that it is my earnest desire by the help of God to believe fully and faithfully all the sacraments that God has

“ has ordained to be used in his holy
“ church, and deliver these four parti-
“ culars as the sum and substance of
“ my faith concerning these points.”

1. I believe that the sacrament of the altar is Christ's body in form of bread, the same body that was born of the blessed Virgin, our lady St. Mary, crucified, dead and buried, the third day rose from death to life, and is now glorified in Heaven.

2. I believe that every man, who expects salvation should forsake his sin and do penance for the same with true confession and contrition, as the law of God teacheth, otherwise he cannot be saved.

3. I believe that whosoever gives that worship to lifeless images, which is due to God, or trusts to them for help, is guilty of the sin of idolatry.

4. I believe as touching pilgrimages, that all men are pilgrims upon earth either to happiness or misery. He that will not know, nor keep the commandments of God while he lives, tho' he go on pilgrimage through the world, yet if he die in this state, he shall be damned; and he that believes in Christ, and keeps the commandments of God shall be saved, though he never goes any pilgrimage at all.

These articles being read before the bench, it was unanimously resolved, that some part was good and approved as conformable to the doctrines of the holy church; but that much was ambiguous and needed further explanation: what they referred to was concerning the sacrament of the altar and that of penance. Lord Cobham then told the court, that he had laid before

them his opinions in a plain manner, and should therefore make no further reply.

The Archbishop having admonished him to reflect seriously on the danger he was in, and to be more explicit in his answers another time, adjourned the court.

Another court was held in a few days, and Lord Cobham appeared, but would not recede from what he had laid down as the articles of his faith. Finding him thus resolute in his adherence to those principles which he had long maintained and defended; the court empowered John Kemp, doctor of Law, to demand of him an explicit answer to four particular points: the first related to the sacrament of the altar; the second to auricular confession; the third to the supremacy of the Pope; and the fourth to the merit of pilgrimages, worshipping saints, &c.

To the first he replied that he did not believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words spoken by a priest in his mass, the material bread, which was before bread was turned into Christ's very body; nor the material wine, which was before wine, turned into Christ's blood.

To the second, he said that application might be made to a priest, if a man of piety and learning, in order to receive instruction from him in spiritual concerns; but if otherwise, it was better to avoid him.

To the third, he answered, that he who nearest imitated Peter in faith and good works was nearest him in succession; but that he could discern very little

little of Peter's genius, temper, and spirit of mind in those who then laid claim to his succession.

To the fourth and last point, he declared, that as there was no commandment of God concerning it, he regarded it not, and further, that he long observed, that with their shrines and idols, their feigned absolutions and pardons, they had drawn to themselves almost all the wealth of Christendom.

The report being made to the Archbishop of Lord Cobham's answers to the four particular points proposed to him; he was once more admonished to entertain no other opinions in these matters than what were enjoined by the holy Mother-church of Rome; but he peremptorily declared, that at all events, he would abide by what he had already delivered as the substance of his faith; upon which the Archbishop stood up, condemned him as an heretic, and read his definitive sentence.

His lordship then addressed the bishop in these words; "Though you
" judge my body, which is but a vile
" thing, yet I am sure you can do me
" no hurt as to my soul, no more than
" Satan could do the soul of Job: I
" have no manner of doubt, but that
" he who created it, will of his infinite
" mercy thro' a Redeemer, finally
" save it. As to the articles before rehearsed,
" I will stand to them to my
" very death by the grace of my eternal
" God."

Then turning to the people, he exhorted them to beware of false doctrines and false teachers, who sought

not to advance the glory of God, but their own pride and power. He was afterwards delivered to the lieutenant of the Tower, from whose custody he found means to escape; but in consequence of a reward offered by proclamation, Lord Powis caused him to be apprehended in Wales, four years after his escape, and sent him under the care of officers to London, in December 1417.

On the fourteenth of the same month he was brought before the parliament, and by them adjudged, as a traitor to the king and realm, to be hung upon a new gallows erected for that purpose without Temple-Bar, and to be burned while hanging; which cruel and unjust sentence was executed upon this honest and sincere adherent to the cause of Christ, though his great wealth and influence were strong temptations to induce him to recede; but he well knew that a greater recompence of reward awaited his faith and sufferings than earthly power and grandeur, even an eternal and never-fading crown of glory.

The Life, Principles and Sufferings of
WILLIAM TAYLOR, Priest.

IN the year 1421, this martyr was summoned before the Bench of bishops, and charged with maintaining doctrines contrary to the Holy See. The two principal things of which he was accused were, his declaring,

1. That the practice of hanging fragments about the neck by way of

of charm, was a cheat, depriving God of that honour which is due to him alone, and in fact worshipping the Devil.

2. That worship being due to the supreme God alone, worshipping or invoking saints was anti-scriptural and idolatrous, and therefore ought to be exploded.

These particulars being alledged against him, he objected by way of defence, that he had not maintained or defended the same in the public offices of his function as a priest; but only in private conversation; and afterwards on the Bench's declaring them heretical, he recanted; notwithstanding which, such was the malice of this diabolical court, that they sentenced him to perpetual imprisonment. However, through the interposition of some powerful friends, he obtained his liberty, upon his solemnly swearing that he would for ever reject and discountenance those tenets, for maintaining which had incurred ecclesiastical censure.

In consequence of this, the archbishop absolved him of his excommunication, and strictly enjoined him to attend the ensuing convocation. But fresh troubles soon befel our martyr; for some letters, in which he had argued against the invocation of saints, had been intercepted by the Bishop of Worcester; for which he was again brought before the Bench.

This convocation was held in the year 1422, being the first of the reign of Henry VI, then a minor.

The letters had passed between William Taylor, and Thomas Smith a

priest of Bristol. The part of Taylor's letters against which the Bench objected, was that, wherein he affirmed, that every petition or prayer for any supernatural gift should be directed to God alone; though he acknowledged an inferior homage due to saints.

These letters were read in the presence of the bishops, and afterwards delivered to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who sent them to the four orders of Friars then in London, to pass their judgment on them.

After some examination of the points contained in them, they adjudged the following to be heretical:

1. Affirming that every petition or prayer for any supernatural gift should be directed to God alone.
2. Asserting that prayer is to be addressed to God alone, and
3. Maintaining that the invocation of saints is idolatrous.

This sentence being passed upon the letters by the orders of Friars, and transmitted in writing to the Primate, William Taylor was degraded of his clerical orders, condemned as an heretic, excommunicated and delivered over to the secular power, by which he was sentenced to be burnt, and a writ for that purpose having been sent to the mayor and sheriffs of London, the horrid sentence was executed in Smithfield, the general scene of the unparalleled cruelties of those bloody times.

The Principles and Sufferings of JOHN ROGERS, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and Reader of St. Paul's, London.

THE martyr under consideration, was educated at Cambridge, where he attained to an eminent degree of learning. After which, leaving the University, he was chosen by a society of merchants, chaplain to a factory they had established at Antwerp; where he became acquainted with William Tindal, and Miles Coverdale, two stedfast adherents to the purity of the Gospel of Christ, who lamenting the progress of error and superstition in England, had retired from their native country.

By means of conversing with these sound and pious Christians, he was led to examine whether the principles in which he was educated were agreeable to the word of God, which from their just reasoning with him, he was satisfied was the only infallible guide to truth.

When he came to have recourse to the oracles of God, he there found many errors in his former profession, and became a zealous convert to the faith once delivered to the saints. His progress in the divine knowledge was so rapid, that in a short time he joined with the two pious and learned men before mentioned, in the arduous though useful task of translating the bible into the English tongue.

Having cast off all Papal restriction that was not enjoined in the sacred

book, and finding that matrimony, according to the divine decree, was both honest and honourable amongst all men; he entered into that holy state, and went with his wife into Saxony, where through indefatigable study and application, in a short time he attained to such a knowledge of the Dutch language, as to be capable of taking charge of a Christian congregation in that part of Europe.

Here he laboured many years in the vineyard of his master with great success, converting, through the assistance of divine grace, many from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, as well as edifying and building up the saints in their most holy faith; till it pleased the God of grace and truth, to dispel the mists of Popish darkness from his native country, and restore the glorious light of the pure gospel, by the introduction of his chosen servant Edward VI. to the throne of England.

Mr. Rogers then left Saxony, and came with joy to declare the glad tidings of Salvation in England; where after he had faithfully laboured some time without preferment, Nicholas Ridley then bishop of London, appointed him a prebend in his cathedral; of which he was afterwards chosen one of the preachers, called in those days, divinity lecturers.

Here he continued, giving the most convincing proofs of sound faith, piety, and learning; till Mary, (dire remembrance!) succeeded to the throne; banished the pure religion of Christ, and again introduced the horrors of ANTICHRIST.

Re-

Resolution, however, did not cause our martyr to wave in one point from the truth as it is in Jesus; for soon after the Queen's accession, he preached in the Cathedral, and with peculiar energy, exhorted the people to continue steadfast in the doctrines they had there heard, nor swerve from the tenets of the reformed preachers, during the reign of the late pious young king.

A sad change soon took place both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs; power reverted on the votaries of popery; Popish ministers directed the helm of state, and popish bishops composed a great part of the Queen's council.

This being the case, Mr. Rogers was reprov'd for the sermons he delivered; however, he pleaded his own cause with such address, as to obviate their cruel sentence for a time.

Soon after this, he was summoned before the council of Bishops, to answer for his contempt of the Queen's proclamation in preaching doctrines forbidden therein; after some debate concerning the nature of his offence (as they termed it) he was commanded as prisoner to keep his own house, from which he never departed, though he had many fair opportunities to escape; he knew that religion was on the decline in England, and was assured he should not want a living in Germany, adequate to the demands of a large family consisting of a wife and ten children; being resolutely determined to stand up in the defence of Christ's cause, and to hazard his life in support of the truth.

In this state of confinement he remained a considerable time, till at

the instigation of the cruel Bonner, bishop of London, he was removed to Newgate, and placed amongst the common felons.

Being again summoned before the Bench of Bishops, he adhered inviolably to the doctrines he had maintained and asserted, which being represented to the council, the Lord Chancellor passed sentence of condemnation on John Rogers, and particularly cited two articles as causes of the same.

1. His affirming that the Holy Mother-church, commonly called the Church of Rome, was the church of *Antichrist*, and

2. Asserting that in the sacrament of the altar, there is not substantially, nor really, the natural body and blood of Christ.

In order to display a striking instance of the horrid cruelties which wicked men are capable of committing, even under the sacred name of God, and an attachment to the cause of religion, the following copy is inserted, of the form of the condemnation, by which thousands of innocent persons have been murdered, under the vile Popish pretence of doing God service.

In the name of God, Amen, We Stephen, by the Permission of God, bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all goodly favour by authority and virtue of our office, against thee John Rogers, priest, otherwise called Matthew; before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of Heresy, having heard,

heard, seen, and understood, and with all diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered the merits of the cause, all things being observed, sitting in our judgment seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having only God before our eyes, because by the acts enacted, propounded and exhibited in this matter, and by thy own confession judicially made before us, we do find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended divers errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely these; That the catholick church of Rome is the Antichrist. Item, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not substantially nor really the natural body and blood of Christ. The which aforesaid heresies and damnable opinions, being contrary to the law of God, and determination of the universal and apostolical church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornly, and wittingly maintained, held, and affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgment, as also otherwise, and with the like obstinacy, stubbornness, malice and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly affirmed, that thou wilt believe maintain, and hold, affirm and declare the same: We therefore, S. Winchester, bishop, ordinary and diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as well of our reverend brethren the lords bishops here present and assistant, as also by the counsel and judgement of divers worshipful lawyers and professors of divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, through thy demerits, transgres-

sions, obstinacies, and wilfulness (which through manifold ways thou hast incurred by thine own wicked and stubborn obstinacy) to have been, and to be guilty of the detestable, horrible, and wicked offences of heretical pravity, and execrable doctrine in the sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet still doth maintain, affirm and believe the same, and that thou hast been, and art lawfully convicted in this behalf: We therefore, I say, albeit following the example of Christ, "Which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live;" We have gone about oftentimes to correct thee by all lawful means that we could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true faith and unity of the catholic church: notwithstanding we have found thee obstinate and stiffnecked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy Motherchurch; and as the child of wickedness and darkness so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepherd, which with a fatherly affection doth seek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions: we therefore Stephen, the bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou which art wicked shouldest now become more wicked, and infect the Lord's flock with thine heresy, (which we are greatly afraid of) with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee the said Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy dam-



THE
*Burning of John Rogers Vicar of St. Sepulcher
and Reader of St. Pauls London.*

damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy Mother-church, and that thou hast been and art by law excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person. And also we pronounce and declare thee, being an heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, and now presently do leave thee as an obstinate heretic, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits (requiring them notwithstanding, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done upon thee, may be so moderated that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of all Heretics to the unity of the Catholick faith) by this our sentence definitive, which we here lay upon and against thee, and do with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid.

The foregoing form being used in the condemnation of all the rest of the English martyrs, it need not be again repeated.

After this sentence was solemnly pronounced by an hypocritical prelate; Mr. Rogers was carried to Newgate, lodged amongst felons, reviled by the keepers, and at length, according to the above mentioned form, condemned by Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester.

The warrant for his execution coming down early in morning, he was warned by one of the keepers to prepare himself for the fire; on which he coolly said, "well, if it be so I need not tie my points," (strings used in the old English dresses) and immediately proceeded to bishop Bonner to be degraded.

Having passed through this form likewise, he craved one favour of the bishop; which was, that he might speak a few words to his wife, before the execution of the sentence, but even this petition was inhumanly denied him.

Being delivered to the sheriffs of London, one of them asked him if he would recant the abominable heresies he maintained; but our martyr resolutely and concisely replied, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." Neither the promises, threats nor curses of the bigotted sheriff availed, Mr. Rogers persisted in his adherence to the gospel of Christ as the standard of the Christian's faith and practice, and was with the utmost composure conducted to Smithfield, where in the presence of several of the Queen's officers of state, and a prodigious concourse of people, he was burned to ashes, Feb. 4, 1555, glorying in the midst of the flames, that he was deemed worthy to suffer for the cause of Christ and the gospel.

Thus heroically suffered John Rogers, first of the many martyrs in the reign of the bloody, bigotted and relentless Mary, whose horrid cruelties have fixed an indelible stain on her character both as a queen and a



THE
Burning of John Rogers Vicar of St. Sepulcher
and Reader of St. Pauls London.

damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy Mother-church, and that thou hast been and art by law excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person. And also we pronounce and declare thee, being an heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, and now presently do leave thee as an obstinate heretic, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits (requiring them notwithstanding, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done upon thee, may be so moderated that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of all Heretics to the unity of the Catholick faith) by this our sentence definitive, which we here lay upon and against thee, and do with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid.

The foregoing form being used in the condemnation of all the rest of the English martyrs, it need not be again repeated.

After this sentence was solemnly pronounced by an hypocritical prelate; Mr. Rogers was carried to Newgate, lodged amongst felons, reviled by the keepers, and at length, according to the above mentioned form, condemned by Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester.

The warrant for his execution coming down early in morning, he was warned by one of the keepers to prepare himself for the fire; on which he coolly said, "well, if it be so I need not tie my points," (strings used in the old English dresses) and immediately proceeded to bishop Bonner to be degraded.

Having passed through this form likewise, he craved one favour of the bishop; which was, that he might speak a few words to his wife, before the execution of the sentence, but even this petition was inhumanly denied him.

Being delivered to the sheriffs of London, one of them asked him if he would recant the abominable heresies he maintained; but our martyr resolutely and concisely replied, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." Neither the promises, threats nor curses of the bigotted sheriff availed, Mr. Rogers persisted in his adherence to the gospel of Christ as the standard of the Christian's faith and practice, and was with the utmost composure conducted to Smithfield, where in the presence of several of the Queen's officers of state, and a prodigious concourse of people, he was burned to ashes, Feb. 4, 1555, glorying in the midst of the flames, that he was deemed worthy to suffer for the cause of Christ and the gospel.

Thus heroically suffered John Rogers, first of the many martyrs in the reign of the bloody, bigotted and relentless Mary, whose horrid cruelties have fixed an indelible stain on her character both as a queen and a

woman, and will be handed down with infamy to latest posterity.

Such was his fortitude and resignation to the divine will, that even the tears of his disconsolate wife, with a babe sucking at her breast, nor the cries of ten children, whom he tenderly loved, could divert him from the same; it was the cause of God, the cause of his lord and master Jesus Christ, nor could any consideration induce him to abandon it.

*The Persecutions of JOHN HOOPER.
Bishop of Gloucester.*

THIS good christian was educated at the university of Oxford, where he made divinity his principal study, and discovered the most flagrant and superstitious errors that prevail in the church of Rome.

When it was publicly known that he objected to many points both of faith and practice that were held by the Mother-church, he was obliged to leave the university; and in a short time to avoid the malice and rage of his persecutors to repair to Germany: from thence he went and settled at one of the cantons of Switzerland, where he studied the Hebrew tongue, and remained till the death of king Henry VIII.

But on the happy accession of Edward VI, to the crown of England, Popish superstition being abolished, and the Christian religion restored in its purity and native simplicity by law, our martyr returned with many others

who had gone into voluntary exile for the sake of worshipping God according to the rules they apprehended to be prescribed in his word, as well as the dictates of their own consciences. It is very remarkable that on his parting with a particular friend at his embarking for his native country, he thus addressed him; "Where I shall take the most pains, there you shall hear that I am burned to ashes."

When Mr. Hooper arrived in England, his indefatigable zeal and labour in the work of the ministry soon recommended him to the notice of the pious young king, who promoted him to the sees of Gloucester and Worcester; which important offices he filled in a manner as reflected an honour on his sacred profession, and afforded a striking example to cotemporary prelates, preaching as often as opportunity offered in both dioceses, exhorting his clergy to be found in the faith of the gospel, and diligent in their duty, bestowing kindness on the poor, visiting the sick, in short exercising every good work, that became a bishop of the household of God, a minister of the gospel of Christ, and a sincere and upright Christian.

In this manner he lived beloved by his prince, respected and caressed by the inhabitants of his dioceses, and and happy in himself to see the progress of true religion, during the reign of king Edward VI: But no sooner did queen Mary succeed to the crown, than he was cited to London to answer to the appeals of Dr. Heath who had been deprived of the diocese, that had been given to him by king Edward; and

and Dr. Bonner, whom he had accused to the late king for non-conformity, to the laws then in force.

Mr. Hooper was warned by his friends to avoid the danger which they knew threatened on the accession of queen Mary, and the revival of Popish influence; but he calmly said, "once I did fly, but now I am called to this place, I am resolved to live and die with my sheep."

In a short time, after he was summoned before the bishop of Winchester who deprived him of his bishopricks; and asked him divers questions relative to his being married, and the corporal presence in the eucharist.

When the Lord Chancellor asked him if he was married; he replied, he was, and would not be unmarried till death unmarried him.

Being asked upon what authority he denied the corporal presence; he answered, the authority of God's word, and then quoted the words of St. Peter, Acts iii. 21. in Latin; *Quem oportet cælum, &c; Whom the Heavens must receive until the times of restitution of all things.*

Having thus openly declared his principles, the bishop of Winchester commanded the notaries to write as memorandum, *That Hooper owned that he was married, and would not be separated from his wife; and that he denied the corporal presence in the sacrament.*

Gardiner then proceeded to the hypocritical form of warning him in the name of his brethren to renounce the errors he had spread during the former reign, and submissively to return to

obedience to the Holy See, an acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy, and unity with the Holy catholic church, and promising him on those terms the favour of the Queen, and benediction of his Holiness, as well as restoration to his former function.

But neither this advice, nor the promises with which it was backed availed with Mr. Hooper, whose faith was too well grounded to recede from the truth as it was in the gospel; and therefore he openly declared without an attempt to evade the least point; that as the Pope taught doctrines contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he could not be deemed a member, much less head of the church of Christ; for which cause he would not acknowledge his ecclesiastical supremacy, nor assent to the tenets of that church of which he was deemed the head.

But he added, that if in any point to him unknown he had offended the Queen's majesty, he humbly submitted himself to her mercy, if he might obtain mercy consistently with his conscientious regard to the displeasure of his God.

He was then assured, that the Queen was determined to shew no mercy to those who obstinately and presumptuously denied the Pope's jurisdiction.

Being a third time summoned before bishop Gardiner (who was likewise Lord Chancellor) and the rest of the commissioners; and having, after many endeavours, at least pretences of endeavouring, to reclaim him from error and heresy, firmly adhered to the principles and doctrines of the reformation, he was ordered to be degraded,

graded, delivered over to the secular power, conveyed to the prison of Newgate, and in the chapel of that prison, degraded in the usual form by the bishop of London.

His malicious enemies having determined that he should be executed at Gloucester, of which see he had been bishop, and where he had frequently enforced doctrines repugnant to popery; he was accordingly conveyed thither under a party of the Queen's guards, and lodged the first night after his arrival, at an inn in that city.

Here he devoted himself to prayer and meditation; having obtained leave of privacy from the officer of the guard.

Sir Anthony Kingston, one of his former friends, being appointed one of the commissioners to see him executed, came to visit him and burst into tears at first sight of him; our martyr did not know him; till he said, *My lord, do you know your old friend Anthony Kingston?* Mr. Hooper then recognized him, and expressed a pleasure at the interview.

On Sir Anthony's shewing the utmost concern at the circumstances of his friend, and the office that was allotted him, as well as persuading him to embrace the only means of saving his life; the intrepid Christian hero rebuked his friend, telling him that he was resolved by the grace of God never to recede from the great truths of the gospel, which he had delivered amongst those of that diocese and elsewhere; that he regarded neither death nor life when set in competition with his adherence to the truth of God's word;

which he would maintain, nor should the combined powers of earth and hell warp him from his allegiance to the cause of his only master Christ Jesus; desiring at the same time the prayers of his friend that he might continue steadfast unto the end, remembering these words, *Be ye faithful unto death, and I will give you a crown of life.*

The knight finding that all which he could urge had no effect upon his friend, who was determined to die by the most excruciating means rather than deny his blessed Master, took his leave of him, and at the same time returned him his sincerest thanks for former kind instructions and admonitions, through which, by the blessing of God, he had been brought from a state of slavery to the most enormous vices, to a state of obedience (though imperfect) to the will and law of God; Mr. Hooper desired him to give God all the glory for the same, and prayed that he might live continually in his fear; on which they both parted in tears.

The same evening the Queen's guard delivered Mr. Hooper up to the sheriffs of Gloucester, who thought to have conveyed him to the common prison, but were prevailed on by some of his friends to permit him to continue at the inn, and set a guard over him there.

Here he was visited and kindly saluted by the mayor and corporation; Mr. Hooper thanked them for this instance of their regard, and informed them, that he was come thither to seal those doctrines, which he formerly preached to them, with his blood; be-

because he would not recede with many others from the faith of the gospel, and now openly declare that to be heresy and falsehood, which he had before solemnly taught as the word of God, even of that God who cannot lye.

He then address'd the corporation in general thus; *Gentlemen, I hope you have not altogether forgotten what I have so repeatedly taught you, I mean the great doctrines of the reformation; it is my earnest request that there may be an ardent fire, to dispatch me, and that you would not be grieved above measure at my fate, though cruel, but rather rejoice that I am enabled to suffer in so good, so glorious a cause.*

This said, he took his leave, retired to a chamber, went to bed, slept soundly for a time, and then arose better fitted for prayer and meditation; having desired to be private to the very hour of his summons.

The day appointed for the execution of the horrid, cruel and unjust sentence was, Saturday Feb. 9, 1555, on which morning the commissioners, (amongst whom was his particular friend Sir Anthony Kingston) sent Mr. Hooper word to make preparation for the awful scene that approach'd.

He needed but little warning, being well prepared by prayer and meditation, in which he had as it were anticipated the dire catastrophe, and therefore in the space of about an hour after the notice was sent, he was brought from the inn to the place appointed for the perpetration of the cruel act; which was opposite to the College of Priests, where he used to

Nº II.

deliver the doctrines for which he was there to suffer a painful death.

He was dressed in a gown belonging to his host, had a hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand, being afflicted with sciatic pains occasioned by an imprisonment of eighteen months.

A prodigious concourse of people were assembled to see his melancholy exit, and tears fell from almost every eye. Observing this general concern, he said to the spectators:

Alas! why are these people assembled? perhaps they think to hear something from me as they have in times past; but I am not permitted to speak, notwithstanding the cause of my death is well known unto them. Formerly when I was appointed their pastor, I preached unto them doctrines founded on the pure and uncorrupted word of God; and now because I will not recede from the same, and openly declare them false and heretical, I am sentenced to this kind of death.

He then kneeled down, and prayed, during which time a box was brought, in which his pardon was said to have been inclosed, upon condition of his recantation; however, at the very sight of it, he cried, *if you love my soul, away with it.*

Finding him thus resolute, the Lord Chandois, one of the commissioners, gave orders for immediate dispatch, but he desired permission to finish his prayers.

After a very submissive and resigned prayer, in which he supplicated the divine assistance at so critical a juncture as that of nature's dissolution, and by

F

60

so trying a means ; he rose, stripped himself to his shirt, and fixing a quantity of gun-powder which was given him in a bladder by one of the guard, between his legs, and under each arm, he was fastened to the stake, desiring the people to say the Lord's prayer with him.

Thus prepared for the shocking sentence, he cast his eye through the crowd, by whom he was easily seen, being a tall man, and mounted upon a stool ; he had no sooner thus shewn himself, than a general lamentation ensued ; on which with eyes and hands uplifted, he again sought the divine succour in that hour of fiery trial.

He then gave the signal that he was ready, and on the executioner's asking him forgiveness, said, *thou needest not forgiveness of me, against whom thou hast never offended.* The man replied with tears, *O ? Sir, I am appointed to make the fire ; therein, said our martyr, thou dost not offend me : God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office I pray thee.*

When the reeds were brought, he embraced those instruments of death, placed one bundle under each arm, and gave directions concerning the disposal of the rest.

The sentence was then executed, but the faggots being green, it was some time before they kindled, so as to set fire to the reeds about him, which considerably protracted his pain and suffering ; he was heard to pray in the extremity of his torment with great composure ; *O Jesus, the Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul!*

The wind being very high, his lower parts were consumed first, the fire having but little power above, in-
somuch that they were obliged to kindle a new fire with faggots, which done, he wiped both his eyes with his hands, and exclaimed as loud as he could, *For God's sake, good people, let me have more fire.*

During this time his lower parts burnt, but for want of faggots, the fire was not strong enough to reach the upper parts and put a happy end to his torture. His request was complied with by the populace, and the fire at length reached the upper parts of his body, when he was heard to say, with a loud voice, *Lord Jesu have mercy upon me, Lord Jesu have mercy upon me, Lord Jesus receive my spirit.*

These are the last words he was heard to utter ; tho' when his tongue was so swelled that he could not speak, his lips were seen to move till they shrunk to the gums, and having beat upon his breast till one of his arms fell off, he continued to beat with the other, till he bowed forward, and to the joy of the spectators gave up the ghost, being happily relieved from such agonizing torment.

Thus suffered this pious divine, and faithful servant of Christ, the extremity of agony in the fire for the space of almost an hour, without once repining at his lot ; whose fortitude and constancy cannot be imputed to any thing but the support of Almighty aid ; in order to fulfil that memorable promise ; *as is thy day, so shall thy strength be also.*

Engraved
for England's
Bloody Tribunal.



The Burning of John Hooper at Gloucester.



*The life, principles and sufferings of
ROWLAND TAYLOR, Vicar of
Hadley.*

THIS martyr, for the sake of Christ and his gospel, was a man of eminent learning and abilities, and had been admitted to the degree of doctor of civil and canon law.

His attachment to the pure and uncorrupted principles of Christianity recommended him to the favour and friendship of Dr. Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he lived a considerable time, till through his interest he obtained the living of Hadley.

This charge he attended with the utmost diligence and assiduity, recommending and enforcing the doctrines of the gospel not only by his judicious discourses from the pulpit, but also by the whole tenour of his life and conversation.

His faith was sound and consequently productive of good works; that faith indeed which in scripture is deemed the gift of God, is always known by its fruits, according to James ii. 26, *For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also.*

Thus continued Dr. Taylor promoting the interest of the Great Redeemer and the souls of mankind both by his preaching and example during the reign of king Edward VI. but on his demise and the succession of queen Mary to the throne, he escaped not the cloud that burst on so many

beside; for two of his parishoners, Foster, an attorney, and Clark, a tradesman, out of blind zeal resolved that mass should be celebrated in all its superstitious forms, in the parish church of Hadley on Monday before Easter; nay, they had even caused an altar to be built in the chancel for that purpose, which being pulled down by the protestant inhabitants, they erected another and prevailed with the minister of an adjacent parish to celebrate mass in the passion-week.

The Doctor being employed in his study, was alarmed at the ringing of the bells at an unusual time, but went to the church to enquire the cause. He found the great doors fast, but lifting up the latch of the chancel door, he entered, and was not a little surprised, to see a priest in his habit prepared to celebrate mass, guarded by a party of men under arms, to prevent interruption.

Dr. Taylor being vicar of the parish, demanded of the priest the cause of such proceeding without his knowledge or consent; and how he dared prophane the temple of God with abominable idolatries.

Foster the lawyer insolently replied, *thou traitor, how darest thou to intercept the execution of the Queen's orders*; but the Doctor undauntedly denied the charge of traitor, and asserted his mission as a minister of Christ, and delegation to that part of his flock, commanding the priest, as a wolf in sheep's cloathing, to depart, nor endeavour to infect the pure church of God with Popish idolatry.

A very violent altercation then ensued

fued between Foster the lawyer and Dr. Taylor, the former asserting the Queen's prerogative, and the other the authority of the Canon-law, which commanded that no mass be said, but at a consecrated altar.

The priest intimidated by the intrepid behaviour of the Protestant minister, would have departed without saying mass, but Clark said to him, fear not, you have a super altar, (which is a consecrated stone, to lay upon the altar) proceed and do your duty.

They then forced the Doctor out of the church, celebrated mass, and immediately informed the Lord Chancellor, bishop of Winchester of his behaviour, who summoned him to appear before him, and answer the complaints that were alledged against him.

The Doctor upon receipt of the summons cheerfully prepared to obey the same; and on some of his friends advising him to fly beyond sea, in order to avoid the cruelty of his inveterate enemies, he told them that he was determined to go to the bishop, being ready and willing to declare the motives of his behaviour to the Popish emissaries, and defend the doctrines he had taught, as well as persuaded that he could not die in a better cause; so having committed his people to the care of a pious and faithful minister of Christ, he repaired to London and waited on the Bishop, who on the first sight of him upbraided him with the opprobrious term of heretic.

The Doctor denied the charge, and asserted his conformity both to the divine institutions, and the laws of his country.

The Bishop then reviled him grossly, but was upbraided in his turn with having violated the oath he made to king Henry VIII, and to his son king Edward.

The Bishop pleaded the legality of receding from oaths, which were unlawfully taken, of which he deemed that one, and returned God thanks that the true worship and faith were restored according to the tenets and practice of the holy Mother-Church of Rome, which was matter of joy to all but heretics.

Taylor replied; God forbid that I should ever depart from the Church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, to believe the lies, superstitions and idolatries, which are now inculcated by Popish emissaries.

Let the Pope renounce his superstitions and idolatries, and then all true Christians will yield him that obedience that is requisite; you yourself wrote against Popery and took the oaths against the Pope and his doctrines.

After a long dispute between the Bishop and the Doctor, the latter was sent to the Queen's Bench prison, for speaking disrespectfully of the mass, and reviling the practices of the Holy Mother-church as idolatrous.

Having been confined some time, he was brought before the court of Arches, where he strenuously defended the marriage of priests, from the authority of scripture, the primitive fathers, and the civil and canon law; insomuch that though he was married they could not give sentence of divorce

divorce against him; though they urged it as a plea for depriving him of his benefice.

He was several times summoned before the Lord Chancellor with whom he had so warmly disputed; and the chief articles that were exhibited against him, were as follow,

Maintaining the validity and legality of the marriage of priests.

Denying the presence of Christ's natural body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, or that it was a propitiatory sacrifice both for the quick and dead, or that it ought to be worshipped with divine honour.

Affirming his holiness the Pope to be Antichrist, and Popery Antichristianity.

These things being laid to his charge, he was adjudged and condemned as an Heretic, delivered over to the secular power, imprisoned in the Poultry Compter and there degraded by the Bishop of London.

After the form of degradation was over, his wife, one of his sons, and a servant were permitted to visit him. He repeated part of the English liturgy with them, exhorted them to persevere in the faith of Christ as contained in his gospel; to observe the divine commands; advised his wife to marry again if an agreeable person should offer, gave her an English common prayer book, and his son a Latin book, and then they parted with tears.

On the 5th of February 1555, Dr. Taylor was conveyed from the Compter to Chelmsford in Essex, and delivered up to the sheriff of that county, who passed many compliments on his piety and earnestly intreated him to save his

N^o 2.

useful and valuable life, by a recantation of his errors, and return to the Holy Mother-church of Rome. The Doctor being a man of humourous turn of mind as well as intrepid resolution, told the sheriff and the rest of the company about him; that he found he had deceived himself, and in all probability should deceive many people in the parish of Hadley.

The company taking this as an oblique hint of his intention to recant, signified the greatest satisfaction at the Doctor's resolution; but were not a little damped, when on being required to explain himself, he said; *You see gentlemen I am a fat, corpulent man, I thought to have died in my bed, and to have been buried in Hadley church-yard; but herein I now find I was deceived, and shall likewise deceive many worms in Hadley church-yard, which would have had good feeding on my carcase.*

As he passed over the bridge, he was saluted by a poor man, to whose family he had often lent his charitable assistance, with these words; *My dear father in Christ, and good shepherd, may God now succour thee, as thou hast often succoured me and my poor children.*

When he entered the town of Hadley, the streets were lined by his old parishioners; who mindful of his pious labours in the gospel amongst them, beheld him with the utmost concern; crying out, *Behold our good shepherd, who faithfully taught us, and had a fatherly care for us; may God comfort and support him.*

As he passed the Alms-houses, he

G

de-

desired that he might be permitted to distribute what money he had left, amongst the poor, who inhabited them.

Being conducted as far as Aldham common, he enquired where he was, and what was the occasion of such a concourse of people being assembled there.

The sheriffs told him, it was the spot on which he was destined to suffer, and called Aldham common; on which he immediately alighted from his horse, and said, *God be thanked, I am even at home.*

The spectators in general lamented his fate, and earnestly prayed, that he might be enabled to submit to it with Christian fortitude and resignation. He was ready to address the people, but the sheriffs would not permit him.

He therefore contentedly sat down, and what is very remarkable, displayed his talent for humour even to the very last, for calling his servant; *Joice, said he, come and pull off my boots, I pray thee, thou hast long looked for them, so now take them for thy pains.*

He then prepared himself for the cruel sentence, and thus addressed himself to the people with a loud voice, *Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and am come hither to seal with my blood, those doctrines of the gospel I have delivered unto you.*

This said, he set himself in a pitch barrel, and stood with his back towards the stake, his hands and eyes uplifted to Heaven, praying a considerable time.

Having bound him with chains to

the stake, the sheriff commanded one of the populace to set up the faggots, but he pleaded the excuse of lameness; the disagreeable office was therefore transferred to others who executed it very diligently.

He was treated with great indignity during the time of his suffering; and such was the meanness of one of the biggotted sheriffs, that he struck him on the face for repeating the fifty-first psalm in English, reviling him at the same time with these words, *Thou knave, speak Latin, or I will make you.*

At length the fire was kindled, and our martyr suffered with great resolution, calling upon God to receive his departing spirit; till one of the guards striking him with a halbert on the head, he fell down, and was soon entirely consumed by the flames.

THOMAS TOMKINS.

THIS plain honest Christian, was by trade a Weaver, and lived in the parish of Shoreditch, till he was summoned before the inhuman Bonner, and confined with many others, who renounced the errors of Popery, in a prison in that tyrant's house at Fulham.

Under his confinement, he was treated by the bishop, not only unbecomingly a prelate, but even a man; for the savage, because Tomkins would not assent to the doctrine of transubstantiation, had bruised him in the face, and plucked off the greatest part of the hair of his beard.

On

On another occasion, this scandal to humanity, because our martyr remained inflexible, nor would deviate in the least point from the pure and uncorrupted truths of the gospel, in the presence of several gentlemen who came to visit him at his seat at Fulham, took this poor honest man by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame of a wax candle, in order to try his resolution.

This burning he endured with great fortitude, commending his spirit unto God; till the veins burst, and spirted water into the face of a person present; who therefore desired the diabolical Bonner to forbear, saying, he had tried him sufficiently.

Tomkins was afterwards summoned before the bishop, at his consistory-court at St. Paul's; where he delivered the articles of his confession sealed up in writing, and signed with his own hand, as follow:

I Thomas Tomkins, of the parish of St. Leonard Shoreditch, in the diocese of London, having confessed and declared openly heretofore to Edmond Bonner bishop of London, mine ordinary, that my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ is not truly and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, but only in Heaven, and so in Heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the sacrament of the altar.

And moreover, having likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary openly many times, that although the church, called the Catholick church, hath allowed, and doth allow the mass and

sacrifice made and done therein, as a wholesome, profitable, and godly thing; yet my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the said mass is full of superstition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for the soul, and so I have called it many times, and take it at this present.

Having also confessed and declared to my said ordinary, that the sacrament of baptism ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwise ministred, and also without such ceremonies, as are generally used in the Latin church, and otherwise not be allowed.

Finally, being many and often-times called before my said ordinary, and talked withal, touching all my said confessions and declarations, both by my said ordinary, and divers other learned men, as well his chaplains as others, and counselled by them all to embrace the church, and to recant mine error, in the premises, which they told me was plain heresy, and manifest error; do testify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually stand to my said confession, declaration, and belief, in all the premises, and every part thereof; and in no wise recant, or go from any part of the same. In witness whereof, I have subscribed and passed the writing, this 26th of September, the year aforesaid.

Being again brought before the bloody tribunal of bishops, and pressed to recant his errors and return to the Mother-church; he maintained his fidelity, nor would swerve in the least from the articles he had signed with his own hand.

Having declared him an obstinate and

and damnable Heretic, they delivered him up to the secular power, and he was burned in Smithfield in March 1555, triumphing in the midst of the flames, and adding to the noble company of martyrs, who had preceded him, through the path of fiery trial, to the realms of immortal glory.

WILLIAM HUNTER.

THIS adherent to the cause of Christ had been trained to the doctrines of the reformation from his earliest youth, being descended from religious parents, who carefully instructed him in the principles of true religion.

When queen Mary succeeded to the crown, orders were issued to the priests of every parish, to summon all their parishoners to receive the communion at mass, the Easter after her accession, and Hunter, who was then nineteen years of age, refusing to obey the summons, was threatened to be brought before the bishop.

His master fearful of incurring ecclesiastical censure, desired him to leave him for a time; upon which he quitted his service, went down to Brentwood, and resided with his father about six weeks.

One day finding the chapel open, he entered and began to read in the English bible, which lay upon the desk, but was severely reprimanded by an officer of the Bishop's court, who said to him, *William, why meddlest thou with the bible? understandest thou what*

thou readeest? canst thou expound scripture? He replied, *I presume not to expound scripture; but finding the bible here, I read for my comfort and edification.*

The officer then informed a neighbouring priest of the liberty the young man had taken in reading the bible; the priest therefore severely chid him, saying, *Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read the bible and expound it?*

He answered as he had done to the officer, and on the priest's telling him, that it became him not to meddle with the scriptures, he frankly declared his resolution to read them as long as he lived, as well as reproved the vicar for discouraging persons from that practice, which the scriptures so strongly enjoined.

The priest then upbraided him as an heretic; he denied the charge, and being asked his opinion concerning the corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar; he replied, that he esteemed the bread and wine but as figures, and looked upon the sacrament as an institution in remembrance of the death and sufferings of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

William Hunter was then openly declared an Heretic, for not believing in the sacrament of the altar, and the vicar threatened to complain of him to the bishop.

A neighbouring justice having heard that he maintained heretical principles, sent for his father and enquired of him concerning his son; the old man assured him that he had left him, that he knew not whither he was gone: and on the justice's threatening to

to imprison him, unless he caused him to be apprehended and brought before him; he said with tears in his eyes, would you have me seek out my son to be burned?

The old man however was obliged to go, in pretence at least, in quest of him, and by accident meeting him, was asked by him, if he was seeking for him; he replied with tears, he was, and told him that it was by command of the justice who threatened to imprison him.

The son, to prevent his father from incurring any danger, said that he was ready to accompany him home, on which they returned together.

The following day, he was taken by the constable, kept in the stocks four and twenty hours, and then brought before the justice; who called for a bible, turned to the sixth chapter of St. John, and desired him to give his opinion of the meaning of it, as it related to the sacrament of the altar.

Having given the same explanation as he had done to the priest, and persisting in his denial of the corporal presence in the eucharist, the justice upbraided him with damnable heresy wrote to the bishop of London acquainting him with same; he was summoned to appear at the Consistory court held at St. Paul's, where he was reproved as having fallen from the Catholic faith, and exhorted to return to the same.

He declared in court that he had not fallen from the Catholic faith, but believed and confessed it with all his heart.

N^o 2.

He was then asked by the bishop to recant what he said concerning the sacrament of the altar; but declared that by the help of God, he would persist in that faith.

Being urged still farther, and promised that on such condition, he should go home unhurt, he said to the bishop; *My Lord, if you will let me alone and leave me to my own conscience, I will return to my father, and dwell with him, or else with my master again, and will keep my opinion to myself.* The bishop answered, *I am content, so that thou wilt go to church, receive, and be confessed.*

This he refused at all events, upon which after several efforts to bring him over, he commanded him to be put in the stocks, where he continued two days and two nights with only a crust of brown bread and a cup of water.

When the two days were expired, the bishop came to him, and finding the bread and water lay by him untouched, he ordered some of his servants to take him out of the stocks and bring him down to breakfast with them; but they would not suffer him to eat with them, because he was a heretic.

He was afterwards repeatedly brought before the bishop, who, by soothing and threatening means strove to bring him to a recantation, but nothing could induce him to recede from the faith he had openly professed; sentence was therefore pronounced upon him by the persecuting prelate, he was remanded back to Newgate for a time, and from thence to Brentwood; *where, said the bishop, thou shalt be burned.*

Even after this sentence he was

H

cal-

called for again, exhorted to recant upon promise of preferment; to this he said, *My Lord, I thank you for your great offers, but if you cannot enforce my recantation from scripture, I cannot in my conscience turn from God for the love of the world, for I count all things but dung and dross for the love of Christ.*

He then was carried back to Newgate, and in a few days sent down to Brentwood, where he was confined in an inn, till the time appointed for his execution.

During his confinement many of his neighbours and country folks resorted to him; all of whom he exhorted to beware of Popish superstition and idolatry.

On the morning of the 27th of March, the sheriff gave orders for the burning of William Hunter, and the necessary preparations were accordingly made.

The sheriff's son who was a friend of William's visited him at the inn, encouraging him not to fear the men, who were preparing to bring him to the place of execution; he said, that thank God, he was not in the least intimidated, for that he had cast up his account, and well knew what his adherence to the cause of Christ would cost him, his friends then parted from him in tears.

Soon after he was led from the inn, between one of the sheriff's officers, and his brother Robert; and in their passage was met by his father in his tears, who said, *God be with thee son William.*

When he came to the place appoin-

ted for his execution, he kneeled upon a faggot, repeating the 51st psalm till he came to those words: *The sacrifice of God, is a contrite spirit: A contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise;* he was then interrupted by one of the officers, who told him the translation was wrong, the words being an humble spirit, but he said the translation was a contrite heart, on which he was told, that the heretics translated books as they pleased.

The sheriff then produced him a letter from the queen, containing his pardon, if he would recant, but he refused life on those terms, went up to the stake and was chained to it; saying to the spectators, *Good people, pray for me and make quick dispatch, pray for me while you see me alive, and I will pray for you.*

He then took a faggot and embraced it in his arms; and on a priest's offering him a book, he said, away thou false prophet, beware of him good people, *and come away from their abominations, lest ye be partakers of their plagues.*

One of the spectators addressing God to have mercy on his soul, was answered by the people, Amen.

When the fire was kindled, he cast his common prayer book into his brother's hand, on which his brother to encourage him reminded him of the passion of his dear Redeemer and bid him be of good cheer: He said, *I fear neither torture, nor death; Lord Jesus receive my departing spirit;* and yielded up his life to God who gave it, in defence of the truth of the gospel, and

as a confirmation of that divine power which alone can enable weak mortals to sustain the most fiery trial, in testimony of the truth of that God, who cannot lye, or change, but as his word is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

WILLIAM PIGOT, STEPHEN KNIGHT
and JOHN LAWRENCE, *Priests.*

THE emissaries of Bonner and Gardiner having given information that these persons maintained religious opinions contrary to the doctrine and practice of the Holy Mother church they were summoned to appear before the former at his Consistory-court in London, and severally questioned concerning their faith in the corporal presence at the sacrament of altar.

Having answered and subscribed respectively, that in that holy ordinance, there was not substantially but figuratively the body and blood of Christ, they were reprimanded by the court, admonished to recant their heretical opinions, and then dismissed.

On a second examination concerning the same tenet, they made the same declaration as before, in consequence of which, the bishop called to him the two laymen, and with an affected concern for their spiritual and temporal interests, warmly exhorted them to reject their heresies, nor expose themselves to death here, and damnation hereafter, by obstinately persisting in disobedience to the Holy See: but these plain and honest Christians were too

well grounded in the doctrines of Christ's pure Gospel to be thus warped from their adherence, and therefore told the bishop, that they could not recant consistently with the dictates of their consciences, nor would they abjure the opinions to which they had subscribed.

On another occasion bishop Bonner discoursed with Lawrence the priest alone, and having demanded of what order he was, was answered that he was admitted to priests orders eighteen years past, that some time he was a Black Fryar, and betrothed to a maid whom he intended to have married.

Being examined a second time, as to his opinion of the corporal presence in the sacrament; he declared it to be an institution of our blessed Lord in commemoration of his death and sufferings, and that those were greatly deceived, who believed, that his body was verily present in the same, seeing that he had long before ascended into Heaven and was placed at the right hand of the Glorious Majesty of the Father.

In a short time, they were all three summoned before the bishop, who (after his usual hypocritical manner) again exhorted them to recant, embrace the true faith, nor be the wilful cause of their own destruction; but no consideration could induce them to recede in a single point, declaring one and all, they would abide by their opinions, because they were founded on the word of God; whereas the other, were meerly of human invention.

The incensed prelate, on this frank declaration, proceeded to pass sentence upon

upon them, as damnable irreclaimable heretics, and then degraded Lawrence according to the general custom of that persecuting age.

Having passed through these forms, they were delivered up to the sheriffs of London, and under their custody conveyed to Essex, in which county they had resided.

Pigot and Knight were sentenced to be burned, the 28th of March, 1555, the former at Braintree, the latter at Malden; they both suffered with amazing fortitude and resignation, proving to the spectators; that, as is the day of the sincere believer, so likewise will be his strength.

The following day, John Lawrence was taken to Colchester, and carried to the place of execution in a chair, (being unable to walk, through the pressure of the irons with which his legs were bound, and the weakness of his body from want of proper nourishment while in prison) on which he sat with great composure, and triumphantly expired in the cause of his glorious master, in sure and certain hope, that whosoever shall lose his life for his sake, the same shall save it, and that eternally.

Dr. ROBERT FARRAR, Bishop of St. David's.

THIS worthy and learned prelate having in the former reign, as well as since the accession of Mary, been remarkably zealous in promoting the reformed doctrines, and exploding the errors of Popish idolatry; was sum-

moned among others before the Papish and persecuting bishop of Winchester (who was then likewise Lord Chancellor) and other commissioners set apart for the abominable work of devastation and massacre.

After some previous harangue, the bishop formally told him, that the Queen and parliament had restored religion to the state in which it was, at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII; that he was in the Queen's debt, but her majesty would conceal the same and re-admit him to her favour, if he would return to the holy Catholic church.

Dr. Farrar, undismayed by this information, answered, that with respect to the debt, he submitted it to the Lord Treasurer, but that his lordship might well remember, that upon two former occasions he had solemnly sworn never to acknowledge the papal jurisdiction over the realm of England, and therefore it was needless to rehearse, what he had already so peremptorily declared.

After a long debate, Gardiner sternly demanded, if he would recant and acknowledge the Popal supremacy, and Farrar with a resolution becoming a true Christian and worthy bishop of souls expressed a degree of contempt, that his lordship should even think he would recede from an oath he had made to God his maker; to the kings Henry VIII, and Edward VI, and in that to the Queen's majesty; an oath he could not break consistently with his duty to God, and his regard to the interest of the reformed religion in his native country.

This spirited behaviour in Dr. Farrar

rar so highly incensed the ambitious Gardiner, that according to his insolent custom, he treated him with scurrility, called him froward knave, and said he should know his fate in a week's time.

Farrar coolly told him, he would ever readily obey his summons, but would never retreat from what he had solemnly sworn, at the instigation and example of his lordship.

On his dismissal from the Chancellor's presence he was carried to prison, and there confined, till he was sent into Wales there to receive his sentence of condemnation.

When he arrived at Carmarthen, he was delivered to the sheriff of the county, who presented him before Henry Morgan then bishop of St. David's, and Constantine the Public Notary, by whom he was committed to the custody of the keeper of Carmarthen gaol.

Bishop Morgan then, after the example of Bonner, sent for Dr. Farrar, exhorted him to recant, and on such terms assured him of the Queen's clemency, as well as his preferment to an office of dignity in the church.

But our martyr would listen to no terms, that proposed a recantation of that to which he had sworn; the bishop therefore administered to him these two articles.

1. *Whether he believed the marriage of priests, allowed by the laws of the Holy church.*

2. *Whether he believed, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration duly pronounced by the priest, the very body and blood of*

N^o 2.

Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substance of bread and wine.

Dr. Farrar refused to answer, till the bishop produced the commission authorizing him to exact the same, and was therefore remanded back to prison.

At length after various disputes with the bishop, he appealed from him as an incompetent judge to Cardinal Pool; notwithstanding which, sentence was pronounced against him as an heretic, and he was delivered up to the secular power, having been previously degraded by Morgan.

Thus for his steadfast adherence to the uncorrupted doctrines of the reformation, and resolute denial of the Papal jurisdiction in these realms, was Dr. Farrar condemned, degraded, delivered up to the secular power, and on the eve of Passion Sunday in the bloody year 1555, executed in the market place of Carmarthen, amidst a crowd of spectators, it being market day.

As a proof of his courage and constancy, the following anecdote is inserted.

The son of a man of distinction visiting him a few days before his execution, and lamenting the cruel fate that awaited him, the Doctor told him, that if he saw him once stir in the pains of burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine, but look upon it as the effects of enthusiasm.

His resolution fulfilled his promise, and greatly surprised his friend, who came to condole his fate; for he stood motionless in the midst of the flames, holding both his hands till they were burnt to the stumps, till one of the

I

at

attendants dashed him on the head with a staff, and so put an end to his sufferings.

As he gave many signal instances of his sincere and unshaken zeal for the honour of Christ and the exaltation of his name alone during life, so at his death, he suffered and expired with a degree of Christian heroism that is not to be excelled in this catalogue of eminent martyrs for the Protestant cause.

RAWLINS WHITE.

SUCH was the virulence of Popish rage and malice, during this reign, that they not only vented their infernal fury upon men of eminence and learning, who espoused the Protestant cause, but arraigned at their bloody tribunal the meanest and most ignorant of the people, who would not submit to the papal yoke.

Rawlins, who was a poor fisherman in South Wales, had been peculiarly attentive to the preaching of the gospel during the late reign, attained to a very competent knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and became a zealous assertor of the Protestant doctrines, having wholly renounced the superstition and idolatry of the Popish religion, and conformed to the public worship of God according to the English Common Prayer Book then set forth.

Being thus converted to the true faith of Christ, he took great pains to instruct his son in the same, causing him to read a portion of Holy Scripture

every night and morning, till he likewise became well-grounded in the principles of true religion as contained in the Gospel.

Rawlins was not only desirous of acquiring saving knowledge himself, but also of communicating it to others; insomuch that he took every opportunity of visiting his neighbours, and endeavouring to instruct those, whom he found desirous of learning the truth as it is in Jesus Christ.

He continued these devout and holy exercises to the death of king Edward, when Popery being restored, and the pure religion discouraged and restrained, he used to meet privately with his friends, pray, and encourage them to hold fast the form of sound words, till he was apprehended by one of the officers of the town on a suspicion of heresy, brought before the bishop of Landaff, and by him committed to prison.

While he was in prison during the space of a year, several of his friends sent him money privately, and he was visited by many, whom he also instructed in the faith of Christ, and exhorted to beware of Popish emissaries as wolves in sheeps clothing.

After a long confinement the bishop of Landaff summoned Rawlins to appear before him, and endeavoured to bring him over to the Popish idolatry and superstition; but all his exhortations proving ineffectual, he told him in anger, that he must come to a resolution either to recant his heretical opinions, or endure the rigour of the law against those who maintained tenets repugnant to the doctrines of the holy see.

On the day appointed for his examination, the bishop, in the presence of his chaplains and many of the neighbours assembled in the chapel, declared that Rawlins was known not only to maintain heretical principles himself, but to inculcate the same amongst his acquaintance. Addressing himself to Rawlins, he told him, that he had frequently, since his first warning, both there and in his house, been admonished to relinquish his heretical tenets, and yet had always turned a deaf ear to the most salutary advice.

He added, that out of clemency, they had once more sent for him, mildly to endeavour to bring him to an humble sense of his errors, and assure him that upon due penitence for the crimes he had committed, both against God and the law of his sovereign, they were disposed to shew him mercy; but that if in spite of the royal clemency, and admonition of the reverend fathers, he obstinately persisted in his heresies, they were determined to execute upon him the utmost rigour of the law, as a most damnable heretic.

Rawlins without the least sign of fear at the peremptory declaration of the bishop, told his lordship, that he blessed God he was a Christian, and held no doctrines contrary to the divine mind and will as revealed in the scriptures of truth; if he did, he begged to be convinced of the same out of the divine word, to which he determined ever most implicitly to conform.

After much more exhortation the bishop assured him, that if he would not recant, he must condemn him as an heretic.

Our martyr desired that he would

proceed in his law, but denied that he could condemn him as an heretic, as he maintained no opinion that was not supportable by the word of God.

The bishop then desired the people present to join with him in prayer, that it would please God to turn his heart, and bring him to the acknowledgment of the true religion.

Rawlins applauded this behaviour of the bishop as becoming his profession, assuring him that if their request was agreeable to the divine will, God would doubtless hear and grant the same, and that while he was praying to his God, he (Rawlins) would pray to his God, who he knew would hear and perform his desire.

They all went to private prayer; which finished, the bishop asked him, how he found himself disposed in his mind? he replied, as he was before they prayed.

Incensed that no change could be wrought upon him, the bishop was ready to have read the sentence, but he was advised first to say mass; during which ceremony, Rawlins standing at the door of the choir, cried out to the populace; *Bear witness that I bow not to this idol*, (meaning the host, which the priest held over his head.)

Mass being performed, he was again warmly admonished to recant, but all exhortation was ineffectual; the bishop therefore read the definitive sentence, and he was dismissed, carried to Cardiff, and imprisoned in a place called Cockmarel, a most filthy and loathsome dungeon, where he continued, till the writ for his execution came from London.

Upon

Upon the day appointed for the horrid massacre, which was March 30th 1555, he was brought from prison, and in his way to the place appointed for the bloody scene, met his wife and children, wringing their hands, and most bitterly lamenting his approaching fate.

This affecting sight drew tears from his eyes, but he soon recollected himself, and striking his breast with his hand, said, *Ab flesh! stayest thou me, wouldest thou fain prevail? Well, do what thou canst, by God's grace thou shalt not get the victory.*

When preparation was made and the stake was set, he fell on his knees and kissed the earth, saying, *Earth to earth, and dust to dust; thou art my mother, to thee I must return.*

When the critical moment came, and the straw, reeds and wood were placed round him, a priest appointed ~~printed~~ for the purpose, stood up and harangued the people, it being market day.

When he had finished his discourse, in which he took occasion to inveigh against the opinion of the Protestants concerning the sacrament of the altar, Rawlins arose, rebuked him, proved his doctrine to be false, and cited as his authority those words of our Lord, *Do this in Remembrance of me.*

The fire being kindled around him, there ensued a most ardent flame, in which this good old man held up his hands, 'till the sinews shrunk, crying earnestly, *O Lord receive my soul! O Lord receive my spirit!* till he could speak no more.

The flames were so vehement about

his legs, that they were almost consumed, before the upper part of his body caught the fire; notwithstanding which he bore the most acute and lasting pain, with the utmost composure and resignation, adding to the number of those who come out of great tribulation, but shall stand round the throne of God and of the Lamb, and sing of the great salvation for ever and ever.

He suffered for the cause of Christ in the sixtieth year of his age, in the memorable year 1555.

GEORGE MARSH, Minister.

THIS zealous follower of his great Lord and master, being descended from good parents, was educated from his earliest years in the principles of the reformed religion, and became well versed in the doctrines of the pure gospel of Christ.

He followed for some time the business of farming, and by his honest industry maintained his family with decency and reputation, but on the decease of his wife, being disposed to study, he placed his children with his father, quitted his farm and went to Cambridge, where he made such a progress in literature, that he received orders from the bishops of London and Lincoln.

He served as curate in divers parishes of Lancaster, kept a school at Dean, and was a zealous promoter of the true religion, as well as vigorous opposer of the idolatries of the church of Rome, du-

during the reign of king Edward VI.

But when Popery raised its destructive head, Marsh, among many others, became the object of its persecution, as one that propagated doctrines contrary to the infallible church, and therefore liable to the severest censure and punishment.

On hearing that search was made after him, he absconded for some time, and in his retirement often deliberated with himself, whether he should fly abroad to save his life, or surrender himself up, in order to ward off the mischief which threatened his mother and brother, who were supposed to have concealed him from the persons who were employed to search out heretics.

During this unsettled state of his mind, he consulted with his friends, and earnestly sought direction of God, that he might be guided in the way, which most conduced to his glory and his own spiritual and eternal interest.

At length, thinking that flight would argue cowardice in the best of causes, he determined by the grace of God to abide by the consequence, and accordingly surrendered himself to the Earl of Derby at his seat at Latham in the county of Lancaster.

When he was brought into the Earl's presence, he was charged with propagating heresy and sowing sedition amongst the people, but he denied the charge and declared that he preached no other doctrine, than what was contained in the word of God, and that he always enforced allegiance to his sovereign, according to the will of God.

Being asked to deliver a summary of

N^o 2.

his Belief, he declared that he believed in God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, according to the Creeds of the Apostles, the council of Nice, and the Saints Athanasius, Austin and Ambrose.

A priest then present proceeded to enquire his opinion concerning the favourite tenet of the church of Rome, relating to the Sacrament; Marsh answered in general, that he believed whosoever received the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ according to his own appointment, did eat and drink his Body and Blood, with all the benefits arising from the same, because our Lord was ever present at his own ordinances.

But this general reply not appearing satisfactory, they descended to particulars, and peremptorily demanded his opinion, whether or not the elements were changed into the very Body and Blood of Christ after consecration. Our Martyr briefly observed, that what he believed he had already declared, and desired them not to propose to him such hard and unprofitable questions, in order to endanger his life, and as it were suck his very blood.

Incensed at this reply, the Earl told him, that instead of seeking his destruction, he meant to preserve his life in this world, and secure his happiness in that which is to come, by converting him from damnable errors and heresies, and bringing him over to the Holy Mother-church out of which there was no salvation.

After many questions and exhortations, finding he still persevered in the faith which opposed that of the infallible

K

ble

ble church, the Earl gave him pen and ink, and ordered him to write down his belief concerning the Sacrament of the Altar; and on his writing just what he had before delivered, he was commanded to be more particular, and then wrote, *further I know not.*

This resolute behaviour exposed him to the meanest resentment of his Popish prosecutors, who committed him to prison, and suffered no one to come near him, but the keeper who brought him daily the scanty allowance of the place.

During his confinement, various attempts were made to bring him to a recantation, but as he still remained fixed and determined in his faith, they administered to him the four following articles, to which if he would not subscribe, the Earl declared he would send him to the county jail, and proceed against him with the utmost severity.

1. *Whether the mass now used in the Church of England was according to Christ's institution, and with faith, reverence and devotion to be heard and seen.*

2. *Whether Almighty God, by the words pronounced by the priest, did change the bread and wine after the words of consecration into the Body and Blood of Christ, whether it were received or reserved.*

3. *Whether the lay-people ought to receive but under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them.*

4. *Whether confession to the priest now used in England was godly and necessary.*

Having retired to consider on these

articles he returned and delivered his opinion.

The first he absolutely denied.

The second he answered in the very words he had before written.

Concerning the third, he declared that lay-people, according to the institution of Christ, ought to receive under both kinds, and that therefore to receive under one kind only was not sufficient.

As to the last, he observed, that though auricular confession was a good means to instruct ignorant people, it was not necessary to salvation, because not commanded by God.

To these points he added, that his faith in Christ, founded on the infallible word of the only living and true God, he never would deny at the instance of any living creature, or through fear of any punishment whatsoever; and moreover desired of the earl that his friends might be permitted to visit him during his confinement.

In a few days he was committed to Lancaster jail, laid in irons, and arraigned at the bar with the common felons, where they endeavoured to extort from him informations of several persons in that county whom they suspected of maintaining heretical opinions; but no means could prevail with him to utter a word that might endanger the lives or liberties of his faithful brethren in Christ.

He was likewise severely reprimanded for reading aloud to the people who flocked every morning and evening under the prison window, the litany and prayers of the reformed church, together with select passages of

of Holy Writ in the English tongue; this they termed preaching, and deemed criminal.

Having remained some weeks in confinement at Lancaster, he was removed to Chester, and placed in the bishop's liberty, where his lordship frequently conferred with him, and used his utmost endeavours to bring him to an acknowledgment of the corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar, the mass, confession, and, in short, of all the tenets and practices of the Mother-church.

When the bishop found he would not assent to a single point, he remanded him back to prison; and in a few days summoned him before him in the cathedral church of Chester, where, in the presence of the mayor, chancellor, and principal inhabitants of that city, both laity and clergy, he caused him to take a solemn oath, to answer truly to such articles as might be objected to him.

After he was sworn, the chancellor alleged against him, that he had preached and published most heretically and blasphemously within the parishes of Dean, Eccles, Berry, and many other parishes within the bishop's diocese, directly against the Pope's authority, the Catholic church of Rome, the blessed mass, the sacrament of the altar, and many other articles.

To these charges he answered in brief, that he had neither heretically nor blasphemously preached or published against any of the articles but as occasion served, and as his conscience obliged him to maintain truth as declared in God's word, and as all then

present had acknowledged, in the reign of king Edward the Sixth,

Being examined as to every particular article, he modestly answered, according to the doctrine publicly taught in the time of king Edward VI.

After a confinement of three weeks longer in prison, Marsh was again brought into the cathedral, where the chancellor made a formal harangue on the bishop's care of his flock, in order to prevent infection from scabby sheep, and the like; which ended, the former articles were propounded to him; and he severally answered *No*.

Being charged with having declared that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in king Edward's time, was the true church and the doctrine of the true church, and that the church of Rome is not the true Catholic church; he acknowledged the declaration, and ratified it by a repetition.

Some persons present taking occasion to ask him, as he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England, whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, who were bishops of Rome, were not good men, he replied in the affirmative; but reminded them, that they claimed no more authority in England, than the Archbishop of Canterbury doth in Rome.

This observation reflecting on the validity of the Papal supremacy, the bishop was highly incensed and treated Marsh with the vilest abuse, as a most damnable, irreclaimable, unpardonable heretic.

Our martyr mildly expostulated with his lordship, telling him if he could be

be persuaded in his conscience, that the articles proposed to him were founded on God's word, he would gladly yield in every point; declaring that he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kinds of heresy; and then called all present to bear witness that in all articles of religion he held no other opinion than what was by law established and publicly taught in England at the death of king Edward the Sixth; and that in such religion and doctrine, by the grace of God, he would stand, live, and die.

He was then for the last time demanded, whether he would stand to the same, being full of heresies, or forsake them and return to the Catholic-church; and on his heartily declaring he would continue steadfast and immoveable in the faith of God's word, nor ever return to any church that was not founded on scripture authority; the bishop began to read his sentence of condemnation, but was interrupted by the chancellor, in order to give him yet an opportunity of recanting.

He resolutely withstood the earnest entreaties of several people who desired him to accept of the proffered mercy, nor could even the repeated exhortations of the Bishop and Chancellor prevail with this eminent servant of Christ, to deny his Lord and Master, and submit to the usurpation of cruel tyrannical men.

Every endeavour proving ineffectual, the Bishop proceeded in his sentence, which ended, he was delivered up to the sheriffs, who conveyed him to the Northgate prison, where he continued in a dungeon unto the day of his execution.

Upon the 4th of April 1555, this firm believer was led to the place appointed for the horrid massacre, near Spittle-boughton, where the Chamberlain of Chester shewed him a box containing the queen's pardon, upon terms of recantation; he answered, that he would gladly accept the same, (for he loved the queen) but as it tended to pluck him from God, who was king of kings, and lord of lords, he could not receive it on that condition.

Then turning to the spectators, he told them the cause of the cruel death which awaited him, and exhorted them to remain steadfast in the faith of Christ, which done, he kneeled, directed his prayer to God for strength equal to the fiery trial, arose, and was chained to the post, having a number of faggots under him, and a cask full of pitch and tar hanging over his head.

After having suffered exquisite torture a considerable time, (his flesh being so broiled and puffed up, that those who stood before him could not see the chain with which he was fastened) with the utmost fortitude, he spread forth his arms, saying, "Father of Heaven, have mercy upon me;" and yielded up his spirit.

Thus died in confirmation of the gospel of Christ, a sincere believer, raising by his patient resignation, the wonder and astonishment of all the spectators, who cried out with extasy, *Of a truth, God is with him.*

JOHN

*Engraved for Englands
Bloody Tribunal.*



The Burning of George Marsh.

be persuaded in his conscience, that the articles proposed to him were founded on God's word, he would gladly yield in every point; declaring that he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kinds of heresy; and then called all present to bear witness that in all articles of religion he held no other opinion than what was by law established and publicly taught in England at the death of king Edward the Sixth; and that in such religion and doctrine, by the grace of God, he would stand, live, and die.

He was then for the last time demanded, whether he would stand to the same, being full of heresies, or forsake them and return to the Catholic-church; and on his heartily declaring he would continue steadfast and immoveable in the faith of God's word, nor ever return to any church that was not founded on scripture authority; the bishop began to read his sentence of condemnation, but was interrupted by the chancellor, in order to give him yet an opportunity of recanting.

He resolutely withstood the earnest entreaties of several people who desired him to accept of the proffered mercy, nor could even the repeated exhortations of the Bishop and Chancellor prevail with this eminent servant of Christ, to deny his Lord and Master, and submit to the usurpation of cruel tyrannical men.

Every endeavour proving ineffectual, the Bishop proceeded in his sentence, which ended, he was delivered up to the sheriffs, who conveyed him to the Northgate prison, where he continued in a dungeon unto the day of his execution.

Upon the 4th of April 1555, this firm believer was led to the place appointed for the horrid massacre, near Spittle-boughton, where the Chamberlain of Chester shewed him a box containing the queen's pardon, upon terms of recantation; he answered, that he would gladly accept the same, (for he loved the queen) but as it tended to pluck him from God, who was king of kings, and lord of lords, he could not receive it on that condition.

Then turning to the spectators, he told them the cause of the cruel death which awaited him, and exhorted them to remain steadfast in the faith of Christ, which done, he kneeled, directed his prayer to God for strength equal to the fiery trial, arose, and was chained to the post, having a number of faggots under him, and a cask full of pitch and tar hanging over his head.

After having suffered exquisite torture a considerable time, (his flesh being so broiled and puffed up, that those who stood before him could not see the chain with which he was fastened) with the utmost fortitude, he spread forth his arms, saying, "Father of Heaven, have mercy upon me;" and yielded up his spirit.

Thus died in confirmation of the gospel of Christ, a sincere believer, raising by his patient resignation, the wonder and astonishment of all the spectators, who cried out with extasy, *Of a truth, God is with him.*

JOHN

Engraved for England's
Bloody Tribunal.



The Burning of George Marsh.



JOHN CARDMAKER, *Priest*, and JOHN WARNE *Upholder*.

THE former of these persons was educated in the Romish religion, being a Friar of the order of St. Francis, till the dissolution of abbies; when through the preaching and writing of pious and learned divines, he became a convert to the Protestant faith, obtained cures in the reformed church, and was an eminent preacher of the gospel.

In the reign of Edward VI. he was appointed reader at St. Paul's, and prebendary of Wells, in which functions he continued indefatigable, till the accession of Queen Mary, when he was apprehended; together with the bishop of Wells, and committed to the Fleet, though the laws of King Edward were then in full force.

When the Papal supremacy and jurisdiction prevailed in England, and bishops had authority, by virtue of the statute *Ex Officio*, to proceed against heretics, Cardmaker was removed from the Fleet to the Compter, where he contracted an acquaintance with Lawrence Saunders, a godly, spiritual person, by whom he was animated and encouraged to continue steadfast in his faith and profession.

In process of time, he was summoned to appear before the arrogant and cruel Bonner, who alleged against him divers charges.

1. *That after his profession of religion and entering into holy orders, he took a wife and had by her a female child,*

N. III.

thereby breaking his vow and the order and ordinance of the church.

The first part of this charge he allowed, but denied his having broken any vow by his marriage; because he was allowed to marry both by the laws of the realm, and also by the laws of the church of England.

2. *That he believed and taught, and did still believe that in the sacrament of the altar under the visible signs, that is, under the forms of bread and wine, there is really and truly, the true and natural body of our Saviour Christ.*

He replied, that he had believed and taught it as contained in this article, but he did not then so believe and teach.

3. *That the belief of the Catholic church is, that having the body and blood of Christ really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar is to have (by the omnipotent power of Almighty God) the body and blood of Christ there invisibly but really present under the said sacrament, and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Christ, or a new body of Christ.*

The whole of this he denied.

4. *That it may stand well together, the faith of the Catholic church is, that the body of Christ is visibly and truly ascended into Heaven, and there is, in the visible form of his humanity; and yet the same body in substance is invisibly and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar.*

All this he denied as absurd and unscriptural.

5. *That Christ at his last supper, taking bread into his hands, breaking and giving it to his Apostles, saying, take, eat, this is my body; did institute a sacra-*

L

ment

ment there, willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament; no substance of bread and wine there remaining.

To the first part he assented, but denied the latter part, and to these his answers subscribed his name.

For persisting in these answers, he was condemned and sent to Newgate, where he was visited by a messenger from the council to know whether or not he would recant.

Cardmaker informed the messenger, that since God of his mercy had opened his eyes to see his eternal truth, he had called upon his name to give him his grace to understand his word, and was determined, by the aid of the same grace, to continue steadfast in the same. After some debate, concerning the corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar, the messenger finding Cardmaker inflexible in his opinion, departed and acquainted the council with the result of his message.

JOHN WARNE, was by trade an upholder, and lived in the parish of Walbrook with credit and reputation, being a very pious conscientious man.

As all who professed the Protestant faith in this day of cruel persecution were liable not only to molestation in the performance of religious duties, but also to be arraigned at the bloody tribunal of the relentless Bonner; Warne among the rest, was suspected of heresy, brought before the bishop, and had the following articles alledged to his charge:

1. *That he believed that in the sacra-*

ment, called the sacrament of the altar, there is not the very, true and natural body of our Saviour Christ in substance under the forms of bread and wine.

2. *That he believed that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there is not (as the church of England doth believe and teach) the body of Christ, but that there doth only remain the substance of material bread, as it is before the consecration, and that the said bread is no ways altered and changed.*

3. *That he believed, that if the Catholic church doth believe and teach, there is in the mass, (now used in England, and in other places of Christendom) a sacrifice, wherein there is a sacrament concerning the body and blood of Christ really and truly, then that belief and faith of the church is nought, and against God's truth and the scripture.*

4. *That neither in Lent past, nor any time since the Queen's reign, he had been at church, nor heard mass, nor had been confessed, or had received the sacrament of the altar, and said that he was not sorry for the same, because his conscience was not defiled, as it would otherwise have been.*

Warne was examined at different times, in the presence of divers persons upon these articles, and on every occasion declared that he did believe and confess the same to be true.

At length the bishop of London having frequently warned him to abjure his heretical tenets and return to obedience to the Holy-church of Rome, but all without effect, the definitive sentence was pronounced, he was delivered up to the sheriffs and sent to Newgate.

On



Engraved
for England's
Bloody Tribunal.



The Martyrdom of Jn. Cardmaker & Jn. Warne
in Smithfield.

On the 30th of May 1555, both Cardmaker, and Warne, were conducted under a guard to Smithfield, the place appointed for the execution.

While Warne, having finished his prayers, was preparing for the bloody scene, Cardmaker was discoursing with the sheriffs, insomuch that the friends of the reformation feared he would recant; but these apprehensions soon subsided, for after his conference with the sheriffs and a short prayer, he courageously went to the stake, took his fellow sufferer by the hand, comforted him, and joyfully submitted to be bound.

The executioner then performed his bloody office, and they both joyfully, yea, triumphantly resigned this mortal life, for another and a better, even an eternal life of bliss and glory at the right hand of God, where there are pleasures for evermore.

THOMAS HAWKES.

THE martyr under immediate consideration had the advantage of a godly education in the reformed religion, to which he adhered most stedfastly, insomuch, that finding religion after the death of king Edward began to decline (especially amongst great families, in one of which he lived) he quitted the service of Lord Oxford, and returned home, where he hoped quietly to enjoy the worship of God according to the dictates of his conscience.

But as there were now Popish emis-

saries in every corner, laying in wait to give information if any one was only suspected of favouring the doctrines of reformation, Hawkes was apprehended and brought before the Earl of Oxford, for being unsound in religion, and contemning the sacraments of the church, in that he had kept a son unbaptized three weeks, because he would not suffer him to be baptized after the Popish manner.

The Earl referred him to bishop Bonner, and having written that he had refused to have his child baptized according to the order of the church now in use, left him to his lordship's discretion.

When brought before the bishop, he was demanded the cause of keeping the child unbaptized so long, and returned for answer that he was bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God.

It being urged, that baptism being a sacrament contained in the word of God, and incumbent on every Christian, he was consequently criminal in denying or not conforming to the same; he declared that he by no means denied God's institution, but men's invention therein; such as the use of oil, cream, spittle, salt, candle, conjuring water, &c.

After much debate on the subject, the bishop enquired if he would have his child baptized according to the service book, set out in the reign of Edward VI. Hawkes assured his lordship that it was the very thing he desired from his soul,

But this was but meer equivocation to learn his sentiments, for it appeared on the sequel, that Bonner's drift was to

Engraved
for England's
Bloody Tribunal.



The Martyrdom of Jⁿ. Cardmaker & Jⁿ. Warne
in Smithfield.

On the 30th of May 1555, both Cardmaker, and Warne, were conducted under a guard to Smithfield, the place appointed for the execution.

While Warne, having finished his prayers, was preparing for the bloody scene, Cardmaker was discoursing with the sheriffs, insomuch that the friends of the reformation feared he would recant; but these apprehensions soon subsided, for after his conference with the sheriffs and a short prayer, he courageously went to the stake, took his fellow sufferer by the hand, comforted him, and joyfully submitted to be bound.

The executioner then performed his bloody office, and they both joyfully, yea, triumphantly resigned this mortal life, for another and a better, even an eternal life of bliss and glory at the right hand of God, where there are pleasures for evermore.

THOMAS HAWKES.

THE martyr under immediate consideration had the advantage of a godly education in the reformed religion, to which he adhered most stedfastly, insomuch, that finding religion after the death of king Edward began to decline (especially amongst great families, in one of which he lived) he quitted the service of Lord Oxford, and returned home, where he hoped quietly to enjoy the worship of God according to the dictates of his conscience.

But as there were now Popish emis-

saries in every corner, laying in wait to give information if any one was only suspected of favouring the doctrines of reformation, Hawkes was apprehended and brought before the Earl of Oxford, for being unsound in religion, and contemning the sacraments of the church, in that he had kept a son unbaptized three weeks, because he would not suffer him to be baptized after the Popish manner.

The Earl referred him to bishop Bonner, and having written that he had refused to have his child baptized according to the order of the church now in use, left him to his lordship's discretion.

When brought before the bishop, he was demanded the cause of keeping the child unbaptized so long, and returned for answer that he was bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God.

It being urged, that baptism being a sacrament contained in the word of God, and incumbent on every Christian, he was consequently criminal in denying or not conforming to the same; he declared that he by no means denied God's institution, but men's invention therein; such as the use of oil, cream, spittle, salt, candle, conjuring water, &c.

After much debate on the subject, the bishop enquired if he would have his child baptized according to the service book, set out in the reign of Edward VI. Hawkes assured his lordship that it was the very thing he desired from his soul,

But this was but meer equivocation to learn his sentiments, for it appeared on the sequel, that Bonner's drift was

to compel him to submit to the superstitions of the church of Rome, which however he was not able to accomplish.

The bishop and several doctors had many conferences with him, concerning his belief of the corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar, the mass, the holy creed, holy water and other ceremonies of the church of Rome; but these also he rejected as he had done that of baptism, because they were contrary to the word of God, by which alone he was determined to be guided and directed in all matters of faith and religion; nay, he boldly told those reverend doctors, that he would credit them in nothing, but what they could prove from the holy scriptures.

Bonner at length finding that he could by no means prevail with him to recant his opinions and submit to the church of Rome, sent him prisoner to the Gate-house in Westminster, commanding the keeper to confine him closely, nor permit any person to converse with him.

Various methods were tried to bring him over, such as conversation, reading to him, bringing him to hear sermons and the like, but all proved ineffectual; his constant answer to all who spoke to him on that subject, being, *I am no changling*, till Bonner incensed at his steadfastness told him, he should find him no changling neither, went out and wrote the following paper.

I Thomas Hawkes do here confess and declare before my ordinary, Edmund bishop of London, that the mass is abominable, detestable and full of all super-

stition; and also concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ (commonly called the sacrament of the altar) that Christ is in no part thereof, but only in Heaven. This I have believed, and this I do believe.

This paper he ordered Hawkes to subscribe; but he refused to set his name to what he had not written, upon which the haughty prelate struck him on the breast, declaring that he would severely chastize all such proud knaves in Essex.

After these conferences without any effect, the bishop summoned him with several others to appear publicly in the Consistory court at St. Pauls, where the articles and questions, together with the bill of confession, were read to him, and he firmly abided by them all.

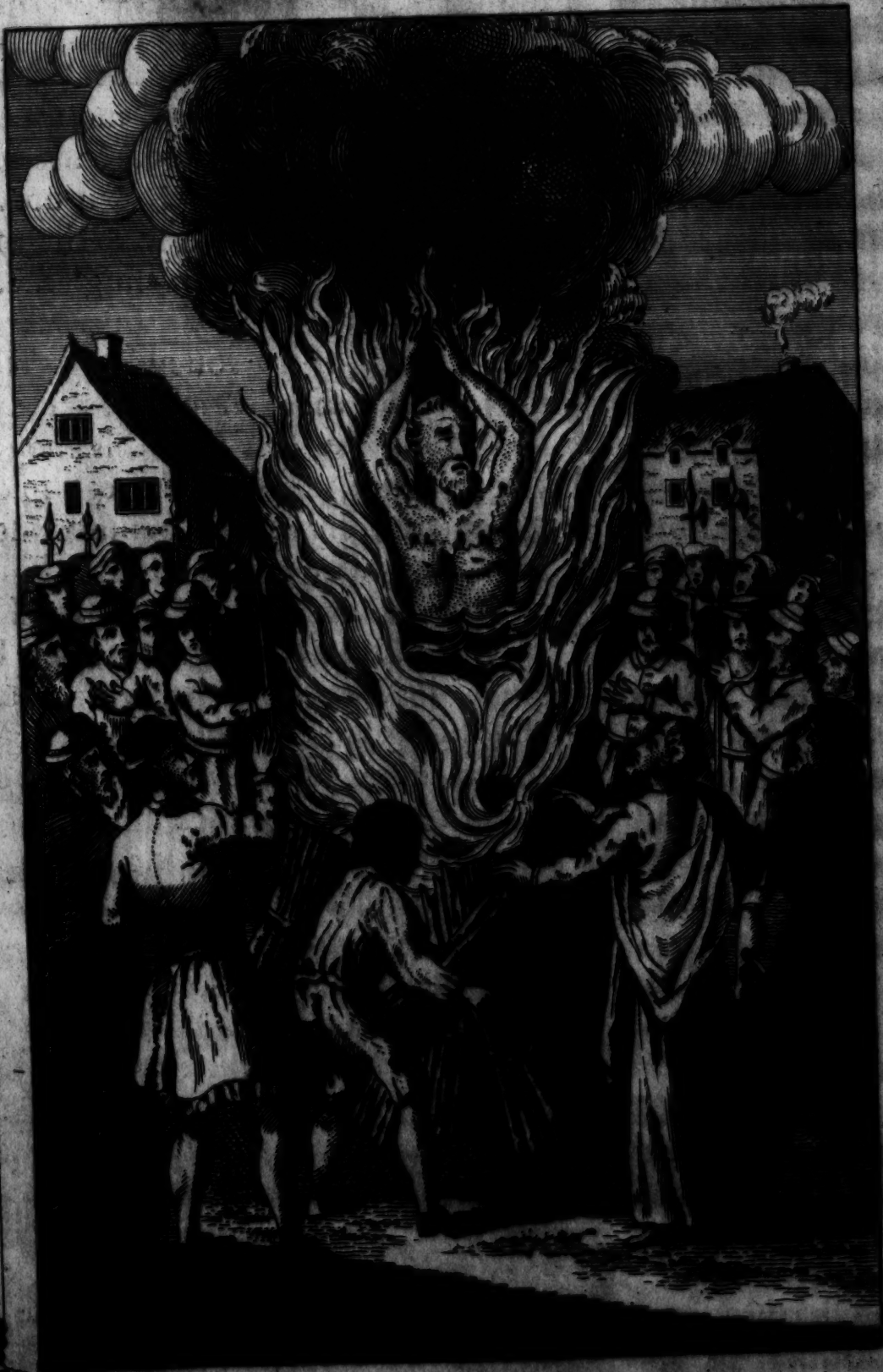
When the bishops, doctors and lawyers exhorted him to recant, that they might not be obliged to pass the solemn sentence upon him; undismayed he replied, that, if he had an hundred bodies, he would suffer them all to be torn in pieces rather than abjure the faith of Christ's gospel.

On his thus steadfastly persevering in the faith, which he professed, the bishop read the sentence of condemnation against him, and five more, and he was sent back to prison, where he remained till June following, when he was delivered into the hands of the Lord Rich, who caused him to be conveyed to Coxall in Essex, where he was burned, June the 10th, 1555.

Our martyr gave many pious exhortations and godly admonitions to his friends who came to visit him, and
some



Engraved for England's
Bloody Tribunal.



The Burning of Thomas Hawkes at Lascall.

some of them requesting if it was possible, that he would shew them some token, by which might appear the possibility of burning without repining; he promised by the help of God to shew them that the most exquisite torments were to be endured in the glorious cause of Christ and his gospel, the comforts of which were able to lift the believing soul above all that men or devils could inflict.

Accordingly it was agreed between them, that if the rage of pain was tolerable, he should lift up his hands towards Heaven, before he gave up the ghost.

Soon after, he was led to the place of execution, where being fastened to the stake with a chain, he addressed the multitude, and especially Lord Rich the sheriff, reasoning with him on the iniquity and dreadful consequences of shedding the innocent blood of the saints.

Having fervently prayed to Almighty God, the flames were kindled around him, and he continued in them so long, that his speech was taken away by their violence; his skin was contracted, and the spectators thought he was dead, when on a sudden, and contrary to all expectation, this eminent and zealous servant of God, mindful of the promise he had made to his friends, held his hands flaming over his head, and as if in an extasy of joy clapped them thrice together.

The astonished multitude testified their approbation of his faith and patience, and his friends, to whom he made the promise, were exceedingly confirmed and built up in the most holy faith, by being eye-witnesses to the

N^o 3.

efficacy of divine strength, which is able to support the servants of God under every trial that may befall them for the sake of the truth as it is in Jesus.

T H O M A S W A T T S.

THIS person was educated in the reformed religion, and a zealous professor of the Protestant faith during the reign of Edward VI. but upon the succession of Queen Mary to the throne of England, apprehending that he should be troubled, if not persecuted, on account of his following a religion contrary to that which was then introduced; he broke up his shop (being by trade a linnen-draper) sold his goods, and disposed of his substance amongst his wife and children.

As he lived in the county of Essex, he came under the cognizance of Lord Rich, before whom he was brought, and by whom he was demanded the reason of his disobeying the Queen's laws, absenting himself from church, neglecting the mass, and setting up unlawful conventicles contrary to her majesty's command and example.

Watts replied with composure, that if he had offended against the law, he was subject to the penalty of the law; upon which a justice of the peace then present enquired of him, from whom he had imbibed his new fangled religion: our martyr upbraided the justice with hypocrisy, reminding him, that in the days of the late king, no one inveighed more strenuously against the

M

Ro-

*Engraved for Englands
Bloody Tribunal.*



The Burning of Thomas Hawkes at Foxall.

some of them requesting if it was possible, that he would shew them some token, by which might appear the possibility of burning without repining; he promised by the help of God to shew them that the most exquisite torments were to be endured in the glorious cause of Christ and his gospel, the comforts of which were able to lift the believing soul above all that men or devils could inflict.

Accordingly it was agreed between them, that if the rage of pain was tolerable, he should lift up his hands towards Heaven, before he gave up the ghost.

Soon after, he was led to the place of execution, where being fastened to the stake with a chain, he addressed the multitude, and especially Lord Rich the sheriff, reasoning with him on the iniquity and dreadful consequences of shedding the innocent blood of the saints.

Having fervently prayed to Almighty God, the flames were kindled around him, and he continued in them so long, that his speech was taken away by their violence; his skin was contracted, and the spectators thought he was dead, when on a sudden, and contrary to all expectation, this eminent and zealous servant of God, mindful of the promise he had made to his friends, held his hands flaming over his head, and as if in an extasy of joy clapped them thrice together.

The astonished multitude testified their approbation of his faith and patience, and his friends, to whom he made the promise, were exceedingly confirmed and built up in the most holy faith, by being eye-witnesses to the

N^o 3.

efficacy of divine strength, which is able to support the servants of God under every trial that may befall them for the sake of the truth as it is in Jesus.

THOMAS WATTS.

THIS person was educated in the reformed religion, and a zealous professor of the Protestant faith during the reign of Edward VI. but upon the succession of Queen Mary to the throne of England, apprehending that he should be troubled, if not persecuted, on account of his following a religion contrary to that which was then introduced; he broke up his shop (being by trade a linnen-draper) sold his goods, and disposed of his substance amongst his wife and children.

As he lived in the county of Essex, he came under the cognizance of Lord Rich, before whom he was brought, and by whom he was demanded the reason of his disobeying the Queen's laws, absenting himself from church, neglecting the mass, and setting up unlawful conventicles contrary to her majesty's command and example.

Watts replied with composure, that if he had offended against the law, he was subject to the penalty of the law; upon which a justice of the peace then present enquired of him, from whom he had imbibed his new fangled religion: our martyr upbraided the justice with hypocrisy, reminding him, that in the days of the late king, no one inveighed more strenuously against the

M

Ro-

Romish doctrines than himself, pronouncing the mass to be abominable, earnestly exhorting none to believe therein, and that their belief should be only in Christ, nay, adding further, that whosoever should introduce any strange nation to rule here, should be deemed traitor and punished as such.

The Justice reviled Watts, as an insolent, lying knave, and persuaded the sheriff, not to regard what he said concerning him.

Information having been given to the ordinary, bishop Bonner, that Thomas Watts maintained, inculcated and encouraged heretical opinions, he was brought into the Consistory court in London, and there examined, concerning the discourse he had with Lord Rich, and other commissioners at Chelmsford; he publicly related the truth, after which, the following articles were alledged against him, requiring, according to the practice of the court, a particular answer to each article.

1. *It was objected to him, that he did not believe in the sacraments of the Holy Catholic church, as the Catholic church of Rome, and other churches, members of the same have believed and taught, but despised the same.*

To this he answered, that he believed in all the sacraments according to Christ's institution, but not according to the church of the bishop of Rome; that he believed according to the preaching of several ministers of the gospel, who preached the word of God truly and sincerely.

2. *That he believed and taught others, that the substance of material bread and*

wine do not remain in the sacrament of the altar after consecration.

To this he replied, that he believed, that Christ's body is now in Heaven, and no where else, and that he never would believe that Christ's body was in the sacrament.

3. *That he believed the mass to be abominable.*

To this he frankly answered in the affirmative, declaring that he would never recant that opinion.

4. *That he believed, that confession to a priest was not necessary.*

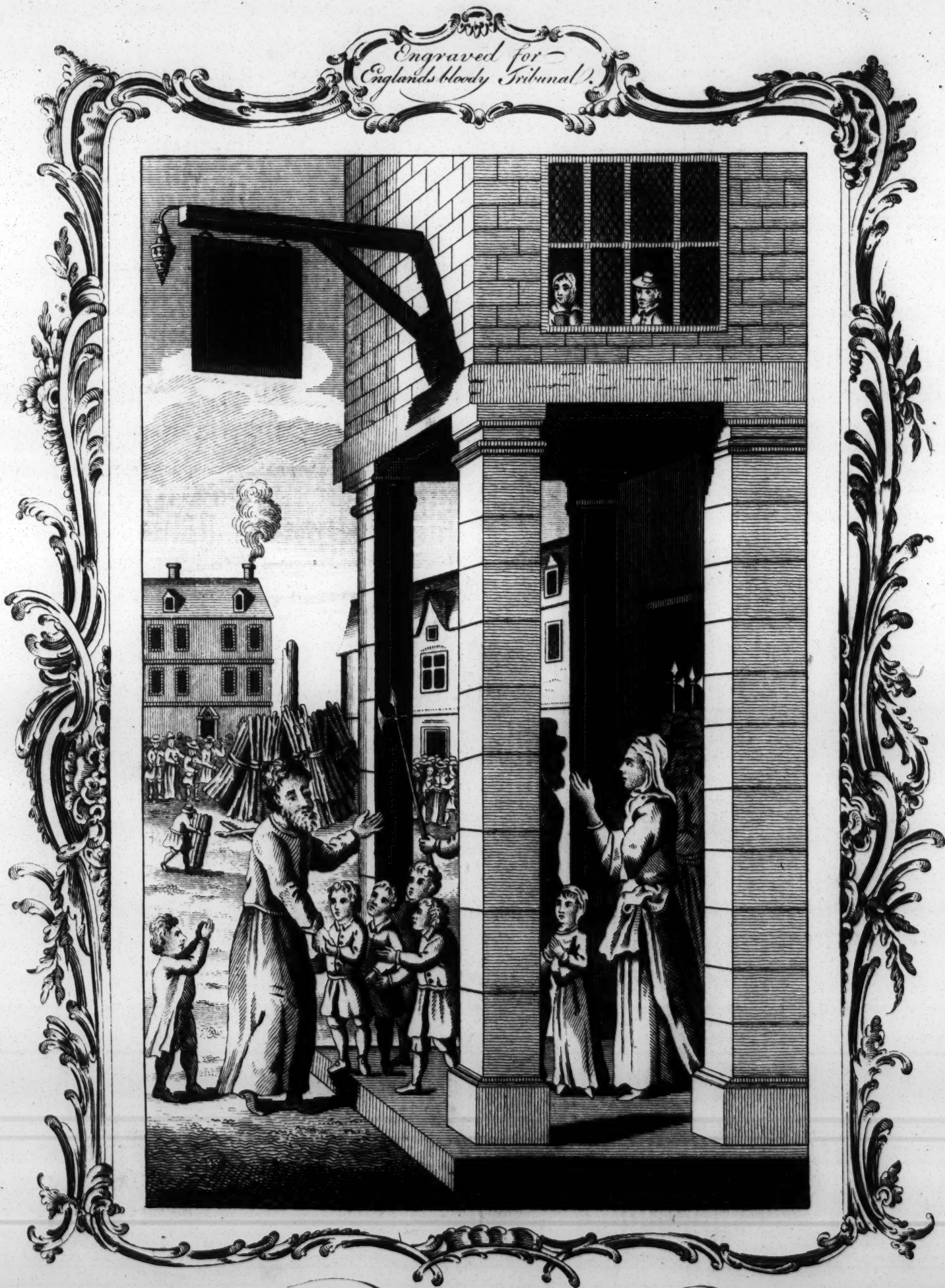
To this he said, he did not believe that the priest could absolve him of his sins; but allowed that it was good to ask spiritual advice of the priest.

5. *That in the open sessions, he confessed that he had refused to come to the church, to hear mass, and receive the sacrament of the altar; because, according to the service of the Church, set out in the days of King Edward the Sixth, such duties were deemed abominable, heretical, and schismatical; that he declared that all that was done in the church, upon the accession of her majesty, was abominable, heretical, schismatical and unscriptural; and also that he uttered before the commissioners other erroneous and arrogant words, to the injury of his soul and bad example of the people present.*

To this he answered, without the least attempt to evade, that he declared his opinion as in the article abovementioned, and begged of God that he might live and die in that faith.

These and other articles of less moment were proposed to him, and his answers minuted down, being read in court;





court; the bishop used his efforts to bring him to a denial of his errors, and to obedience to the holy Mother-church.

But Watts remaining inflexible, and beseeching of God, that he might be enabled to hold out to the end in the true faith of Christ; sentence of condemnation was pronounced, and he was delivered up to the sheriffs of London, who committed him to Newgate, from whence, he was sent down to Chelmsford, where he was in company with Thomas Hawkes and others, who were sent down to Essex to be burned, and they all joined in prayer together.

When his wife and six children came to visit him, he thus addressed them.

My dear wife, my good children, the time of my departure is at hand, therefore, henceforth I know you no more, but as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord, whom I charge you to obey and fear: beware that ye turn not to this abominable Popery, as a testimony against which, I shall shortly, by God's grace, shed my blood. Let not the murdering of God's saints cause you to recant, but take occasion thereby more earnestly to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints; my dear children, I trust God will be a merciful father unto you.

Two of his children were so moved with this address that they offered to be burned with him; he then embraced them, took his leave, was carried to the fire, and there quietly yielded up his spirit, into the hands of that God who gave it, saying, *into thy hands, O God, I commend my spirit.* Such was the attachment of this steadfast believer to the cause of his dear Lord and Master,

that the most moving spectacle of his disconsolate wife, and six innocent babes could not in the least stagger his resolutions, but he persevered against all worldly considerations, animated by the assurance of an immortal crown of glory.

JOHN BRADFORD, *Divine*, and JOHN LEAFE, *an Apprentice*.

MR. BRADFORD was a native of Manchester, and received an education sufficiently liberal to qualify him for the more exalted offices of life, having attained to a considerable knowledge, in classical and mathematical literature.

When he arrived to years of maturity, he became secretary to Sir John Harrington, who was treasurer to Henry VIII.

Being always of a studious turn of mind, he quitted his office of secretary, and went to Cambridge, where he made so great improvement, that in the space of one year, that university conferred upon him the degree of master of arts, and he was soon after admitted to a fellowship in Pembroke-hall.

Martin Bucer, a zealous advocate for the reformed religion being at that time at Cambridge, discovered great regard for Mr. Bradford, and persuaded him to follow those studies as most conduced to qualify him for the work of the ministry.

Bradford having that diffidence of himself, which generally is the attendant on real merit, excused himself from

from taking upon him that important office as not sufficiently qualified, but Bucer at length brought him to consent, to enter on the solemn work, and he was ordained a deacon, by Dr. Ridley bishop of London, who made him a prebendary of St. Pauls, where in rotation he preached three years, the true gospel of Christ; namely, the doctrines of salvation by faith and repentance unto life, together with the necessity of a life of holiness, as the evidence of that faith, at the end of which, the Protestant cause suffered a violent shock, in the death of the pious young king.

After the accession of Queen Mary, Mr. Bradford continued his course of preaching, till he was obstructed by the following accident.

In the first year of the reign of that prince, Bonner then bishop of London, ordered Mr. Bourn a canon of St. Paul's and afterwards bishop of Bath, to preach a sermon, wherein he took occasion from the gospel of the day, to justify Bonner, then restored to his bishopric, in preaching on the same text that very day four years, and enforcing doctrines, for which according to the terms of the preacher, he was most cruelly and unjustly cast into the most vile dungeon of the Marshalsea and there kept prisoner, during the time of king Edward VI.

These words occasioned great murmuring amongst the people, nay, so incensed were they, that one of them cast a dagger at the preacher, and threatened to drag him from the pulpit, insomuch that he was obliged to withdraw, and desired Mr. Bradford

to advance, and endeavour to appease the people, who were so tumultuous, that the command of the Lord Mayor could not quell them.

When Bradford appeared in the pulpit, the people shouted, *God save thy life Bradford*, and then silently attended to his speech, in which he reprobated their disorderly behaviour in the church, and exhorted them to peace and quietness; upon which the uproar ceased, and the congregation peaceably dispersed.

In the afternoon of the same day, Bradford preached at Bow church, and took occasion to rebuke the people for their tumultuous behaviour at St. Paul's church in the morning.

Three days after this incident, he was summoned before the Queen and her council, and there charged, as the cause of the late riot about Bourn's preaching at St. Paul's, though he was the very person that preserved him from the outrage of the people, and appeased the tumult.

He was also accused for preaching to the people at Bow church, though he then warmly exhorted them to peace. But nothing that he could alledge, in vindication of his innocence, availed, for he was committed to the Tower, on a charge of sedition, because they found he was a popular man, and greatly carested by the people.

He was confined above a year and six months, till the Popish religion was restored by act of parliament.

Then they took occasion to examine him concerning his faith, because he could not speak against the doctrine of the church of Rome, without in-

curring

curing much danger ; whereas, while the laws of King Edward were unrepealed, he might freely speak according to the dictates of his conscience and the rules of God's most holy word.

The chief articles alledged against Mr. Bradford, were his denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, or the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, and asserting, that wicked men did not partake of Christ's body in the said sacrament.

Many bishops and learned men were appointed to confer with him, but their arguments had no weight, because they were not founded on scripture, but human tradition.

As he would admit of no tenets or practices but what were contained in the revealed word of God, he was accounted an heretic, first excommunicated, then condemned and committed to the custody of the sheriffs of London, by whom he was conducted, the night before his execution, to the prison of Newgate, and the following day, brought to the stake with the martyr, which succeeds in the order of this catalogue.

JOHN LEAFE was apprentice to a tallow-chandler, and at the age of nineteen years, upon an information of heresy, was committed to the Compter by the alderman of the ward in which he lived.

Being afterwards brought before bishop Bonner, and by him examined concerning his faith in the sacrament of the altar and other points ; he was at length condemned and delivered over to the secular power for not believing,

N^o 3.

that the bread and wine in the sacrament, by the words of consecration, are changed into the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially.

When these two martyrs were brought to the place of execution, Bradford fell prostrate on one side of the stake, and Leafe on the other ; here they continued praying some minutes, till Mr. Bradford was desired by the sheriff to make an end and arise, the throng of the people being great. On this notice they both arose, went to the stake, were fastened, and had the reeds and wood put about them.

Bradford lifting up his eyes and hands to Heaven, exclaimed, O England, England, repent thee of thy sins ; beware of Antichrist, beware of Idolatry, take heed they do not deceive you. Then turning to the young man, that was to suffer with him, he said, *Be of good comfort, brother, the time of our deliverance is at hand.* The young man said, *Lord Jesus receive our departing spirits.*

They both endured their sufferings with the utmost composure and resignation, reposing an unshaken confidence in that Redeemer, who is able and willing to keep what is committed to him, to the great day.

MARGARET POLLEY.
The first Female Martyr.

IF we view the transactions of these inhuman butchers of mankind, we shall find them tainted with as much cowardice as inhumanity, and that they

N

em-

embraced every opportunity of exercising their cruelty, tyranny, and usurpation, even over the tender sex, whom nature seems to have guarded by placing a kind of favourable instinct in the male.

When Margaret Polley was brought before Maurice bishop of Rochester her ordinary, or diocesan, his lordship, according to the pontifical solemnity of the church of Rome, rose out of his splendid chair, and in solemn parade, thus began to harangue her.

We Maurice, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our meer office in a cause of heresy, against thee Margaret Polley, of the parish of Poppingberry, in our diocese and jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay and object against thee all and singular the ensuing articles.

To these, all and singular, we require of thee a true, full, and plain answer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given.

The oath being administered by the Official, the bishop looked stedfastly at the woman, and demanded of her a peremptory answer to each of the following articles.

1. *Are not they heretics, who maintain and hold other opinions, than our holy Mother and Catholic church doth?*

Ans. They are indeed heretics and grossly deceived, who hold and maintain doctrines contrary to the will of God, contained in the holy scriptures, which I sincerely believe were written by holy men immediately taught and instructed by the Holy Ghost.

2. *Do you hold and maintain that in the sacrament of the altar, under the form of*

bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of Christ, and that the said body is verily in Heaven only, and not in the sacrament.

Ans. What I have learned from the holy scriptures, those living oracles of God, I do, and will stedfastly maintain, viz. that the very body which was crucified for the very sins of all true believers, ascended into Heaven, is there placed at the right hand of the Majesty on high; that such body has ever since remained there, and therefore cannot, according to my belief, be in the sacrament of the altar.

I believe that the bread and wine in the sacrament are to be received as symbols and representatives of the body and blood of Christ, but not as such really and substantially.

I think, in my weak judgment, that it is not in the power of any man, by pronouncing words over the elements of bread and wine, to transubstantiate them into the real body and blood of Christ.

In short, it is my belief, that the eucharist is only a commemoration of the death of our Saviour, who said, *As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.*

These pertinent and frank replies greatly provoked the haughty prelate, who exclaimed against the woman, as an obstinate heretic, and after much scurrilous language, told her that she was a silly woman, knew not what she said, and that it was the duty of every Christian to believe as the Mother church hath and doth teach.

Question from the bishop. *Wilt thou, Margaret Polley, recant the er-*

rors

rors which you maintain, be reconciled to the Holy church, receive the remission of sins, that your soul may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus?

Ans. My Lord, I cannot believe otherwise than I have spoken, because the practice of the church of Rome is contrary not only to reason, to my senses, but also the word of God.

The bishop then pronounced sentence of condemnation against her, after which she was carried back to prison, and there remained celebrating the praises of God for about the space of a month.

She was a woman in the prime of life, pious, charitable, humane, learned in the scriptures, and beloved by her neighbours and acquaintance.

She was repeatedly exhorted to recant, but refused all offers of life, chusing glory, honour, and immortality hereafter, rather than a few days here in this vale of tears, and those purchased at the expence of truth and conscience.

When the fatal day arrived, she was conducted from the bishop's prison at Rochester to Tunbridge, where she was burned, sealing the truth of what she had testified with her blood, and shewing that the God of all grace, out of the weakest vessel can ordain strength, and cause the meanest instruments to magnify the glories of his redeeming love.

DIRICK CARVER, and
JOHN LAUNDER.

DIRICK Carver of Brighthelmstone, in the county of Suffex, brewer, and John Launder of Godstone, husbandman, were apprehended in the dwelling house of the former, as they were at prayers, and sent up to the Queen's Council at London, where being examined, and not giving satisfactory answers to the questions proposed, they were committed prisoners to Newgate, to wait the leisure, and abide the determination of the cruel and arrogant Bonner bishop of London.

Launder on his examination confessed, that the occasion of his coming to Brighthelmstone, was to transact some business for his father, and that hearing that Mr. Carver was a great promoter of the doctrines of the reformation, he went to his house, in order to join in prayer to God, with the pious Christians which resorted thither, and so was apprehended by Mr. Gage the officer appointed for that purpose.

He also confessed that there is here on earth, one whole and universal Catholic-church, the members of which are dispersed throughout the world; that he believed the same church doth set forth and teach only two sacraments, which are baptism and the Lord's supper; that whatsoever doth teach or use any more sacraments, or any other ceremonies, he doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart.

He

He further said and believed, that all the service, sacrifices and ceremonies, now used in this realm of England (and in other parts of the world, where they are used after the same manner) are erroneous, contrary to Christ's institution, and the determination of Christ's Catholic church, whereof he believeth himself to be a member.

He also confessed and believed, that in the sacrament, called the sacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance; but that when he did receive the material bread, he received the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and no otherwise.

Moreover he confessed, said, and believed, that the mass, now used in the realm of England, or elsewhere in Christendom, is abominable, and directly against God's word, and his Catholic church, and that there is nothing said or used in it, good and profitable; for tho' the *Gloria in excelsis*, the *Credo* and *Pater noster*, and other parts of the mass, are good in themselves, yet being used amongst other things that are superstitious, the same become corrupt also. Lastly, he confessed and believed, that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature, but every person ought to confess his sins to God alone, because no person had any authority to absolve any man from his sins.

Having openly acknowledged and maintained these opinions, in the bishop's Consistory court, and refusing

to recant the same, he was condemned and delivered over to the secular power, and afterwards burned at Steyning, July 23, 1555.

Dirick Carver being examined by bishop Bonner, concerning his faith in the sacrament of the altar, the mass, auricular confession, and the religion then taught and set forth in the church of England, delivered the following as his invariable tenets, because founded on the infallible word of the only living and true God.

With respect to the first point, he declared, that he had and did believe, that the very substance of the body and blood of Christ, is not in the sacrament of the altar, and that there is no other substance remaining in that sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, but the substance of bread and wine.

As to the mass, he believed there was no sacrifice in it, nor any salvation for a Christian, except it was said in the mother tongue that he might understand it.

Concerning auricular confession, he believed that it was necessary to apply to a priest for spiritual council; but that the absolution of the priest by the imposition of hands, was not profitable to salvation, acknowledging at the same time, that he had not been confessed, nor received the sacrament since the coronation of the queen.

With respect to the last point, he declared it as his opinion and belief, that the faith and religion then taught and set forth was not agreeable to God's word, and that bishop Hooper, Mr. Cardmaker, Rogers, and other pious men who were lately burned, were

were found divines and preached the true doctrine of Christ as he believed.

Being further examined, he confessed, that since the Queen's coronation, he had the bible and psalter read in English divers times, at his house in Brighthelmstone, and that about twelve months then past, he had the English litany said in his house, with other English prayers.

Sentence of condemnation having been passed on him, at the same time as on Launder, he was ordered to be executed at Lewes in Suffex.

When he came to the stake, he kneeled down and prayed, and when he had finished his prayers, he arose and thus addressed the spectators; *Dear brethren and sisters, bear witness that I am come to seal with my blood the gospel of Christ, because I know that it is true. Many of you know, that the gospel hath been truly preached to you here in Lewes, and now it is not so preached, and because I will not here deny God's gospel, I am condemned to die.* Upon this, the sheriff said, "*if thou dost not believe in the Pope, thou art damned body and soul*"; but Distic pitied his blindness, and begged of God to forgive his errors.

The fire was then kindled around him, and he expired calling out, *O Lord have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus receive my spirit.*

JOHN DEULY, *Gent.* JOHN NEWMAN, *Pewterer,* and PATRICK PACKINGHAM.

THE two former of these, as they were travelling into Essex on a visit to some friends, were accidentally met by Mr. Tyrrell, justice of the peace for the said county, who on a suspicion of heresy, caused them to be apprehended and searched, and took from Mr. Deuly a confession of faith in writing, concerning the sacrament of the altar, together with certain notes collected from the holy scriptures.

The justice immediately sent Deuly and Newman to London, and with them a letter, to be presented to the Queen's council, together with the papers he found upon the former.

The council admonished them to yield obedience to the Queen's laws, but their advice proving ineffectual, they referred them to bishop Bonner.

On the 28th of June 1555, Deuly and Newman, with Patrick Packingham, were brought before the bishop at his palace in London.

Having examined the two former upon their confessions, which Tyrrell had found upon them, and finding them inflexibly to adhere to the same, he used his customary exhortations; but Deuly said, *God save me from your counsel, and keep me in the mind I am in, for that which you count heresy, I take to be the truth.*

They were commanded to appear in
O the

the bishop's Consistory court, where the following articles were jointly and severally against them.

1. *That they were now in the diocese of London, and under the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.*

These they acknowledged to be true.

2. *That they had not, nor did believe that there is a Catholic church of Christ here on earth.*

This they severally denied; for that they did believe the Holy Catholic church, which is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head; and that where two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, they are the members of the said Holy Catholic church, which is dispersed throughout the world; which church doth preach God's word truly, and doth also minister the two sacraments, baptism, and the Supper of the Lord according to his blessed word.

3. *That each of them had not nor did believe, that this church of England is any part or member of the said Catholic church.*

They severally answered, that they did believe, that this church of England using the faith and practice that is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid Holy Catholic church, but is the church of Antichrist, the bishop of Rome being the head thereof.

4. *That they had believed and did believe, that the mass, now used in the church of England, was abominable, and blasphemy against God's word.*

They answered in the affirmative, for Christ in his Holy Supper instituted the sacrament of bread and wine,

to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and not to have them worshipped and idolized; it also appeareth by his commandment, that we ought not to worship the sacrament of bread and wine, because it is plain idolatry; for the commandment saith, thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship, meaning plainly, any created thing; besides, it is plain from many passages in scripture, that the body of Christ is in Heaven, and not in the sacramental bread and wine, and therefore that it is idolatry to worship them.

5. *That they had believed and did believe, that auricular confession, now used in the realm of England, was not profitable, but contrary to God's word.*

To this they all answered in the affirmative.

6. *That they had believed, and did believe, that absolution given by the priest, bearing confession, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but contrary to the same.*

To this they answered, that remission of sins is only to be obtained from God, through the blood of Jesus Christ.

7. *That they had believed and did believe, that christening of children, as it is used now in the church of England, is not good nor allowable by God's word. Likewise confirming of children, giving of Orders, saying mattins and vespers, anointing or oiling of sick persons, making holy bread and holy water, with other rites of the church.*

To this they replied, that christening of children, or the sacrament of baptism is altered and changed, for
John

John Baptist used nothing but preaching of the word and water, as it appears when Christ required to be baptized of him; for we do not read that he asked for any cream, or oil or spittle, or wax or salt but used meerly water, nor was this water conjured, but the same as it was before.

8. *That they had believed and did believe, that there are but two sacraments in Christ's Catholic church; the sacrament of baptism and the sacrament of the altar.*

To this they briefly replied, that they believed no more, except they would make the rainbow a sacrament; for there is no sacrament but hath a promise annexed it.

They then objected one article to Packingham alone; which was, *that he, Patrick Packingham, being of the age of twenty one years at least, did irreverently stand in the great chappel, having his cap on his head during the time of Mass, on the 23d of June; that he refused holy bread and holy water at the priest's hands, thereby contemning and despising both the mass, holy water, and holy bread.*

This article he acknowledged to be true.

Upon the fifth of July, the bishop of London proceeded against John Deuly, John Newman, and Patrick Packingham, in his Consistory court at St. Paul's after the usual form, where, after articles and answers were publicly read, they were exhorted to recant, and both promises and threats were used by the bishop, in order to prevail with them, but on their remaining stedfast in their faith and profession,

they were condemned as heretics, and delivered into the custody of the sheriffs of London, who kept them in prison, till they were commanded by writ to send them to their several places of execution.

Mr. John Deuly was conveyed to Uxbridge, where he was chained to a stake, and expired singing a psalm, while the flame was burning around him.

Dr. Story a priest, being present at his execution, and incensed at his singing, commanded one of the executioners to throw a faggot at him; thus cruelly was he insulted by Popish insolence, while he was suffering the rigour of Popish barbarity.

Packingham was executed some days after, at the same place, and died in full assurance of faith, as did Newman, at Saffron-Walden in Essex, giving glory to God.

Six Persons executed together at Canterbury.

WILLIAM COKER, William Hooper, Henry Lawrence, Richard Collier, Richard Wright, and William Steer, inhabitants of the countymen, in the month of July 1555, were brought before Dr. Richard Thornton suffragan of Canterbury and bishop of Dover, Dr. Harpsfield, Archdeacon, Richard Fawcet, and Robert Collins, of the spiritual court of Canterbury, upon divers articles before exhibited against them.

WIL-

WILLIAM COKER declared he would answer no otherwise than as he had done before.

Being offered six days respite to consider of it, he refused their affected clemency, so the condemnation was passed upon him.

WILLIAM HOOPER seemed at first to assent to the faith and determination of the Catholic church, but on serious reflection he retracted, and firmly professed his faith in the pure gospel of Jesus Christ, as well as renounced the errors of Popery.

He was also cruelly sentenced to be burned.

HENRY LAWRENCE was examined, denied auricular confession, and refused to receive the sacrament of the altar, because the order of the holy scripture was changed in the order of the said sacrament.

Being charged with not putting off his cap, when the suffragan mentioned the sacrament, and did reverence the same, he said, there was no need for him to put off his cap.

Being likewise opposed concerning the verity of the sacrament given to Christ's disciples, he affirmed, that even as Christ gave his very body to his disciples, so likewise Christ himself said, he was a door, &c. adding moreover, that as he said before, so he still said, that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and no remembrance of Christ's passion.

At length, being required to subscribe these articles, he wrote under the bill of examination, *Ye are all of*

Antichrist, and him ye follow: his hand was then stopped and he could write no farther, sentence having been pronounced against him.

RICHARD COLLIER being examined about the sacrament of the altar, (as the Papists term it) answered, that he did not believe there is the real and substantial body and blood of Christ, but only bread and wine, and that it is most abominable, most detestable, and most wicked to believe otherwise, upon which he was also condemned.

RICHARD WRIGHT appearing at the same bloody tribunal, was asked by the Judge, what he believed of the real presence in the sacrament? He replied, that as touching the sacrament of the altar and the mass, he said he was ashamed to speak of it, nor would he, therefore, by any means allow it.

He was then condemned amongst the rest.

WILLIAM STEER, of Ashford, appeared at the Chapter-house of Canterbury, and was required to answer to the articles laid before him by the Judge.

Steer denied his authority, and was therefore deemed guilty of denying the authority of the Queen.

He also observed, that Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, now in prison, was his diocesan, and required of Richard Dover to shew his authority from the archbishop, or otherwise he would deem it invalid; with respect to the sacrament of the altar, as he found not the Popish belief

lief contained in the scripture, he entirely disbelieved it.

Sentence was then pronounced, and he together with the other five, being condemned for professing the truth of Christ's gospel, were delivered over to the secular power, fastened to the stake, and burned together at Canterbury, August 31, 1555, freely yielding up their lives as a sacrifice to God, in testimony of their regard to the word of truth, which abideth for ever and ever.

GEORGE TANKERFIELD.

THIS person was educated in the Popish religion and a very zealous adherent to the church of Rome, till the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary, when the horrid cruelties exercised on those who dissented from that church, prejudiced his mind against such principles as produced the most inhuman and barbarous practices.

In this state of doubt concerning the validity of the opinions in which he had been bred, he determined to read the scriptures, sought the directions of unerring wisdom, and the teaching of that spirit which alone can lead into all truth, by the grace of God soon attained to a very competent knowledge of the doctrines of the Reformed Church, as well as detected the errors, superstition and idolatry of the Popish creed.

Thus founded in the great truths of the gospel, he communicated his sentiments to his most intimate friends,

N 3.

whom he exhorted to search the sacred records, nor be blindly led by such as imposed their creeds, which, on examination, he found contrary to the divine mind and will as contained in the divine word.

This deviation from the principles he had before so warmly professed, and zealously maintained, excited the astonishment of his acquaintance, and raised the resentment of the Popish faction, and especially those who were more immediately concerned in its restoration; insomuch that Sir Roger Cholmondeley and Dr. Martin, the Queen's commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs, dispatched a yeoman to Tankerfield's house, in order to apprehend and bring him before them.

Our martyr, it seems, was by trade a Cook, for being absent when the yeoman came in quest of him, a pretence was used that he was required to serve up a dinner at the house of Lord Paget; and when he came home his wife informed him that he was required to attend at a banquet; he replied, *a banquet woman; but such a banquet as will not be pleasing to the flesh.*

On another occasion he was seized and by a constable committed to Newgate, and there kept prisoner some time, when he was brought before, and examined repeatedly by Bishop Bonner, and others, concerning divers articles and tenets of religion.

He was chiefly required to give his opinion concerning auricular confession, the Popish sacrament of the altar, and the mass.

To the first he answered, he had not been confessed to any priest for several
P months

months, and that he would not be confessed to any priest hereafter, because he found no such duty commanded in the word of God, which he now took as his only guide in all matters of religion.

Concerning the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, he declared he did not believe that in the said sacrament there was the real body and blood of Christ, because the body of Christ was ascended into Heaven, and there sat at the right hand of God the Father.

To the last point he answered, that the mass then used in the church of England was full of idolatry, abomination, and wholly inconsistent with the word of God, adding, that there were but two sacraments in Christ's church, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.

The bishop, after this confession, in his usual manner, exhorted him to recant his opinions, declaring them to be damnable heresies; but Tankerfield assured his lordship that he would persist in his belief till it should be proved erroneous from scripture authority, being regardless of the tenets of the greatest prelate upon earth, if not founded on the word of eternal truth, declaring at the same time, that the arbitrary commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs condemned persons without proving any thing against them.

Bonner, with an affected concern for his interest, temporal and eternal, used many enticing words to bring him to the Mother-church, but our martyr boldly told him, without the least reserve, that the church of which the Pope is supreme, is no part of Christ's

Catholic church; and pointing to the bishop he said, *Good people, beware of him, and such as he is, for these be they that deceive you.*

Bonner, enraged at his resolute behaviour, proceeded to read the sentence of condemnation against him, and delivered him over to the secular power.

He was afterwards sent to St. Albans in Hertfordshire, where, with much patience and constancy, he resigned his life, August the 25th 1555, into the hands of that God who gave it, as a testimony of the truth of his holy word, which had been able to make him wise unto salvation, and was the happy means of transporting him from this vale of tears, to realms of endless bliss and never-ceasing joy, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

ELIZABETH WARNE.

THIS pious woman and steadfast believer in the pure gospel of Christ, according to the dying request of her husband, who some time before had sealed the truth of God's word with his blood, persisted in worshipping God, according to the dictates of her own conscience, and the form she conceived was contained in the divine command.

She was apprehended in a house in Bow church-yard in company with several others, who were assembled for prayer and other spiritual exercises, and with them sent to the Compter, from whence she was committed to Newgate,

and after some time, brought before the Queen's commissioners, who, after some examination, referred her to the decision of the bishop of London.

The principal point objected to her by Bonner, was, her not believing the corporal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar; she was also accused with absenting herself from church, speaking against the mass, despising the ceremonies of the Holy Mother-church, &c.

Having been divers times brought before the bishop and warmly exhorted to recant her erroneous and heretical opinions; she said, *Do with me what you will, for if Christ was in an error, then I am in an error*, and on this peremptory declaration was condemned as an heretic, delivered to the sheriffs of London, and in the month of August 1555, carried to Stratford Bow, where she suffered martyrdom for the cause of Christ and his gospel, following her husband through the path of fiery trial, to the Heaven of rest that awaits all the disciples of the immaculate Jesus, who set them an example that they should follow his steps.

ROBERT SMITH.

ROBERT SMITH enjoyed a place under the provost of Eaton College, and was converted to the true faith of Christ, by the preaching of several reformed ministers in the college as well as at Windsor.

He was well versed in the doctrines of the gospel, and very exemplary in

his life and conversation, attracting the veneration and esteem of all amongst whom he lived and conversed.

But amongst other sufferers for the cause, on the accession of Queen Mary, Mr. Smith was deprived of his post in the college, and soon after sent up prisoner to the bishop of London, by whom he was committed to Newgate, after having been examined by him divers times, at his palace and in other places.

When he was asked by the bishop concerning auricular confession, he declared he had never been confessed since he arrived at years of discretion, because he never thought it needful, nor commanded of God to confess his faults to any of that sinful number called priests.

It was then enquired, how long it was since he had received the sacrament of the altar, and what was his opinion concerning the same.

He replied, that he had never received the same, since he arrived at years of discretion, nor, by the grace of God ever would, neither did he esteem it in any point, because it was not God's ordinance, but is rather set up in mockery of God, and to deprive him of the honour which is his due.

Being questioned concerning his belief in the corporal presence in the sacrament, after the words of consecration pronounced by the priest, he replied, I have once told you, that it was not God's ordinance, much less can it be God, or any part of his substance, but only meer bread and wine, and to be received in a figurative sense alone; adding further, that if he could
prove

prove from scripture that it was the very body, he would believe it, but till then he should esteem it a detestable idol, not God, but contrary to God and truth.

This excited the cholar of the haughty prelate, who reviled Smith exceedingly, but his passion abating, he afterwards examined him in milder terms, and coolly enquired his opinion concerning the Catholic-church.

He replied, *I believe, there is one Catholic church or congregation of the faithful, which (as the apostle saith) is builded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ Jesus being the chief corner stone.*

I also believe, that this church in all words and works, maintaineth the word of God, and bringeth the same for her authority; of this church I am assured, that by grace I am made a member.

He was also examined, concerning holy bread and holy water and other ceremonies of the church; these points he denied as unscriptural, and persisting in his opinions notwithstanding the repeated admonitions of the bishop, he was summoned to appear at the Consistory court, where having made the same confession as before, sentence of condemnation was passed upon him, and he was delivered over to the secular power.

When the cruel sentence was passed, our martyr remonstrated with the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and others who were present on the occasion, on the iniquity of their proceedings, which were contrary to all laws, human and divine; but the general cry was, *away with the heretic, away with the here-*

tic: he then addressed himself to the spectators in the following manner.

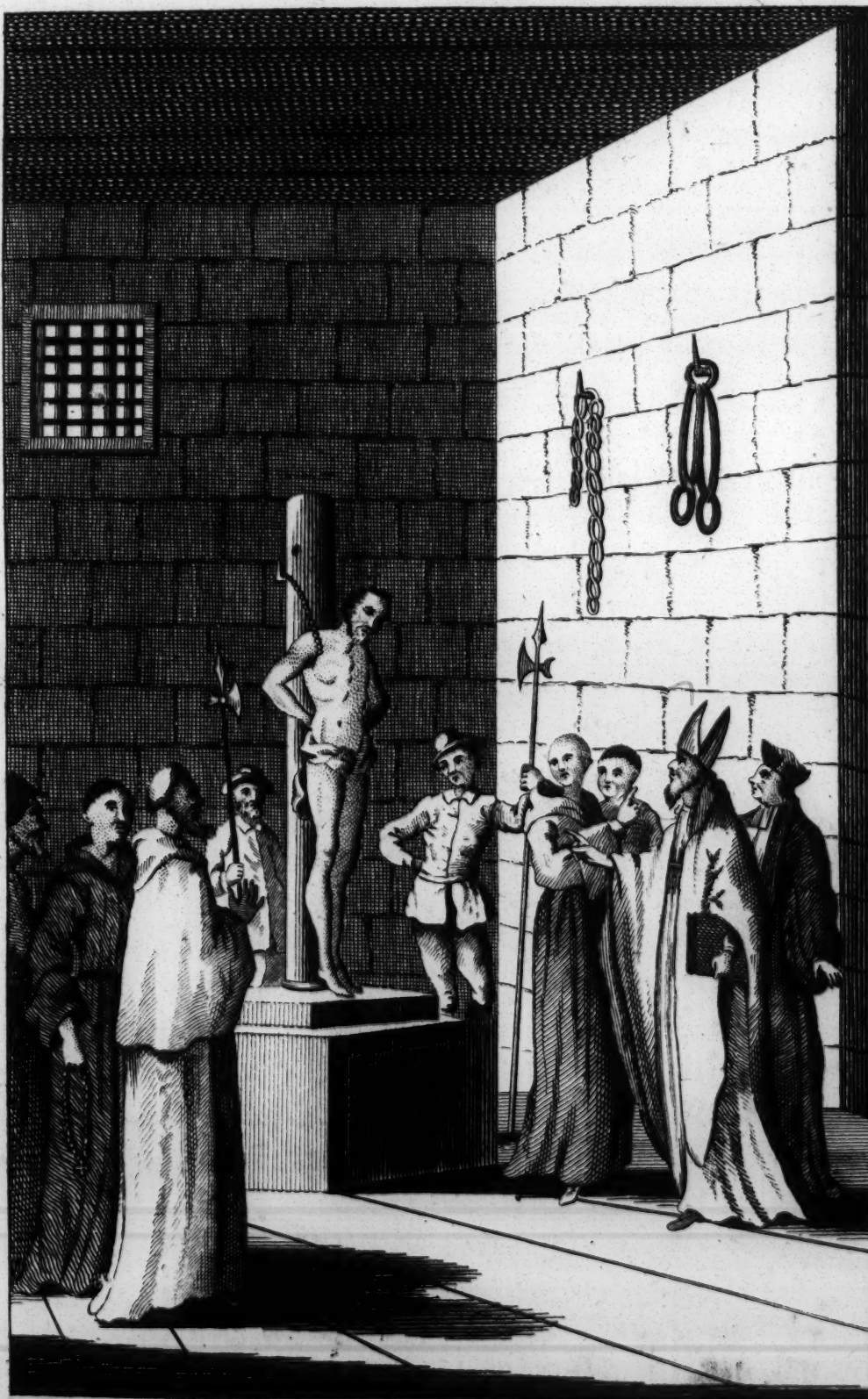
Ye have seen and heard, my friends, the great injury I have this day received, and ye are all witnesses, that we have referred the equity of our cause, to the book of God, which appeal not being admitted, we are condemned unheard.

Turning to the mayor, he said, *though my lord you have here exercised your authority unjustly, and will not attend to the cry of the poor, I commit my cause to that God who judgeth aright, and will render unto every man according to his deeds; that God, at whose awful bar, both you and I must stand without respect or authority and where sentence will be passed without any partiality, bigotry, or caprice, and according to the eternal laws of infallible truth.*

He was then carried back to Newgate, and on the day appointed for his execution, conducted to Uxbridge, where he died in the glorious cause with amazing fortitude and intrepidity, evincing, amidst fiery flames and acutest torments, the power of divine strength, which can enable true followers of the lamb, to pass through the shadow of death with exceeding delight, by supporting them with everlasting arms, and rendering what is most irksome to the flesh, joyous to the spirit, as the way to honour, glory and immortality.



Engraved for
Englands Bloody
Tribunal.



The torturing of Rob.^t Samuel.

ROBERT SAMUEL.

THE martyr before us was a pious divine and eminent preacher of the gospel, according to the principles of the reformation during the reign of King Edward VI.

He was minister of a Christian congregation at Barfold in Suffolk, where he attended his charge with indefatigable industry, and by his preaching and living, recommended and enforced the religion of Jesus.

But when gospel light was eclipsed by Popish ignorance, he, (amongst many other sound preachers of the word) was turned out of his living, yet could he not so far withstand his duty, as to be wholly silent, but would embrace many opportunities of teaching them in private, till the Queen commanded the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs to publish an order, that all priests, who had been married in the days of King Edward, should put away their wives, and be compelled again to chastity (as their hypocritical term expressed it) and single life.

Mr. Samuel could by no means obey this order, because he knew it to be abominable, contrary to the law of Christ, and every tie social, and humane; therefore, determining with himself that God's laws were not to be violated for the traditions of men, he still kept his wife at Ipswich, and omitted no opportunity of instructing his Christian friends in the neighbourhood.

Nº IV.

At length his conduct reaching the ears of Foster, a justice in those parts, every means was used by that Popish bigot to apprehend Mr. Samuel, who was taken in custody by some of his myrmidons, when on a visit to his wife, at Ipswich. Many efforts were made without success, but at length information having been given of the precise time in which he was to visit his wife, they deferred the surprise till night, (fearing the resentment of the people if they should attempt to apprehend him by day) when great numbers beset him, and he, without the least resistance, quietly resigned himself into their hands.

Having been taken before Foster, he was committed to Ipswich gaol, where he conversed and prayed with many of his fellow sufferers during his confinement in that place.

In a short time he was removed thence to Norwich, where Dr. Hopton, the cruel bishop of that diocese, and Dunning the chancellor, exercised intolerable cruelties upon him.

Among all the inhuman wretches with which the nation abounded at this time, none could be compared for cruelty with these two tyrants; for while the rage of others was glutted with imprisonment and death, these were notorious for new-invented tortures, by which some were brought to recant, and others were driven into horrors of the most bewildered madness.

In order to bring Mr. Samuel to recant, they confined him in a close prison, where he was chained to a post in such a manner, that standing only

Q

only on tiptoe, he was forced to sustain the whole weight of his body thereby.

To aggravate this torment, they kept him in a starving condition twelve days, allowing him no more than two mouthfull of bread and three spoonsfull of water each day, which was allowed in order to protract his misery, till they could invent new torments to overcome his patience and resolution.

He was brought to so shocking a state by these inhuman proceedings, that, ready to perish with thirst, he would often gladly have drank his own water; but his body was so parched, that he emitted not a single drop of urine.

At length, when all the tortures that these savages could invent proved ineffectual, and nothing could induce our martyr to deny his great Lord and Master, he was brought forth to be burned, a scene happy to what he had already passed, and declared to the people around him what cruelties he had suffered during the time of his imprisonment, but that he had been enabled to sustain them all by the consolations of the divine spirit, with which he had been daily visited.

As this eminent martyr was leading to the stake, a young woman, who had belonged to his congregation, and received the benefit of his spiritual discourses, came up to him, and as the last token of respect cordially embraced him.

This being observed by some of the blood-thirsty papists, diligent search was made for her the next day, in

order to bring her to the stake, but she eluded their search and escaped from their cruel hands.

But though this young woman (whose name was Rose Nottingham) escaped their barbarity, yet two of her faithful female companions were caught in the snare and suffered martyrdom together with Mr. Samuel.

The aforesaid person was intimately acquainted with two grave and pious matrons, whom she endeavoured to persuade to avoid the danger that threatened all Protestants by an immediate flight.

They acknowledged the lawfulness of such a conduct, but urged divers weighty reasons for deferring it at least for some time, and were accordingly apprehended, cast into prison and burned together with our glorious martyr, the Rev. Mr. Robert Samuel.

They all suffered together with a courage and resolution truly Christian, cheerfully resigning this life of care and trouble in an exchange of another, where death shall be swallowed up in victory, where tears shall be wiped away from all eyes, and an eternity employed in singing the praises of that grace, which has bought the redeemed of the Lord of much tribulation, and advanced them to mansions at the right hand of God, where are pleasures for evermore.

As an account of the trial, sufferings, and spiritual experience of Christians, or true believers in Christ in former ages, may tend to confirm and strengthen those of the present in their most holy faith, and administer consolation and sup-

Support to any that may, in the course of God's providence, be called upon to bear witness to the everlasting truth of God's word, we insert the following abstract of a letter, left by Mr. Samuel after his decease, to some of the congregation, over whom he presided in the Lord.

A man knoweth not his time, but as a fish is taken with the angle, and as the birds are caught with the snare; so are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth near, Ezek. vii. Better it were to die (as the preacher saith) than to live and see the miserable works which are done under the sun.

Alas, for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity, corrupting their ways. They have forsaken the Lord; they have provoked the holy one of Israel to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in such security and rest as though all dangers were all clean over-past? yea, who liveth not now in such felicity, worldly pleasures and joys, wholly seeking the world, providing, and craftily shifting for the earthly clod and carnal appetite, as though sin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured?

We might now worthily, dear Christians, lament and bewail our heavy estate, miserable condition, and sorrowful chance; Yes, I say, we might well accuse ourselves, and with Job curse these our turbulent, wicked, and bloody last days of this world, were it not that we both see and believe, and find in God's sacred book, that God hath reserved a remnant in all ages, I mean the faithful, as many

as have been from the beginning of the world exercised, with divers afflictions and troubles, cast and dashed against all perils and dangers, as the very dross and out-casts of the earth, and yet will in no wise halt between God and Baal. Christ will not part spoil with his mortal enemy the Devil; he will have all, or lose all: he will not permit the Devil to have the service of the body, and he to stand contented with the heart and mind: but he will be glorified both in your bodies and in your spirits, which are his, as St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. vi. For he hath made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter saith, with his own immaculate body hath he clean discharged your bodies from sin, death, and hell, and with his most precious blood paid your ransom and full price once for all, and for ever.

Now what harm, I pray you, or what loss sustain you by this? Why are you, O vain men, more afraid of Jesus your gentle Saviour, and his gospel of salvation, than of a legion of cruel Devils, going about with false delusions utterly to destroy you both souls and bodies? think you to be more sure than under your captain Christ? do you promise yourselves to be more quiet in Satan's service, than in Christ's religion? esteem you more these transitory and pernicious pleasures, than God and all his heavenly treasures? O pa'pable darkness, horrible madness, and wiful blindness, without comparison, too much to be suffered any longer! we see and will not see; we know and will not know; yea, we smart and will not feel, and that our conscience well knoweth. O miserable souls, which would for foolish pleasures lose the royal kingdom and per-

permanent joys of God, with the everlasting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world! the children of the world live in pleasure and wealth; and the Devil, who is their God, and prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us, which be of Christ, seek and enquire for Heavenly things, which by God's promise and mercy in Christ shall be peculiar unto us. Let carnal people pass for things that be pleasant for body, and do appertain to this transitory life: Yet shall they once (as the kingly Prophet saith) run about the city of God, to and fro howling like dogs, desiring one scrap of the joys of God's elect, but all too late as the rich glutton did.

Let us therefore pass for those things that do pertain to the spirit, and are celestial. We must be here (St. Paul saith) not as inhabitants, and homedwellers, but as strangers; not as strangers only, but after the mind of Paul, as painful soldiers appointed by our governor, to fight against the governor of darkness of this world, against spiritual craftiness in heavenly things. The time is come; we must to it; the judgment must begin first at the house of God. Began they not first with the green and sappy tree? and what followed then on the dry branches? Jeremy speaking in the person of God, saith, In the city wherein my name is invoked, will I begin to punish: but as for you (meaning the wicked) shall you be as innocents, and not once touched? nay, the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all sorrows, are reserved unto

them in the end: but God's household shall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy.

*Wherefore we ought not to be dismayed, or discourage ourselves, but rather be of good comfort; not sorrowful but joyful, in that God of his goodness will vouchsafe to take us as his beloved children, to subdue our sinful lusts, our wretched flesh and blood unto his glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this our habitation, 2 Cor. v. (St. Paul meaning the body) be destroyed! we know assuredly we have a building not made with hands, but everlasting in Heaven, with such joys as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They pass all desires and wishes. Gotten they may be by Christ, esteemed they cannot be. Wherefore the more affliction and persecution the word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abideth in Heaven. But worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the ungodly foolishly imagine to procure unto themselves, by persecuting and thrusting away the gospel, shall turn unto their own trouble, and at last unto horrible destructions and dire change of realms and countries; and after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual misery. For they had rather, with Nabal, and his temporal pleasures, descend to the Devil, than with Christ, and his bodily troubles, ascend into the kingdom of God his Father. But an unwise man (saith the Psalmist) comprehendeth them not, neither doth the foolish understand them; that is, these bloody persecutors grow up and flourish like
the*

the flower and grass in the field. But unto this end do they so flourish, that they may be cut down, and cast into the fire for ever. For as Job saith, Their joy lasteth but the twinkling of an eye, and death shall lie gnawing upon them as doth the flock upon the pasture; yea, the cruel worm, late repentance (as St. Mark saith) shall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accusing their wretched conscience for evermore.

Let us therefore (good Christians) be constant in obeying God rather than men. For although they slay our sinful bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for God's truth; yet they cannot do it, but by God's will, to his praise and honour, and to our eternal joy and felicity.

These are the days of vengeance, saith Luke, that all things written may be fulfilled.

Now therefore saith God by the mouth of his prophet, I will come unto thee, and will send my wrath upon thee. Upon thee, I say, O England, and punish thee according to thy ways, and reward thee after all thine abominations! thou hast kindled the fire of God's wrath, and hast stirred up the coals. For thou wast once enlightened, and hadst tasted of the heavenly gift, and wast become partaker of the Holy Ghost, and hadst tasted of the good word of God: yea, it is yet in thy mouth, saith the prophet. Alas, O England, thou knewest thy Lord and Master's will, but didst not do it! thou must therefore, says he, suffer many stripes, and many sharp strokes.

Let the enemies of Christ, and all unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed, without hope of God's mercy, who know not God in Christ to be their

N^o 4.

very righteousness, their life, their own salvation and alone Saviour, nor believe in him.

But we are the children of saints, and look for another life, which God shall give to all them who change not their Faith, and shrink not from him. Rejoice therefore, ye Christian afflicted brethren, for they cannot take our souls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which are kept as in the bosom of our most loving father, and if we abide fast in Christ, and turn not away, surely we shall live for ever. Christ affirmeth the same, saying, My sheep hear my voice, I know them, they hearken unto me, and to no strangers, and I give them everlasting life; for they shall not be lost, and no man shall pluck them out of my hands: no, nor yet this flattering world with all its vain pleasures, nor any tyrant with his threats can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What consolation or comfort can we have more pleasant and effectual than this? God is on our side and fighteth for us. As the world can do nothing against his might, neither in taking away, or diminishing from his glory, nor putting him from his celestial throne; so neither can it hurt any one of his children without his good will. For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

Let us therefore with earnest faith lay fast hold on the promises in the gospel, and let us not be separated from the same by temptation, tribulation, or persecution.

Let us consider the truth of God to be invincible, and immutable, promising

R

missing and giving us his faithful soldiers life eternal. It is he only that hath deserved it for us : it is his only benefit, and of his only mere mercy, and unto him only must we render thanks. Let not therefore the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and foolish gaudy toys of the world, nor the crafty delusions of the Devil, drive and separate us from our hope of the crown of righteousness that is laid up in store for us against the last day. O that happy and joyful day, I mean to the faithful, when Christ by his covenant shall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and sit with him, as he ascended and sitteth on the throne with his Father ! the same body and soul that is now with Christ afflicted, shall then with Christ be glorified : now in cruel hands as sheep appointed to die ; then sitting at God's table with Christ in his kingdom, as God's honourable and dear children ; where we shall have heavenly riches for earthly poverty ; fullness of the presence of the glory of God, for hunger and thirst ; celestial joys in the company of angels, for sorrows, troubles, and cold irons ; and life eternal for bodily death.

O, happy souls ! O precious death, and evermore blessed, right dear in the eyes of God ! to you the spring of the Lord shall ever be flourishing. Then (as saith Isaiah) the redeemed shall return and come again into Sion, praising the Lord, and eternal mercies shall be over their heads ; they shall obtain mirth and comfort ; sorrow and woe shall be utterly vanquished. Yea, I am he, saith the Lord, that in all things giveth you everlasting consolation. To whom with

the Father and the Holy Ghost, be glory and praise for ever. Amen.

ROBERT SAMUEL.

Four Persons executed at Canterbury.

THESE people being informed against as maintaining heretical tenets, were brought before Dr. Thornton and others, and jointly and severally examined concerning divers articles relative to the sacrament of the altar, auricular confession, and other tenets and practices of the Church of Rome.

GEORGE CATMER being first examined, declared with respect to the corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar, that as Christ was ascended into heaven and now sat at the right hand of God, he could not believe it, and did believe that as it was now used, it was abominable and idolatrous.

ROBERT STREATER being examined, concerning the same doctrine, replied in the negative, affirming it to be heresy and idolatry, to teach the worship of a false God in the sacrament, inclosed in a box, and that the Romish Church was heretical, for using ceremonies contrary to the law of God.

ANTHONY BURWARD confirmed what Streater had before confessed and averred.

GEORGE BRODRIDGE being examined concerning auricular confession, declared that he would not be con-

confessed to a Priest, because a Priest being like himself, a mere man, could not forgive his own sins, much less those of others; and added further that in the sacrament of the altar, there was not the real body of our Saviour Christ, but bread given and received in remembrance of him, and that the holy bread and holy water and the mass were vile and abominable.

In consequence of their several confessions and declarations, they were all condemned as damnable heretics, and being brought to the place of execution, were chained to two stakes, and burned in one fire, glorifying God in the midst of the flames.

ROBERT GLOVER, and CORNELIUS BONGEY.

MR. Robert Glover at the time of his being apprehended, lay sick at the house of his brother John Glover, who had absconded because a warrant was issued out to bring him before his ordinary on a suspicion of heresy.

Notwithstanding the indisposition of the former of these gentlemen, such was the brutality of the Popish emissaries, that they took him out of bed, and carried him to Coventry jail, where he continued ten days, though no misdemeanour was alledged against him.

At the expiration of that time, he was brought before his ordinary the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, who informed him that he was a prelate, and that he (Glover) must submit to

ecclesiastical authority, and stand re-proved for not coming to church.

Mr. Glover assured his lordship, that he neither had, nor would come to church so long as the mass was used there to save five hundred lives, challenging him to produce on proof from scripture, to justify that idolatrous practice.

After a long altercation with the bishop, in which Mr. Glover both learnedly and judiciously defended the doctrines of the reformation, against the errors and idolatries of Popery, and evinced, that he was able to give a reason for the faith he professed; he was remanded back to Coventry jail, where he was kept close prisoner, without a bed, though much indisposed; but nevertheless, the divine comforts enabled him to sustain such cruel treatment without repining, till at length he was permitted to provide himself with that necessary convenience.

From Coventry he was removed to Litchfield, where he was visited by the chancellor and prebendaries, who exhorted him to recant his errors and conform to the Holy Mother-church, but he refused to conform to that or any other church, whose doctrines and practices were not founded on scripture authority which he determined to make the sole rule of his religion.

After this visit, he remained alone eight days, during which time he gave himself up to constant prayer and meditation on the exceeding precious promises of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to all true believers, daily amending in bodily health, and increasing

creasing in faith and joy in believing.

Glover was again brought before the bishop, who enquired of him, how his imprisonment agreed with him, and warmly entreated him to become a member of the Mother-church, which had continued many years; whereas, the church of which he had professed himself a member, was not known but in the time of Edward VI.

With respect to the enquiry, our martyr was silent, treating it with that contempt which such mean behaviour in a prelate deserved, but told his lordship, that he professed himself a member of that church, which is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone, and then quoted that well-known passage in the epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians.

This church, added he, hath been from the beginning though it bore no pompous shew before the world, being for the most part under crosses and afflictions, despised, rejected, and persecuted.

After much debate, in which Mr. Glover cited scripture for whatever he advanced, to the confusion and indignation of the haughty prelate, he was commanded on his obedience to hold his peace, as a proud and arrogant heretic.

Our martyr then, with a spirit becoming a man and a Christian, informed the bishop, that he was not to be convinced by insolent imperious behaviour, but found reasoning, founded on scripture, desiring at the same

time that he would propound to him some articles, but the bishop chose to decline that method of proceeding, till he should be summoned to the consistory court, dismissing him with an assurance that he should be kept in prison, and there have neither meat nor drink, till he recanted his heresies.

Mr. Glover heard the cruel word with patience and resignation, lifting up his heart to God, that he might be enabled to stand steadfast in the faith of the glorious gospel.

When he was brought into the consistory court, the bishop demanded of him, how many sacraments Christ had instituted to be used in his church he replied two, Baptism, and the Lord's supper, and no more.

Being asked if he allowed confession, he answered in the negative.

As to the corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar, he declared that the mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, because they had taken away the true institution, and when they should restore it, then he would give his judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.

After several other examinations public and private, he was condemned as an heretic, and delivered over to the secular power.

CORNELIUS BONGEY was a cap-maker in the city of Coventry, and condemned by Randolph, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, upon the following articles,

1. *Because he did hold, maintain, and teach in the city of Coventry, that the*

the priest hath no power to absolve a sinner from his sins.

2. *He saith, there were in the church of Christ but two sacraments, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.*

3. *That in the sacrament of the Popish altar, there was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine even after consecration.*

4. *That for the space of several years, he did hold and defend, that the Pope is not the head of the visible church on earth.*

He was then delivered over to the secular power, and, together with Mr. Robert Glover, burned at Coventry, Sept. 20, 1555.

They both yielded up their spirits to that God who gave them, hoping, through the merits of the great Redeemer, for a glorious resurrection to life immortal.

WILLIAM WOLSEY, and ROBERT PIGOT.

THE former of these persons resided at Well, in the Isle of Ely, and was apprehended and brought before a neighbouring justice, who bound him over to appear at the ensuing sessions holden for the Isle of Ely.

This occasioned our martyr to remove to Wybich, where he was taken and committed to jail, till the assizes came about.

While he continued under confinement, he was visited by the chancellor of Ely, who told him that he was out

N^o 4.

of the pale of the Catholic church, and desired that he would meddle no more with the scriptures than became a layman.

Wolsey, after a short pause, thus addressed the chancellor; *Good doctor, what did our Saviour mean, when he said, Matt. xxiii. Wo be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of Heaven before men; ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye that come to enter in.*

ROBERT PIGOT was by trade a painter, he was apprehended and brought before Sir Clement Hyam, judge, who reprov'd him severely for absenting himself from church. He assigned the cause for his absence, which was, because what he deemed the church, was a congregation of believers assembled together for the worship of God, according to the manner laid down in his most holy word; and not a church of human invention founded on the whimsical fancy of fallible man.

He was thereupon, together with Wolsey, committed to prison, where they remained to the day of their execution.

During their confinement, several of their neighbours came to visit them, among whom was Peter Valerices a Frenchman, chaplain to the bishop of Ely, who thus addressed them; *My brethren, according to mine office, I am come to talk with you, for I have been Almoner here these twenty years and more, wherefore my brethren I desire you to take it in good part. I desire not to force you from your faith, but I require and desire you, in the name of Jesus Christ*

S

Christ, that you stand to the truth of his gospel and his word; and I beseech Almighty God, for his Son's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end, for I know not, brethren, how soon I may be in the same case with you.

This address, being so different from what was expected, drew tears from all who were present, and greatly comforted our martyrs.

On the ninth of October, Pigot and Wolsey were brought before Dr. Fuller the chancellor, and other commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs, who laid several articles to their charge, but particularly that of the sacrament of the altar.

When that article was proposed, they jointly declared the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the real body and blood of Christ was not present in the said sacrament; and to this opinion, said, they would stand though at the peril of their lives, being founded on the authority of God's word, which enjoined the worship of the supreme God alone.

After this declaration, they were exhorted by Dr. Shaxton, one of the commissioners, to consider the danger of continuing in that belief, and recant the same, lest they die here and perish hereafter, adding, that he had believed as they did, but was now become a new man in point of faith.

This having no effect, Dr. Fuller upbraided Wolsey with obstinacy and fool-hardiness, but endeavoured to soothe Pigot into compliance, desiring one of the attendants to write to the following purport:

I Robert Pigot do believe, that after

the words of consecration spoken by the Priest, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Christ, really, substantially the self-same that was born of the Virgin Mary.

It was then read to Pigot; and his answer being required, he briefly said, *Sir, that is your faith, but never shall be mine till you can prove it from scripture.*

Thus persevering in the faith of the pure gospel of their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, judgement was passed upon them, they were sent to prison, and there confined to the day of execution, which was the 16th of October, in the bloody year 1555, when they were brought forth, and chained to the stake.

A great number of English translations of the New Testament being ordered to be burned with them, they took each one of them in their hands, lamenting on the one hand the destroying so valuable a repository of sacred truth, and glorying, on the other hand, that they were deemed worthy of sealing the same with their blood.

They died in the triumph of faith, magnifying the power of divine grace, which enable the servants of God to glory in tribulation, and count all things but dung and dross for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus the Lord.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, *Bishop of London*, and HUGH LATIMER, *Bishop of Worcester*.

THE former of these eminent Prelates, and true followers of Christ, received the earliest part of his education at Newcastle upon Tyne, from whence he was removed to the University of Cambridge, where his learning and abilities soon advanced him to the degree of Master of Pembroke Hall.

When he quitted the University, he travelled into divers parts of Europe, and on his return was made Chaplain to King Henry VIII. and Bishop of Rochester, from which he was translated to the See of London by King Edward VI.

In private life he was pious, humane and affable; in public he was learned, sound and eloquent; diligent in his duty, and very popular as a preacher.

He was brought over to the Reformed Religion by means of reading Bertram's book on the Sacrament, and confirmed in the same by frequent conferences with Cranmer and Peter Martyr, insomuch that he was a zealous promoter of the reformed doctrines and discipline, during the reign of King Edward VI.

But on the accession of Queen Mary to the crown of England, Bishop Ridley shared the fate of other faithful servants of Christ, was removed from his bishoprick, sent prisoner first to the

Tower of London, and afterwards to Bocardo prison in Oxford, whence he was committed to the custody of one Irish, and there remained to the day of his death.

Dr. Hugh Latimer was also student of the University of Cambridge, where he chiefly pursued the study of school-divinity, for which he was remarkably eminent, and much honoured by his fellow-collegians.

He was a zealous assertor of the Popish faith, till he accidentally became acquainted with one Mr. Bilney, a man of candour and learning; by whom he was convinced of the repugnancy of the Romish religion to common sense, the whole tenor of scripture, the glory of God, and the true interest of mankind.

Thus roused by the remonstrances of his friend, he applied himself most diligently to the study of the word of God, comparing the tenets and practices of Popery with the same, till he rejected the same as unscriptural, and embraced the true faith of Christ, together with all the ordinances of his institution.

His opposition to the mother-church, as it was termed, raised him many enemies; amongst the rest was Dr. West, Bishop of Ely, who forbid him to preach in any of the churches in Cambridge upon pain of his displeasure, and the censure of the ecclesiastical court: however, he found some friends, and obtained the living of West-Kington in the diocese of Sarum, where he continued some time diligent in his office, and remarkably successful in his ministry.

In

In process of time he was sent for to London, and there accused to Dr. Warcham, Archbishop of Canterbury, with speaking against the worshiping of the Virgin Mary.

He was detained in London some time, and frequently examined before several bishops, who endeavoured, by all the arts of sophistry, to inveigle him into a confession that might afford them a plea for proceeding capitally against him; but he evaded all their endeavours, till having acquired the favour of King Henry VIII. he was preferred to the bishoprick of Worcester, which he held several years, but at the time of putting forth the six articles, he resigned and lived privately.

On account of his non-conformity to those articles, some of which he thought favoured of Popery, he was at length apprehended and committed prisoner to the Tower, where he continued to the reign of Edward VI. by whom he was set at liberty, though never advanced to any dignity in the church, more than ordinary preacher, for which he was very eminent.

It is not a little remarkable, that he used frequently to say, he should lose his life for preaching the gospel, and foretold the troubles that should befall the Protestants in the reign of Queen Mary.

That prince had no sooner ascended the throne, than his predictions began to be verified; for, in a very short time after that event, Mr. Latimer was sent for out of the country, committed prisoner to the Tower, and afterwards conveyed to Oxford.

On the last day of September 1555,

the two eminent divines, Ridley and Latimer, were cited to appear before the divinity school at Oxford.

Dr. Ridley was first examined, and severely reprimanded by the bishop of Lincoln, because, when he heard the Cardinal's grace and the Pope's holiness mentioned in the commission, he put on his cap; the words of the bishop were to this effect, *Mr. Ridley, if you will not be uncovered, in respect to the Pope and the Cardinal his legate, by whose authority we sit in commission, your cap shall be taken off.*

The bishop of Lincoln then made a formal harangue, in which he intreated Ridley to return to the Holy Mother-church, insisted on the antiquity and authority of the See of Rome, and of the Pope as the immediate successor of St. Peter.

Dr. Ridley, in return, strenuously opposed the arguments of the bishop, and boldly vindicated the doctrines of the reformation.

After much debate, the five following articles were proposed to him, and his immediate and explicit answer required.

1. *That he had frequently affirmed, and openly maintained and defended, that the true natural body of Christ, after consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.*

2. *That he had often publicly affirmed, and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.*

3. *That he had often openly affirmed and obstinately maintained, that in the mass, is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.*

4.



Bishop Latimer before the Papal Tribunal in Oxford.

4. *That the aforesaid assertions have been solemnly condemned by the scholastic censure of this school, as heretical, and contrary to the Catholic faith, by the worshipful prolocutor of the convocation house, and sundry learned men of both universities.*

5. *That all and singular the premises are true, and notoriously known, by all near at hand, and in distant places.*

To the first our martyr replied, that he believed Christ's body to be in the sacrament, really by grace and spirit effectually, but not so as to include a lively and moveable body under the forms of bread and wine.

To the second he answered in the affirmative.

Part of the fourth he acknowledged and part he denied.

To the fifth he answered, that the premises were so far true, as his replies had set forth. Whether all men spake evil of them, he knew not, because he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

He was then ordered to appear the following day in St. Mary's church in Oxford, to give his final answer, and afterwards committed to the custody of the mayor.

When Latimer was brought into court, the bishop of Lincoln warmly exhorted him to return to the unity of the church, from which he had revolted.

The same articles which were proposed to Dr. Ridley, were read to Mr. Latimer, and he was required to give a full and satisfactory answer to each of them.

His replies not appearing satis-
N^o 4.

factory to the court, he was dismissed and ordered to appear in St. Mary's church at the same time with Dr. Ridley.

According to order the commissioners met at the place appointed, and Dr. Ridley being first brought before them, the bishop of Lincoln stood up, and began to repeat the proceedings of the former meeting, assuring the culprit that he had full liberty to make what alterations he pleased in his answers to the articles proposed to him, and to deliver the same to the court in writing.

After some debate, Dr. Ridley pulled out a paper, and began to read, but the bishop interrupted him, and ordered the beadle to take the writing from him. The Doctor desired permission to read on, declaring the contents were only his answers to the articles proposed; but the bishop and others having privately reviewed it, they would not permit it to be read in open court.

When the articles were again administered, he referring the notary to his writing, and he set them down according to the same.

The bishop of Gloucester affecting much concern for Dr. Ridley, persuaded him not to indulge an obstinate temper, but recant his erroneous opinions, and return to the unity of the Holy Catholic church.

Our martyr coolly replied, that he was not vain of his own understanding, but was fully persuaded, that the religion he professed was founded on God's most holy and infallible church; and therefore he could not abandon or
T deny



Bishop Latimer before the Papal Tribunal in Oxford.

4. *That the aforesaid assertions have been solemnly condemned by the scholastic censure of this school, as heretical, and contrary to the Catholic faith, by the worshipful prolocutor of the convocation house, and sundry learned men of both universities.*

5. *That all and singular the premises are true, and notoriously known, by all near at hand, and in distant places.*

To the first our martyr replied, that he believed Christ's body to be in the sacrament, really by grace and spirit effectually, but not so as to include a lively and moveable body under the forms of bread and wine.

To the second he answered in the affirmative.

Part of the fourth he acknowledged and part he denied.

To the fifth he answered, that the premises were so far true, as his replies had set forth. Whether all men spake evil of them, he knew not, because he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

He was then ordered to appear the following day in St. Mary's church in Oxford, to give his final answer, and afterwards committed to the custody of the mayor.

When Latimer was brought into court, the bishop of Lincoln warmly exhorted him to return to the unity of the church, from which he had revolted.

The same articles which were proposed to Dr. Ridley, were read to Mr. Latimer, and he was required to give a full and satisfactory answer to each of them.

His replies not appearing satis-
N^o 4.

factory to the court, he was dismissed and ordered to appear in St. Mary's church at the same time with Dr. Ridley.

According to order the commissioners met at the place appointed, and Dr. Ridley being first brought before them, the bishop of Lincoln stood up, and began to repeat the proceedings of the former meeting, assuring the culprit that he had full liberty to make what alterations he pleased in his answers to the articles proposed to him, and to deliver the same to the court in writing.

After some debate, Dr. Ridley pulled out a paper, and began to read, but the bishop interrupted him, and ordered the beadle to take the writing from him. The Doctor desired permission to read on, declaring the contents were only his answers to the articles proposed; but the bishop and others having privately reviewed it, they would not permit it to be read in open court.

When the articles were again administered, he referring the notary to his writing, and he set them down according to the same.

The bishop of Gloucester affecting much concern for Dr. Ridley, persuaded him not to indulge an obstinate temper, but recant his erroneous opinions, and return to the unity of the Holy Catholic church.

Our martyr coolly replied, that he was not vain of his own understanding, but was fully persuaded, that the religion he professed was founded on God's most holy and infallible church; and therefore he could not abandon or

T

deny

deny the same, consistent with his regard for the honour of God and the salvation of his immortal soul.

He desired to declare his reasons, wherefore he could not, with a safe conscience admit of the Popish supremacy, but his request was denied.

The bishop finding him inflexible in the faith, according to the doctrine of the reformation, thus addressed him : *Dr. Ridley, it is with the utmost concern that I observe your stubbornness and obstinacy, in persisting in damnable errors and heresies, but unless you recant, I must proceed to the other part of my commission, though very much against my will and desire.*

No reply being made, sentence of condemnation was read, and he was carried back again to prison.

When Mr. Latimer was brought before the court, the bishop of Lincoln informed him, that though they had already taken his answers, to certain articles alledged against him, yet they had given him time to consider on the same, and would permit him to make what alterations he should deem fit, hoping by that means to reclaim him from his errors and bring him over to the faith of the Holy Catholic church.

The articles were again read to him, but our martyr deviated not in a single point from the answer he had already made.

Being again warned to recant and revoke his errors, he refused, declaring that he never would deny God's truth, which he was ready to seal with his blood ; sentence of condemnation was then pronounced against him, and

the session broke up, having committed Latimer to the custody of the mayor.

Soon after, Dr. Ridley was solemnly degraded by the bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and delivered over to the secular power in order for execution.

The fatal day was October 16, 1555, and the place appointed, Townditch behind Baliol college.

Dr. Ridley came to the stake in his ecclesiastical habit, which he wore when a bishop, and Mr. Latimer in an humble plain lay-dress. They embraced each other on the melancholy occasion, and Dr. Ridley encouraged his fellow labourer and fellow sufferer in the cause of Christ, to be of good cheer, assuring him, that God would either assuage the fury of the flame, or enable them to endure it.

Our martyr then kneeled down, and, with great earnestness, entreated assistance from Almighty God, to sustain the fiery trial that awaited them.

When they arose from prayer, one of the Popish priests, in an occasional sermon, upbraided them with heresy and departure from the church of Christ : Dr. Ridley was desirous of vindicating himself from the aspersions of the priest, but was denied that liberty, and commanded to prepare immediately for the fire, unless he would recant and abjure his heretical opinions ; without hesitation therefore, he took off his clothes, distributed them among the populace, and, together with Latimer, was chained to the stake.

Latimer soon expired, crying, O
Fa-

Father of Heaven, receive my soul :
 But Ridley, by reason of the fire
 burning low, and not flaming about
 his body, endured the most exquisite
 torture, leaping in the fire, and beg-
 ging, for Christ's sake, that the flames
 might surround him, till at length
 some of the spectators having taken off
 part of the faggots, the fire had vent, and
 the bag of gun-powder, that was tied
 about his neck, exploded, after which
 he was not seen to move, but fell down
 at the feet of his fellow sufferer for
 the cause of Christ.

Thus did these two pious divines
 and stedfast believers, testify with
 their blood, the truth of the ever-
 lasting gospel, upon which depend
 all the sinner's hopes of salvation, to
 suffer for which, was the joy, the glory
 of many eminent Christians, who,
 having followed their dear Lord and
 Master, through much tribulation in
 this vale of tears, will be glorified for
 ever with him, in the kingdom of his
 father, and our father, of his God,
 and our God.

THOMAS WHITTELL, *Priest*, BART-
 LET GREEN, *Gent.* JOHN TUD-
 SON, JOHN WENT, THOMAS
 BROWN, ISABEL FOSTER, and
 JOAN LASHFORD.

THESE seven persons were
 brought together before bishop
 Bonner, at his Consistory court held
 in St. Paul's church, and the follow-
 ing articles administered to them in
 the following form.

*These articles, and every part and
 parcel of them, we Edmund Bonner,
 by the permission of God, bishop of Lon-
 don, do object and minister unto thee
 Thomas Whittell, &c. of our meer
 office, for thy soul's health, and reforma-
 tion of thine offences and misdemea-
 nours, admonishing thee in virtue of
 obedience, and under the pains both of
 the censures of the church, and the laws
 of the realm, to answer, fully, plainly
 and truly to the same.*

1. *Whether they, and each of them
 did believe there is a Catholic church?*

To this they replied in the affir-
 mative, but Tudson and Brown added
 further, that the church of England,
 as it was at present used, was not part
 of the true Catholic church.

2. *That there are in the church se-
 ven sacraments.*

To this they answered in the nega-
 tive, declaring they acknowledged only
 two sacraments in Christ's Catholic
 church, Baptism and the Supper of
 the Lord.

Went and Tudson affirmed, that
 the sacrament of the altar, then used,
 was an idol, and consequently no sa-
 crament.

3. *That they were first baptized in
 the faith of the Catholic church, pro-
 fessing by their godfathers, their faith
 in the same.*

They all confessed that they were
 baptized in the faith of Christ and of
 the church then used, but that after-
 wards, during the reign of King Ed-
 ward VI. hearing the gospel preached,
 and the great truths of the same o-
 pened and explained, they followed
 the

the forms and doctrines then used and set forth.

4. *That they, for the space of certain years, did ratify and allow, and not depart from any part of the profession of the same church, in which they were baptized.*

To this article they all assented; but John Went added moreover, that about seven years past, being then twenty years old, he began to dislike certain ceremonies used in the church of England, and did at present dislike the same, though his godfather and godmother promised for him to the contrary.

Tudson also declared, that nine years ago, being then about eighteen years old, he disapproved the doctrines and ceremonies then taught and set forth in the church of England, excepting the time of King Edward, when the gospel was truly preached; but, that the religion, set forth in the present reign, was not agreeable to God's word, nor the true Catholic church, instituted by Christ and his apostles.

Isabel Foster declared, in answer to this fourth article, that she continued in the same faith and religion, in which she was baptized, after she came to years of discretion, till the reign of King Edward VI. at which time hearing the gospel fully and faithfully preached, she received and embraced the doctrines then taught and set forth.

5. *That they of late years have swerved and gone away and spoken against the profession of the same church of England, at least some part thereof, especially the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of*

the altar, and the authority of the church of Rome.

This they all acknowledged, but Whittell added to the general confession, that he had swerved not in the whole, but in part, not from the whole Catholic church, but from the church of Rome, in speaking against the mass, the sacrifice thereof, and the supremacy of the Pope.

Joan Lashford also declared, that she never heretofore swerved, or did swerve from any part of Christ's Catholic faith and religion, but that from the time she was eleven years of age, she disliked the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the Papal See, as well as the doctrines and practices of the same, because they were contrary to God's holy word, and the religion contained in the gospel.

6. *That they refused to be reconciled to the unity of the church of Rome.*

This they all acknowledged, because that church and its doctrines and practices, were contrary to the unity of Christ's word and the true Catholic faith.

Bartlet Green added, that he was contented to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's Catholic church, but not to the church of Rome.

7. *That they refused to come to hear mass and to receive the said sacrament, calling it an idol.*

This also they confessed to be true, assigning as a reason, that the mass, with the sacrament thereof, as then used and set forth in the church of England, was dissonant and disagreeable to the word and preaching of the gospel.

Went

Went further observed, that the mass, which he called the Lord's Supper, as it is now used in the realm of England, was full of idolatry, and against God's word, and that he much repented his having been present at the same thro' fear of persecution, since the Queen's coronation.

Isabel Foster confessed, she had not heard mass, nor received the sacrament, but refused coming into the place where it was administered, because she knew there was no such sacrament founded on the word of God.

Being demanded her belief concerning the same, she declared, there was only material bread, and material wine, and not the real substance of the body and blood of Christ in the same sacrament, as she had been taught to believe by the ministers of the gospel in the time of King Edward VI. when she believed the word of God was preached in its purity.

8. *That they were sent by the commissioners to the bishop to be examined and imprisoned.*

Generally granted.

9. *That all and singu'ar the premises have been, and are true and manifest, and that they are of the diocese and jurisdiction of London.*

Generally granted.

Having thus given a brief and comprehensive account of the examination of these persons in the consistory court of the bishop of London, we proceed to a more minute and circumstantial relation of the particulars of each, individually considered.

THOMAS WHITTELL was a
N^o 4.

married priest, and an eminent and laborious minister of the gospel in the county of Essex, during the late reign, but upon the accession of Queen Mary, with other faithful labourers in the vineyard of Christ, was deprived of his living, and wandered from place to place, preaching in private as often as opportunity afforded.

In process of time he was apprehended by one of the Popish Emissaries, who amongst many others made a trade of informing against heretics, (as they were then called) and brought before the bishop of Winchester, who being at that time indisposed, he was referred to the bishop of London. When he appeared before his lordship, he asked him, if he would have come to mass that morning if he had been sent for.

Whittell replied, he would have obeyed the summons of his lordship, though he had no veneration for the mass.

Bonner was so incensed at this reply, that striking him with his fist on his face, he said, *Villian, thou shalt be fed with bread and water.*

The bishop afterwards employed a neighbouring priest to tamper with Whittell, promising him considerable preferment in the church, if he would recant his erroneous opinions and acknowledge the papal supremacy; but our martyr assured the priest, that he thought he held nothing but the truth, and therefore he could not so slightly abjure the same.

A paper to the following purport was then read to him in order for his subscribing the same: *I Thomas Whittell,*
U priest

priest of the diocese of London, acknowledge and confess with my mouth, agreeing with my heart, before you Reverend Father in God, Edmund by the grace of God bishop of London, my ordinary, that I do detest and abhor all manner of heresies and errors against the sacrament of the altar, or any of the sacraments of the church: which heresies and errors have heretofore been condemned in any wise by the Catholic church; and I do protest and declare by these presents, that I do both now hold, observe and keep in all points, the Catholic faith, and belief of Christ's church, according as this church of England, being a member of the said Catholic church, doth now profess and keep, and in no wise to swerve or decline from the said faith during my natural life, submitting myself wholly and fully to you Reverend Father, my said ordinary, in all things concerning my reformation and amendment at all times; in witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name.

To this bill, Whittell, at the instigation of the Popish emissary, and through fear of punishment subscribed his name; and the priest left him for that night with a promise of his liberty in the morning.

But when our martyr came to reflect seriously on his late conduct in abjuring the truth of God's most holy word, and denying his great Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, the sole head of the church militant, and triumphant, he suffered inconceivable horrors of conscience, insomuch that bereft of sleep, he threw himself on the ground, and during the whole deplored his back-

sliding, and treachery to a merciful Saviour and Redeemer, nor could he eat or enjoy any comfort of life, till he sent for the priest, told him the horrors that had wrung his soul, and torn his name from the paper he had subscribed.

His troubled mind was now at rest, and though he had no prospect before him but flames and certain death, he triumphed in what he had done, determining to live and die in the faith of Christ, nor retract the same on the severest penalty; and he was enabled by grace the of God to abide by the resolution; for he was soon after brought into the Bishop's court, examined and condemned with the rest of his companions and fellow-sufferers for the cause of Christ, and the everlasting gospel of grace and truth.

BARTLET GREEN was descended from a good family, and educated at the University of Oxford, where, by the blessing of God, on Peter Martyr's divinity lectures he obtained a sound knowledge of the Christian faith, and became a zealous professor of the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ.

When he left the university, he became a member of the Temple Society, and applied himself to the study of the common law, though he neglected not the scriptures, in which, for some time, he much delighted.

But as evil communication generally corrupts good manners, Mr. Green, by contracting an intimacy with several of his fellow students, was tainted with their vices and follies, and began to

to wax lukewarm in his profession, though it pleased Almighty God, by the power of divine grace, and the illuminations of his spirit, in a little time to convince him of the error of his ways, give him that repentance which needeth not to be repented of, and enable him to close with Christ for ever and ever, as he signified to a friend a little time before he suffered for the glorious cause.

The first cause of suspicion that Mr. Green deviated from the church of Rome, arose from a letter he wrote to one of his fellow students at Oxford, who had fled beyond sea, on account of his religion. This letter was an answer to one he had received from his friend, in which he was desired to inform him concerning the truth of a report, that gave out, that the Queen was dead.

The letter, being intercepted, was much aggravated by the Queen's council, as having a treasonable meaning; on which Mr. Green was taxed with having been the author of some printed questions, that were lately dispersed in the city, and on that suspicion committed to the Fleet.

Though upon examination, no part of the charge, could be proved, they still retained him, in order to propose some questions relative to religion, and thereby inveigh him into confessions that might afford them an opportunity of persecuting him, as an enemy to Popish principles and practices.

This artful procedure had the desired effect, for though they could not prosecute him upon the charge alledged, they inferred from the very cor-

respondence, that he maintained opinions contrary to the Holy Mother-church and committed him, on meer presumption, to the Tower of London.

After they had confined him some time, they sent him to the bishop of London and a letter with him, acquainting his lordship, that he was erroneous in his religious principles, and desiring that he might be treated accordingly.

The bishop, in the presence of several other prelates, the Archdeacon and Dean, treated Mr. Green with much respect, and enquired the cause of his imprisonment.

Our martyr informed his lordship, that he was confined on account of a letter he had wrote to an intimate friend, whose name was Gorden, tho' he had made proper submission.

Bonner, though at first he treated him with affected tokens of respect, appeared desirous of adding him to the number butchered this year by the bigotted sons of the Roman church, for when he had vindicated himself from the charge brought against him, he asked him, if since he was a prisoner, he had not spoken or written against the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar? Mr. Green desired his lordship not to put new questions to him, as he was cleared of the old; upon which a lawyer present assured him, that though he was cleared of Treason, yet, if during his confinement he had maintained heretical opinions, his ordinary had a right to proceed against him on that account.

De-

Desiring to be discharged according to law, one Chadrey a priest was sent forth, who reported that in the presence of the Lieutenant of the Tower, Mr. Green had spoken against the real presence and the sacrifice of the mass, and averred that the church of Rome was the church of Antichrist. Being demanded by the bishop if the charge was true, and if he would defend the same by scholastic reasoning; he wisely replied, that he had not presumption enough to make such an attempt before so learned a body, but that he was satisfied in his own mind concerning those points, which was sufficient for his salvation.

The lawyer then took him aside, and desired him not to oppose the judgment of so many learned men, and indeed the whole church, but to conform to the doctrines and ceremonies of the same as of undoubted authority and indisputable validity.

The lawyer's effort proving vain, the bishop used the most soothing means to gain our martyr over to the Popish cause, invited him to sup at his own table, lodge in his palace, and accept of divers other tokens of respect.

From hence the artful prelate took occasion to ask him, why he departed from the literal sense of the words about the sacrament, where Christ says, *This is my body*?

Mr. Green endeavoured to evade the answer, but being pressed by the bishop, replied, he was inclined to reject the literal sense from the manner of speaking, from the circumstance itself, and by comparing it with other passages of

scripture, allowing that Christ took bread, and affirmed it to be his body, though he could not understand the affirmation as literal, but as figurative, in the same manner as when Christ is called a door, a vine, a way, &c.

He was dismissed for the present, and afterwards sent for and examined by the bishop and several others, but he continued stedfast in his faith, notwithstanding all their arguments and persuasions.

All endeavours failing, he was summoned to appear at the consistory court, and there examined concerning the articles already mentioned.

The following are the particular answers of our martyr to the articles proposed to him, as drawn up by the bishop's register at his lordship's command.

Bartlet Green, born in the city of London, in the parish of St. Michael Bassishaw, of the diocese of London, aged twenty-five years, being examined in the bishop's palace there, the 27th of November, 1555, upon certain articles, answered as followeth, viz.

That neither in the time of King Edward the sixth, after the mass by him was put down, nor in the time of Queen Mary, when the mass was restored again, he hath heard any mass at all; but he saith, in the reign of the said Queen's majesty, he the said Bartlet at two several times on two Easter-days, in the chamber of John Pulline, one of the preachers in King Edward's time, in the Parish of St. Michael Cornhill, in the diocese of London, did receive the communion with the said Pullint, and
Christ

Christopher Goodman, some time reader of the divinity-lecture in Oxford, now gone beyond the sea; and the second time with the said Pulline and one Runneger, master of arts, of Magdalen-College in Oxford.

And this examinant also saith, that at both the said communions, he and the others before-named did take and receive bread and wine; which bread and wine, which, he saith, were used there by the said Pulline, only reading the words of the institution expressed in the book of communion. In which receiving and using, this examinant saith, that he and others aforesaid did receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and that they received material bread and material wine, no substance thereof changed, and so no real presence of the body and blood of Christ being there, but only grace added thereto.

And this examinant saith, that he hath heretofore, during the reign of the Queen's majesty aforesaid, refused, and so doth now refuse to come and hear mass, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, as they are now used and ministered in this church of England, because he saith, that concerning the mass, he cannot be persuaded in his conscience, that the sacrifice pretended to be in the same, is agreeable to God's word, or maintainable by the same; or that without deadly offence he can worship the body and blood of Christ, which is pretended to be there.

And as concerning the sacrament of the altar, this examinant saith, that he heretofore, during the said reign, had refused, and now doth refuse to receive the same as it is now used in the church of

Nº V.

England, because it is not used according to the institution of Christ, both in a strange tongue, and also not ministered in both kinds; and besides that contrary to God's word, it is taught, that the thing there ministered is to be adored as the real and true body of Christ.

And furthermore this examinant saith, that during the said reign, he hath not been confessed to the priest, nor received the absolution at his hands, because he is not bound by God's word to make auricular confession.

BARTLET GREEN.

Great proposals of honour and profit were made to him during his confinement, if he would conform to the church of Rome, but he absolutely refused a conduct repugnant to the dictates of his conscience, on any terms.

While he was confined in Newgate, he deported himself in a manner as did honour to the cause he professed, giving friendly advice to the malefactors, relieving such prisoners as were in circumstances of distress, and procuring the release of some, whom he considered as objects of pity and compassion.

As he lived, so he died becoming a follower of Jesus Christ, resigning himself up to the cruelty of his tormentors, and patiently submitting to his lot of trial here, in order to appear hereafter as gold ten times purified in the fire and made meet to partake of the inheritance of the saints in light.

THOMAS BROWN, the martyr before us, resided in the parish of St. Brides,

X

Brides, Fleet-street, and was brought by the constable of the parish before the bishop of London, for absenting himself from his parish church.

Having been kept some time prisoner in the city, he was brought to the bishop's palace at Fulham, and there examined by his lordship and others concerning his faith.

When he was required to attend mass at the bishop's palace, he retired to an adjacent field, and kneeled down to private prayer among the trees, a conduct that highly incensed the prelate, who imputed it to an impious contempt of the mass.

On his last examination, the bishop told him, that he had taken much pains to reclaim him, and yet he reported that he sucked his blood: Our plain honest martyr replied, that he was indeed a blood-sucker, and that if he could prove his tenets heretical from scripture, he would conform to the church of Rome; but that he condemned him because he would not confess and believe the bread in the sacrament of the altar (as he called it) to be the body of Christ, therefore he shed his blood, and not only his but that of many of the Queen's loyal subjects, for which he must answer at a more just and impartial tribunal than that of his bloody consistory.

After this reply, he was immediately condemned and delivered over to the secular power.

JOHN TUDOR was brought before the cruel and arbitrary Bonner, to be proceeded against according to

ecclesiastical law for not conforming to the Moly Mother Church.

The bishop, after repeated examinations, publickly condemned him in the consistory court of London, for adhering to the doctrines he had been taught by the preachers in the time of King Edward the Sixth.

He persisted stedfastly in his faith, and courageously suffered in the cause of the gospel.

JOHN WENT and ISABEL FOSTER underwent the same form and were condemned to suffer the same fate. Joan Lashford had attended her father-in-law John Warne and her own mother Elizabeth Warne, when they were confined under condemnation for heresy, for which they were both burned as we have already observed. This giving suspicion that she was of the obnoxious persons in those days called heretics, she was brought before bishop Bonner and by him examined and condemned.

The seven believers in, and servants of Jesus Christ, were led together to the place of execution at Smith-field, there fastened to three stakes and consumed in one fire, freely yeilding up their lives in the testimony of the truth, and sealing with their blood the doctrines of that gospel they zealously supported when living.

JOHN LOMAS, ANN ALBRIGHT, JOAH CATMER, AGNES SNOTH, JOAN SOLE, who were burned in the city of Canterbury.

THE first of the sufferers in the cause of God and truth resided in the parish of Tenderden in the County of Kent, and was cited to appear in the Spiritual Court held at Canterbury, the beginning of January 1556, when the following articles were exhibited against him.

1. *Whether he believed the Catholic church?*

He replied, he believed so much as was contained in God's word and no more.

2. *Whether he would be confessed to a priest?*

He answered, that he found it not written, that he should be confessed to any priest in God's book, neither would he confess unless he was accused by some man of sin.

3. *Whether he believed the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, really to remain under the forms of bread and wine after the consecration?*

He answered, that he believed no reality of Christ's body in the sacrament, neither found he it written that he is there under any form.

Lomas was then dismissed, but being brought before the court the ensuing day, re-examined, and refusing to recant the opinions he had before openly declared, because they were founded on the word of God, he was

delivered over to the secular power in order for execution.

AGNES SNOTH, of the parish of Smardon, was accused of heresy and cited to appear before the judges of the Spiritual Court, where she was compelled to answer explicitly to several articles administered to her.

With respect to confession, she denied not to make known her manifold offences to her fellow Christians, nay the whole world, in order to shew the corruption of the human heart, and extol the riches of Divine grace, but could not admit of what they called auricular confession to a priest.

Touching the sacrament of the altar, she protested that she received the sacrament, as Christ and his apostles after him delivered it, but that the manner in which it was now administered in the church of England, was contrary to the divine institution.

Being examined concerning penance, she absolutely denied its being a sacrament, and further added, that the Popish manner of absolution was not agreeable to the word of God, nor necessary to be taken: Sentence was then pronounced, and she was committed to the custody of the sheriffs of Canterbury till the day appointed for her execution.

ANN ALBRIGHT being before the court, it was objected to her concerning auricular confession, as it had been to the preceding culprit; she declared she would not be confessed to a priest, and thus addressed the priests who were present on the occasion;

Ye

Ye priests are the children of perdition, and can do no good by your confession. She also told the judge and his assistant that they were subvertors of Christ's truth, and that the sacrament of the altar was an abominable idol.

This bold and peremptory declaration caused her sentence to be read immediately, and she was delivered up to the sheriffs in order to be executed according to the bloody statute then in force.

JOAN SOLE, of the parish of Horton, was condemned by the same iniquitous court, for denying the real presence in the sacrament, and sentenced to the same death with the foregoing.

JOAN CATMER was the wife of a martyred husband, and brought with the rest to the stake, for persevering in the faith and practice set forth in the time of King Edward VI.

These five steadfast servants of God and willing followers of the blessed Jesus, were burned together at two stakes in the city of Canterbury, rejoicing in the flames, and chaunting hallelujahs to God and the Lamb, who had given them the victory over all their enemies, and a good hope through grace, that when this earthly tabernacle was dissolved, they had a house, not made with hands, but eternal.

THOMAS CRANMER, *Archbishop of Canterbury.*

THIS eminent prelate was descended from an ancient and honourable family that came in with the Conqueror.

His father dying in his infancy, the care of his education devolved on his mother, who sent him, at the age of fourteen years, to the University of Cambridge, where he made so rapid a progress in literature, that he was elected as early as possible fellow of Jesus College.

During his residence in the College he had so highly attracted the esteem of the other fellows, that having forfeited his fellowship by marriage, they re-elected him on the decease of his wife with universal consent.

Mr. Cranmer retained so grateful a sense of this favour, that when he was nominated to a fellowship, in Cardinal Wolsey's new foundation at Oxford; though the salary was much more considerable, and the way to preferment more easy, through the Cardinal's great interest; he declined the offer, chusing rather to continue with his old fellow collegians, who had given so singular a token of their esteem.

In the year 1523, he commenced Doctor of Divinity, being then in the thirty fourth year of his age, and acquired great reputation for theological learning, insomuch, that he was elected reader of the divinity lecture in his own college, and appointed, by the Uni-

University, examiner of those who took their degrees in that particular branch of study.

The candidates he examined chiefly out of the scripture, and finding many of them grossly ignorant of sacred writ, having wasted their time on intricate points, and the perplexed questions of the schoolmen, he rejected them as insufficient for the arduous task of the public ministry, advising them to apply most assiduously to the study of the Divine Word, before they applied for their degrees, it being shameful for a professor of divinity to be unskilled in that book, upon which the system they profess is solely founded.

These upright proceedings exposed him to the hatred of some, but procured him the esteem of others, who returned him their sincerest thanks for contributing so essentially to their improvement in sound divinity.

During his residence at Cambridge, the debate arose concerning the legality of King Henry's divorce; but the plagues breaking out in that University, he retired to Waltham-Abbey, where casually meeting with Gardiner and Fox, the former being the King's Almoner, the latter his Secretary, he conferred with them concerning the divorce, and commended the expedient suggested to the King by Cardinal Wolsey, of consulting the divines of our own and foreign universities, which he thought would bring the matter to a short issue.

This opinion of Dr. Cranmer was related by Fox and Gardiner to the King, who immediately sent for him to court, and admiring his gravity,

Nº 5.

modesty and learning, determined to afford him his sanction and patronage, and accordingly, in a short time, he appointed him one of his chaplains, gave him a good benefice, and nominated him to the archdeaconry of Taunton.

At the King's command he drew up his own judgment of the case in writing, and so learnedly defended it in the public school at Cambridge, that he brought divers of the opposite party to his opinion.

In a matter of such moment, the friends of the reformation will not it is presumed be displeased with the following abstract of the arguments, on which Dr. Cranmer, with all who favoured the divorce, grounded their judgment; these were taken partly from scripture, from fathers, councils and schoolmen.

From scripture they argued, that the prohibited degrees in Leviticus, were not only obligatory to the Jewish nation but moral precepts, and the primitive laws of marriage, as appeared from the judgments denounced against the Canaanites of the violation of them, and their being said to have polluted the land thereby, which cannot be accounted for, if these were only positive Jewish institutions; that amongst those prohibited degrees, the marriage with the brother's wife was one, and that the breach of these precepts was called an unclean thing, wickedness and abomination: that the dispensation in *Deuteronomy* of marrying with the brother's wife, only shewed that the foundation of the law was not in its

Y

own

own nature immutable, but might be dispensed with by immediate divine revelation, but that it did not follow, that the Pope by his ordinary authority, could dispence with it; and that to pretend that the sense of the precept was only a prohibition of having the father's wife in his life time, was a poor, low cavill, it being universally unlawful to have any man's wife whatever, while he was yet living.

The constant tradition of the church was clear against the lawfulness of the marriage. *Origen* on *Lev.* xx. *St. Chrysostom* on *Matt.* xxii. and *St. Basil*, in his epistle to *Diodorus*, expressly asserts these precepts to be obligatory under the gospel, and in the Latin church, *St. Ambrose*, *Jerome* and *Austin* were of the same opinion.

Tertullian, who lived within an age after the apostles, in his fourth book against *Marcion*, affirms, that the law of not marrying the brother's wife does still oblige Christians.

Pope *Gregory* the Great had given the same determination in answer to *Austin* the first archbishop of Canterbury, and directed him to advise all who had married their brother's wives, to look on their marriage as a most grievous sin, and to separate from their society.

Other Popes had declared themselves of the same judgment, and particularly *Innocent* the Third, who wrote with great force against such marriages.

To these were added many testimonies from the writers of latter ages, the Schoolmen and Canonists but the

judgment of the purest antiquity being so full and express, we pass over them as less material, only observing that on the contrary side none could be produced before *Wickliffe* and *Cajetan*, who looked on these prohibitions to respect the judicial law of the Jews alone.

The second Canon of the council of the Neocæsarea decrees, that if a woman were married to two brothers, she should be excommunicated till death, and that the man who married his brother's wife, should be anathematized.

The fifty first Canon of the council at Agde, reckons the marriage with the brother's wife, amongst incestuous marriages; and decrees, that all such marriages are null, and the parties so contracting to be excommunicated, till they separate; and the contrary doctrine and error of *Wickliffe* had been condemned not only in convocation at London and Oxon, but in the general council of Constance.

Because some endeavours were made to evade this by a pretence, that the marriage with *Prince Arthur* was never consummated; it was farther alledged, that the consummation was not necessary to make a marriage complete, as might be inferred from *Deut.* xxii. 24, where the woman, who was only espoused to a man, if she admitted another to her bed, is commanded to be stoned as an adulteress; and though *Joseph* had never consummated the marriage with the Blessed Virgin, yet it appears from *Matt.* i. 19. that he could not put her away, without a solemn bill of divorce.

But

But in this case, there was not the least ground to imagine, that the marriage had not been consecrated.

The marriage bed was solemnly blessed when they were put into it, they were seen publicly in bed together, for several days after.

The Spanish Ambassador had, by his master's order, taken proofs of the consummation of the marriage, and sent them to Spain.

After the death of the young Prince, his brother was not created Prince of Wales, till ten months were elapsed, that they might be certain that the Princess was not pregnant, before they conferred the honour on him.

She herself never said any thing to the contrary, and in the petition offered to the Pope in her name, as repeated in his bull, it is said that the marriage was perhaps consummated; nay, farther, in the Pope's brief, it is plainly confessed, that the marriage was actually consummated.

In the year 1530, Dr. Cranmer was sent by the king to dispute on this subject at Paris, Rome, and other foreign places.

At Rome he delivered his book to the Pope, and offered to justify it in a public disputation, but after many promises and appointments, none appeared to oppose him publicly, and in more private conferences he forced them to confess that the marriage was contrary to the law of God.

The Pope constituted him Penitentiary General of England, and then dismissed him.

In Germany he gave full satisfaction

to many learned men, who were before of a contrary profession, that the marriage was contrary to the law of God, and prevailed on the famous Osiander, to declare the King's marriage, in his Treatise of Incestuous Marriage, and to draw up a form of direction, how the King's process should be managed, which was sent over to England: before he left Germany, he was married to Osiander's niece, whom when he returned from his embassy, he did not take over with him, but privately sent for in 1534.

In August 1532, Archbishop Warham departed this life, and the King thinking Dr. Cramer the most proper person to succeed him in the See of Canterbury, wrote to him to hasten home, concealing the reason; but Cranmer shrewdly divining the cause, proceeded slowly on, hoping that the See might be filled before his arrival, though his procrastination was of no avail, for the king, immediately on his return, opened his design of preferring him to the Archiepiscopal See, as the most proper person to fill that important office in the church.

The Pope, notwithstanding Cranmer was a man by no means attached to the See of Rome, dispatched eleven bulls to confirm him in his dignified situation.

By the first, which was directed to the King, he was on his nomination, promoted the See of Canterbury; by the second directed to himself, notice was given him of his promotion; the third absolved him from all censures; the fourth was sent to suffragans, the fifth to the Dean and Chapter; the sixth

sixth to the clergy of Canterbury; the seventh to all the laity; the eighth to all that held lands of the See, requiring them to acknowledge him as Archbishop; by the ninth his consecration was ordered, upon taking the oath in the Pontifical; by the tenth the pall was sent him, and by the eleventh the Archbishop of York and bishop of London, were ordered to put it on.

These bulls the Archbishop, according to custom, received, but immediately surrendered them to the King, because he would not acknowledge the Pope's power of conferring ecclesiastical dignities in England, which he esteemed the sole right of the King.

He was consecrated March 30, 1533, by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, John Voicy, bishop of Exon, and Henry Standish, bishop of St. Asaph; because, in the oath of fidelity to the Pope, which he was obliged to take before his consecration, there were some things seemingly inconsistent with his allegiance to the King, he made a public protestation, that he intended not to take the oath in any other sense, than that which was reconcileable to the laws of God, the King's just prerogative and the statutes of this kingdom, so as not to bind himself thereby to act contrary to any of these.

This protestation he renewed, when he was to take another oath to the Pope, at his receiving the pall, and both times desired a Prothonotary to make a public instrument of his protestation, and the persons present to sign it.

The first public office in which the Archbishop was concerned, was pronouncing the sentence of the King's divorce from Queen Catherine, which was done May the 23d, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and the bishops of London, Bath and Lincoln being in commission with him.

The Queen, after three citations, neither appearing in person, nor by proxy, was declared contumacious, the depositions relative to the consummation of the marriage with Prince Arthur were read together with the provinces of Canterbury and York, and the opinions of the most noted canonists and divines in favour of the divorce; the Archbishop then with the unanimous consent of the rest of the commissioners, pronounced the marriage between the King and Queen Mary, null and of no force from the beginning, and declared them separated and divorced from each other, and at liberty to engage with whom they pleased.

In this affair the archbishop proceeded only upon what had been already concluded by the Universities, Convocations, &c. and did no more than put their decisions into a form of law.

On the 21th of May he held another court at Lambeth, in which he confirmed the King's marriage with Ann Boleyn.

The Pope, alarmed at these proceedings, by a public instrument declared the divorce null and void, and threatened to excommunicate the Archbishop, unless he would revoke all that he had done; whereupon the Archbishop appealed from the Pope to the next general council, lawfully called, and

and sent the appeal under his seal to Bonner, desiring him and Gardiner to acquaint the Pope with it in such manner as they should think most expedient.

On the 7th of September, the new Queen was delivered of a daughter, and baptized a few days after by the name of Elizabeth, Archbishop Cranmer standing Godfather.

When the supremacy came under debate, and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome was called in question, the Archbishop answered all the arguments brought in defence of the papal tyranny, with such strength and perspicuity, and solidly confuted its advocates from the word of God, and the universal consent of the Primitive church that the foreign power was, without scruple, abolished by full consent of parliament and convocation.

Archbishop Cranmer had many years desired the destruction of this usurped jurisdiction, as he himself declared in a sermon at Canterbury, because it was the occasion of many things being done contrary to the honour of God, and the good of this realm, and he perceived no hopes of amendment while it continued.

This he now saw happily effected, and soon after ordered an alteration to be made in the archiepiscopal titles; instead of *Apostolicæ Fidis Legatus*, styling himself *Metropolitanus*.

The king, whose authority was now almost as universally acknowledged as the Pope's, had long viewed the monasteries with a jealous eye, thinking that these being by their privilege of exemption engaged to the See of Rome,

N^o 5.

would prove a body of reserve for the Pope, always ready to support his claim.

This was supposed to be the chief motive which inclined the King to think of dissolving them; and Cranmer being consulted on this head, approved of the resolution.

He saw how inconsistent those foundations were, with the reformed religion, he had then in view; and proposed, that out of the revenues of the monasteries, the King should found more bishoprics, that the dioceses being reduced into less compass, the bishops might the better discharge their duty according to scripture and private practice.

He hoped also that from these ruins there would be new foundations erected in every Cathedral, to be nurseries of learning under the inspection of the bishop for the use and benefit of the whole diocese: but these noble designs were unhappily defeated by the sinister arts of some avaricious court, who without fear of God, or regard to the public good, studied only sacrilegiously to raise their own fortunes, out of the spoils of the church.

When Queen Anna Boleyn was sent to the Tower on a sudden jealousy of the King, the archbishop was greatly concerned for her misfortune, and did his utmost endeavour to assist her in her distress.

He wrote a letter to the king, in which, after having recommended to him an equality of temper, and resignation to the divine will, he endeavoured to dispose his majesty to clemency and a good humour, and most earnestly implored, that however un-

Z

fortunate

fortunate the issue of this affair might prove, he would still continue his regard to the revealed word of God, lest the enemies of the Gospel should give out that it was for her sake alone, that he had favoured it.

But neither the letter of the archbishop, nor a very moving one wrote by the unfortunate lady, made the least impression upon the king, who persisted in the cruel resolution, and she was executed in the Tower, May 19, 1536.

The following year the Archbishop, with the joint authority of the bishops, set forth that valuable book, intitled, *The Institution of a Christian Man*.

This book was composed in convocation, and drawn up for a direction to bishops and clergy. It contained an Explication of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave-Maria, Justification, and Purgatory.

This was a great step towards the future Reformation; for in this book the universal pastorship of the bishop of Rome, is declared to have no foundation on the word of God, the Church of England is asserted to be, as truly and properly, a Catholic and Apostolic church, as that of Rome, or any other church where the Apostles personally resided, and all churches are affirmed to be equal in power and dignity, built upon the same foundation, governed by the same spirit, and on as good grounds expecting the same glorious immortality.

In the article of the sacrament of the altar, though the corporal presence is asserted, yet it is only said, that

this sacrament is to be used with *all due Reverence and Honour*, without any mention of the adoration of the elements.

The superstitious notions of the people concerning the ceremonies and injunctions of the church, in thinking them of stricter obligations than moral duties are censured; in the exposition of the second commandment, bowing down to, or worshiping of images, is expressly condemned. The invocation of saints is restrained to begging their intercession for us, and health of body and mind, remission of sin, grace and future happiness, are said to be above the disposal of created blessings for the obtaining which application must be made to God alone: the clergy are forbid to pretend to temporal jurisdictions, independent on the civil magistrate, passive obedience is asserted without restriction, and all resistance on what pretence soever condemned: the people are cautioned against mistaking the Ave-Maria for a prayer, which which is only an hymn of praise: Justification is attributed to the merits and satisfaction of Jesus Christ alone, exclusive of the merit of good works, and the Pope's pardons, masses at *Scala Cæli*, or before any celebrated images, are declared unprofitable to deliver souls out of the middle state of punishment, concerning the nature and degrees of which it is affirmed, that we have no certainty from Revelation.

This worthy Prelate from the very day of his promotion to the see of Canterbury, had continually employed his thoughts on getting the Holy Scriptures translated into English: he had often

often solicited his majesty about it, and at length obtained a grant that they might be translated and printed.

For want of good paper in England, the copy was sent to Paris, and by means of Bishop Bonner a licence was procured for printing it there.

As soon as some of the copies came to the archbishop's hands, he sent one to the Lord Cromwell, desiring him to present it in his name to the king, importuning him to intercede with his majesty, that by his authority all his subjects might have the liberty of using it without constraint, which his lordship accordingly did, and the king readily complied with his request.

Injunctions were immediately published, requiring an English bible of the largest size to be procured for the use of every parish church, at the expence of the minister and churchwardens, and prohibiting all discouraging the people from reading or hearing the scriptures.

The sacred volume was received with inexpressible joy; every one that was able purchased it, and the poor greedily flocked to hear it read. Many persons advanced in years learned to read on purpose that they might peruse it, and even little children crowded with eagerness to hear it.

The archbishop was not convinced of the falsity and absurdity of the doctrine of the corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar, as appears from his being unhappily concerned in the prosecution of Lambert, who was burnt Nov. 20, 1538, for denying transubstantiation.

In 1539, Cranmer and other prelates who favoured a reformation, fell under the king's displeasure, because they could not be persuaded to give their assent in parliament, that the king should have all the revenues of the monasteries which were suppressed to his sole use.

They had been prevailed upon to consent, that he should have all the lands which his ancestors gave to any of them, but the residue they would have bestowed on hospitals, schools, and other pious and charitable foundations.

Gardener bishop of Winchester, and the rest of the Popish faction, took this opportunity to insinuate themselves by their hypocrisy and flattery, into the king's favour, and to incense him against the archbishop.

This is thought (and with much justice) to have been the cause of the king's zeal, in pressing the bill containing the six bloody articles, by which none were allowed to speak against transubstantiation, on pain of being burnt as heretics, and forfeiting their goods and chattels, as in cases of treason; it was also thereby made felony and forfeiture of lands and goods, to defend the communion in both kinds, or marriage of the clergy, or those who had vowed celibacy, or to speak against private masses and auricular confession.

The archbishop argued boldly in the house against the six articles three days together, and that so strenuously, that though the king was so resolute in passing the act, he desired a copy of his reasons against it, and shewed not

not the least resentment towards him for his opposition to it.

The king would have persuaded him to withdraw from the house, since he could not vote for the bill, but after a decent excuse he told his majesty, that he thought himself obliged in conscience, to say and shew his disapprobation.

When the bill passed, he entered his protest against it, and soon after he sent his wife away privately to her friends in Germany.

The king who loved him for his probity and courage, sent the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Lord Cromwell, to assure him of the continuance of his esteem and favour, notwithstanding his opposition to the late act.

In 1540 the king issued out a commission to the archbishop and a select number of bishops, to inspect into matters of religion, and explain some of its chief doctrines.

The bishops drew up a set of articles favouring the old Popish superstitions, and meeting at Lambeth vehemently urged the archbishop, that they might be established, it being the king's will and pleasure; but neither by fear nor flattery could they prevail on this truly sincere man to consent to it; though it happened at a time when his friend the Lord Cromwell lay in the Tower, and he himself was supposed daily to lose ground in his majesty's favour.

Relying on the justice of his cause, which was that of Christ and his Gospel, he went to the king, expostulated with him, and so wrought upon

his mind, that he joined with the archbishop against the rest of the Commissioners, and the book of articles was drawn up, and passed according to Cranmer's judgment.

In the course of this year the largest volume of the English Bible was published, with an excellent preface the Archbishop prefixed to it; and Bonner, then newly consecrated bishop of London, set up six of them in the most convenient places of his cathedral of St. Paul's, for the people to resort unto and read. So different was his conduct then, to what it appeared to be in the days of Queen Mary.

After the fall of Lord Cromwell, Archbishop Cranmer, observing the restless spirit of his adversaries, and how they lay upon the watch for an opportunity to bring him into trouble, thought it prudent to retire for a season, and to live as privately as the duties of his station would permit him: notwithstanding which, his implacable enemy, bishop Gardiner, was daily plotting his destruction, and having procured one Sir John Gostwicke to accuse the Archbishop in parliament, of encouraging Novel opinions, and making his family a nursery of heresy and sedition, divers lords of the privy-council moved the King to commit the Archbishop to the Tower, till enquiry should be made into the truth of this charge.

His majesty, perceiving there was more malice than truth in these clamours against the Archbishop, one evening, under pretence of diverting himself upon the water, ordered his

his barge to be rowed to Lambeth side.

The Archbishop's servants acquainting their lord of his Majesty's near approach, his lordship came to the water-side, to pay his respects to the King, and to invite him into his palace.

The King commanded him to come into the barge, and made him sit down close by him, and when Cranmer had obeyed his Majesty's command, he began to complain to him of the nations being overrun with heresy and new notions of divinity, which he had reason to fear might be of dangerous consequence, and that the faction might, in time, break out into a civil war, and be the cause of much blood-shed and the total ruin of many of his honest and peaceable subjects; to prevent which, his Majesty told him, he was resolved to seek after the grand Incendiary, and to take him off by some exemplary punishment.

He then proceeded to ask the Archbishop his opinion of such a resolution, though Cranmer divined the meaning of the question, yet he freely and without the least appearance of concern, replied, that his Majesty's resolution was greatly to be commended, and that not only the prime Incendiary, but also the rest of the factious heretics ought to be made public examples to the terror of others; but then he cautioned the King not to charge those with heresy, who made the inspired writings the rule of their faith, and could prove their doctrines by clear testimonies from the word of God.

Upon this the King came to the

N^o 5.

main point, and told him that he had been informed, that he was the Grand Incendiary, who encouraged heresy and heterodoxy, and that his authority had occasioned the six articles to be so publicly contested in his province.

The Archbishop modestly replied, that he could not acknowledge himself to be of the same opinion, with respect to those articles, as he had declared, when the bill was passed, though he was not conscious to himself of having offended against the act.

The King, putting on an air of pleasantry, asked him whether his bed-chamber would stand the test of those articles; the Archbishop honestly confessed, that he was married in Germany, during his embassy at the Emperor's court, before his promotion to the See of Canterbury; but at the same time assured his Majesty, that on the passing that act, he had parted with his wife, and sent her abroad to her friends.

The King was charmed with his free and unreserved reply, and pulling off the mask assured him of his favour, told him of the information preferred against him, and the parties who pretended to make it good.

Cranmer assured the King, that he was ready to stand the severest scrutiny, and willing to submit himself to a legal trial.

The King put the cause into his own hands and committed the conduct of it entirely to him.

This the Archbishop remonstrated: would be censured as partiality, and the King's justice called in question,

A a

but

but his majesty had so strong an opinion of Cranmer's integrity, that he resolved to leave it to his conduct, and having farther assured him of the entire confidence he reposed in him, dismissed him.

The Archbishop immediately sent down his Vicar-general, and principal register to Canterbury, to make diligent enquiry into the affair, and trace the progress of this plot against him.

In the mean time his adversaries importunately pressed the king to send him to prison, and oblige him to answer the charge of heresy.

At length his Majesty resigned so far to their solicitations, as to consent, that if the Archbishop could fairly be proved guilty of any one crime, either against church or state, he should be sent to prison; in this the King acted the politician, intending, by thus seemingly countenancing the prosecution, to discover who were Cranmer's adversaries, and what was the length of their design against him.

At midnight he sent a gentleman of his privy-chamber to Lambeth to fetch the Archbishop, and when he was come, told him that he had been daily importuned to commit him to prison as an encourager of heresy, and how far he had complied with the request of his enemies.

Cranmer returned his majesty thanks for this timely notice, and declared himself willing to go to prison and stand trial, for being conscious that he was not guilty of any offence, he thought that the best way to clear his innocence, and remove all unreasonable and groundless suspicions.

The king admiring his simplicity, told him he was to blame to rely so confidently on his innocence, for if he were once under a cloud, and hurried to prison, there would be villains enough to swear any thing against him, but while he was at liberty and his character untainted, it would not be so easy to suborn witnesses against him.

At length his majesty generously told him, that since his unguarded simplicity rendered him less cautious than he ought to be, he would suggest to him the means of his preservation.

To-morrow, said the King, you will be sent for to the Privy-council, and ordered to prison; upon this you are to request that since you have the honour to be one of the board, you may be admitted into the Council and your informers brought face to face, and then if you cannot clear yourself, you are willing to go to prison: If this reasonable request is denied you, appeal to me, and give them this sign that you have my authority for so doing. Then the King took a ring off his finger, gave it to the archbishop, and dismissed him.

The next morning Cranmer was summoned to the Privy-council, and when he came, was denied admittance into the Council Chamber.

When Dr. Butts, one of the king's physicians heard of this, he came to the archbishop, who was waiting in the lobby among the men-servants, to shew his respect to his grace, and protect him from insults.

The King, sending soon after for the doctor, he acquainted his majesty with the shameful indignity put upon the
the

the archbishop. His majesty incensed that the Primate of all England should be treated in so contumelious a manner, immediately sent to command them to admit him into the Council-chamber.

At his entrance he was saluted with an heavy accusation, of having infected the whole realm with heresy, and commanded to the Tower, till the whole of this charge was thoroughly examined.

The archbishop desired to see the informers, and to have the liberty of defending himself before the council, and not to be committed to prison on bare suspicion.

But this being absolutely denied him, and finding that neither arguments nor intreaties would avail, he appealed to the king, and producing the ring he had given him, put a stop to their proceedings.

When they came before the king, he severely reprimanded them, expatiated on his obligations to Cranmer for his fidelity and integrity, and charged them, if they had any affection for him, to express it by their behaviour to the archbishop.

Cranmer having escaped the snare, shewed not the least resentment for the injuries done him, and from this time forward had so great a share in the king's favour, that nothing was attempted against him.

The troubles of this great and good man are thus related by Archbishop Parker, who living in those times, must be allowed much better authority than those who lived at a greater distance.

The Archbishop's Vicar-general and

register, being found negligent and dilatory, the king sent Doctor Lee privately to Canterbury, to examine into this conspiracy against the archbishop, and make his report of what he could discover.

On a strict enquiry, he found letters from Bishop Gardiner's secretary, by which it appeared that that prelate had been the principal promoter of the prosecution against the archbishop.

When the bishop of Winchester perceived that his designs against Cranmer were detected, fearing the consequence, he wrote him a very humble penitent letter, in which he acknowledged himself to have been guilty of great folly in crediting those slanderous reports that were raised against the archbishop, as if he had been a favourer of heresy and false doctrines; declaring that he was now entirely satisfied, that these accusations were wholly false and groundless, asking pardon, in most submissive and affectionate terms, for his great rashness and undutifulness, and promising all future obedience and fidelity to the archbishop, whom he stiled his good and gentle father.

On the reception of this letter, the archbishop, laying aside all resentment against him, resolved to forget what was past, and said, since Gardiner called him Father, he would prove a Father to him indeed; and when the king would have laid his letter before the House of Lords, Cranmer prevailed with him to let the matter subside.

The same lenity he shewed towards Dr. Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and Dr. Barber; who though entertained in

in his family, entrusted with his secrets, and indebted to him for many favours, had ungratefully and treacherously conspired with Gardiner to take away his life.

When he first discovered their treachery, he took them aside into his study, and telling them that he had been basely and falsely accused by some, in whom he had always reposed the greatest confidence, desired them to advise him, how he should behave towards them. Not suspecting that they were concerned in the question, they replied that such vile, abandoned villains ought to be prosecuted with the utmost rigour, nay, deserved to die without mercy.

At this the Archbishop, lifting up his hands to Heaven, cried out, *Merciful God, whom may a man trust!* and pulling out of his bosom the letters, by which he had discovered their treachery, asked them if they knew those papers.

When they saw their own letters produced against them, they were in the utmost confusion, and falling down on their knees, humbly sued for forgiveness.

The Archbishop mildly told them he forgave them and would pray for them, but that they must not expect him ever to trust them for the future.

Dr. Cranmer was much blamed by many for his too great lenity, which it was thought encouraged the Popish faction to make fresh attempts upon him.

The King observing their implacable hatred against him, and the perils to which he was exposed, on account of the zeal, for the reformation of

those abuses, under which the church groaned, changed his coat of arms, from three Cranes to three Pelicans, intimating thereby, that he must, like the Pelican, shed his blood for his spiritual childrens benefit, if it should please God to call him thereto.

The Archbishop now finding the juncture somewhat favourable, argued against the sanguinary act of the six articles in the Parliament house, and pressed for a mitigation of its severity, with such strength of reasoning, that the King and Lords Temporal, agreed to moderate the rigour of the statute.

Soon after King Henry prepared for an expedition against France, and ordered a Litany to be said for a blessing on his arms; the Archbishop prevailed with him to let it be set forth in English, assuring his majesty, that the service in an unknown tongue, rendered the people negligent in coming to church.

This, with the prohibition of some superstitious and unwarrantable customs, touching vigils and the worship of the cross, was all the progress the reformation made, during the reign of King Henry VIII. for the intended reformation of the Canon law, was, by the craft of Gardiner, suppressed for reasons of state, and the King, towards the close of his life, seemed to have had a strong bias towards Popish superstitions, and to frown on all attempts to introduce a reformation.

On the 28th of January, 1546, King Henry paid the debt of nature, and was succeeded on the throne of England by his only son Edward, who was God-son to the Archbishop, and had

had been under the tuition of men, who favoured the reformation.

Archbishop Cranmer was one of those, whom the King had nominated for his executors, and who were to take the administration of the government into their hands, till King Edward arrived at the age of eighteen years; and when the Earl of Hertford was afterwards chosen Protector, his power was limited, so that he could do nothing without the advice and consent of all the other executors.

It must be confessed that the rash zeal of some of our reformers against the usurped Papal supremacy carried them too far, and made them stretch the regal authority, to such an exorbitant height, as was inconsistent with the Divine commission of the clergy, and seemed to reduce the church to almost absolute subjection to the State.

That Archbishop Cranmer run into this extreme, is plain, not only from his answers to some questions relative to the government of the church, first published by Dr. Stillingfleet, in his mischievous Irenicum, but from the commission, which he now took out, from the new king, whom he petitioned for a revival of his jurisdiction; and as he had exercised the functions of an Archbishop during the former reign, so that authority determining with the late King's life, his present majesty would trust him with the same jurisdiction.

On this error of the archbishop, the modern Papists make tragical outcries, forgetting that it was the common mistake of those times, and that it is usual for men, in the first heat of their

N^o 5.

zeal against any pernicious error, to run too far the contrary way.

King Henry, who died in the Roman communion (though his imperfections are so freely charged on the reformation by the Papists) had, in his will, left six hundred pounds *per annum* for masses for his soul, with provision for four solemn obits every year, but by the influence of the Archbishop, this superstitious part of his will, notwithstanding his strict and solemn charge for its execution, was neglected.

On the 20th of February, the Coronation of King Edward was solemnized at Westminster Abbey.

The ceremony was performed by Archbishop Cranmer, who made an excellent speech to the king in which after a just censure of the Papal encroachments on princes, and a declaration, that the solemn ceremonies of a coronation add nothing to the authority of a prince, whose power is derived immediately from God; he proceeds to inform the king of his duty, exhorts him to follow the precedent of good Josias, to regulate the worship of God, to suppress idolatry, reward virtue, execute justice, relieve the poor, and punish the evil doer.

It may not be improper to transcribe what he says concerning the Divine original of kingly power in his own words, to rectify some prevailing notions in the present day.

The solemn rites of coronation, (says he) have their ends and utility, yet neither direct force or necessity; they be good admonitions to put kings in mind

B b

of

of their duty to God, but no increase of their dignity, for they be God's anointed, not in respect of the oil which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power which is ordained, of the sword, which is authorized, of their persons that are elected of God, and endued with the gifts of his spirit, for the better ruling and guiding of the people.

The oil, if added, is but a ceremony, if it be wanting, the king is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and God's anointed, as well as if he was inoiled.

Then follows his account of the king's duty, after which he goes on; Being bound by my function to lay these things before your Royal Highness, yet I openly declare before the living God, and before these nobles of the land, that I have no commission to denounce your majesty deprived, if you miss in part, or in the whole of these performances.

This speech had so good an effect on the young king, that a royal visitation was resolved on, to rectify the disorders of the church, and reform religion.

The visitors had six circuits assigned them, and every division had a preacher, whose business it was to bring off the people from superstition and dispose them for the intended alterations.

To render the impressions of their doctrines more lasting, the Archbishop thought it highly proper to have some Homilies composed, which might by a plain method teach the grounds and foundation of true religion, and correct the prevailing errors and superstitions.

On this head he consulted the bi-

shop of Winchester, and desired his concurrence, but to no purpose, for Gardiner, forgetting his large profession of future obedience to the Archbishop, was returned, with the dog, to his vomit, and wrote to the Protector to put a stop to the reformation in its birth.

When Cranmer perceived that Gardiner was obstinate, he went on without him, and set forth the first Book of Homilies, in which himself had the chief hand.

Soon after, Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament, was translated, and placed in every church for the instruction of the people.

On November 5, 1547, a convocation was held at St. Paul's, which the Archbishop opened with a speech, in which he put the clergy in mind of applying themselves to the study of the Holy Scriptures and proceeding according to that rule, in overthrowing the corrupt innovations of Popery; but the terrour of the six articles being a check on the majority, they acquainted the Archbishop with their fears, who, reporting it to the council, obtained the repeal of that act.

In this convocation, the communion was ordered to be administered in both kinds, and the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy, affirmed by a great majority.

In the latter end of January, the Archbishop wrote to Dr. Bonner, to forbid, throughout his diocese, the ridiculous processions, which were used in the Popish times, on Candlemas-day, Ash-Wednesday, and Palm-Sunday, and to cause notice thereof to be given

given to the other neighbouring bishops, that they might do the same.

He was also one of the committee appointed to inspect the offices of the church, and to reform them according to scripture, and the purest antiquity, and by them, a new office for the Holy Communion was drawn up and set forth by authority.

This year also, were published the Archbishop's catechism, intituled, *A short Instruction in Christian Religion, for the singular profit of Children and young People*, and a Latin Treatise of his, *against unwritten Verities*.

From this catechism, it is plain, that he had now recovered himself from those extravagant notions of the regal supremacy, into which he once unfortunately ran; for here he strenuously asserts the divine commission of bishops and priests, enlarges on the efficacy of their absolution and spiritual censures, and earnestly wishes for the restoring the primitive penitentiary discipline.

The licence, which was now given to men of learning and judgment, freely to preach and write against the Popish corruptions, began to be abused by men of great confidence and gross ignorance, who took this opportunity to spread many pernicious errors: to prevent such, therefore, from propagating their blasphemous principles, they were convened before the Archbishop, and prevailed on to recant, and abjure their false notions.

One Joan Bocher continuing deaf to all arguments and obstinately persisting in her pernicious principles against all persuasions, the Archbishop

thought it necessary to make her an example, to terrify others from the like obstinacy, and crush the spirit of heresy, as it were, in the bud, and therefore having first excommunicated, delivered her over to the secular power, upon which, she was condemned to be burnt.

But these rigorous proceedings by no means redounded to the honour of Cranmer and were very inconsistent with the merciful disposition of the young King, who long withstood the signing a warrant for her execution, and when over-awed by the authority and reasoning of Cranmer, he at length, with great reluctance consented, and with tears in his eyes, said to the Archbishop, *My Lord, if I do amiss in this, you must answer for it to God*.

In 1549, the Popish faction broke out into a dangerous rebellion, and tho' they were soon suppressed in Kent, Oxfordshire, and Suffex, yet in Norfolk and Devonshire, they were formidable for their numbers, and increased daily to the terror of the government.

The Lord Russel was sent down with forces against them, and to him they delivered fifteen articles, in which they demanded, in the most insolent terms, the revival of the six article act, the restitution of the old superstitions, and that Cardinal Pole should not only be pardoned, but sent for home, and made a privy-counsellor, and that the Abbey-lands should be restored.

The Archbishop drew up a large and full answer to their demands, clearly

clearly shewing how unreasonable they were, how prejudicial to the real interest of the nation, and of what mischievous consequence to religion, and justly abusing the corruptions of Popery.

Bishop Bonner was suspected to be a secret abettor of this rebellion, and one of the rebels chief pleas being, that during the minority of the King, the state had no authority to make laws; Bonner was enjoined to preach on this very subject, to shew the falshood and danger of such pernicious tenets, and assert the King's just power.

But instead of obeying, in his discourse he cast bitter reflections on the government, and information being given thereof by Latimer and Hooper, a mission was issued out to Archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley, and others, to proceed against him.

When he appeared before the commissioners, he refused to give any direct answer to the charge laid against him, pretending that the cause of his present trouble was his asserting in his sermon, the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar.

Then he began in the most audacious and insolent manner to question the Archbishop, concerning his belief in that point, but was told that they came not there to dispute, but to hear what answer he could make, to the crimes laid to his charge.

The Archbishop bore with his insolence most patiently, no less than seven successive sessions, when finding him incorrigible, and that he was resolved not to answer to the articles

alleged against him, but as rather to revile his judges, he, in the name of the rest of the commissioners pronounced him *Contumax*, and proceeded to the sentence of deprivation.

Bonner protested against the validity of the sentence, because he did not appear before them, of his own free will, but as a prisoner, and constrained to appear; but the Archbishop informed him, that the same plea might be made by any traitor or rebel, since no criminal is willing to be brought to justice.

The next year bishop Gardiner also, for his obstinate opposition to the reformation, was cited before the Archbishop, and the rest of the commissioners.

At his first appearance, he protested against the authority of his judges, and excepted against the legality of their commission; he protested also against the persons who appeared against him, and behaving himself in the same haughty and arrogant manner as Bonner had done before, he was at length deprived, after they had borne with his insolence, no less than two and twenty sessions, at different places, from the 15th of December, to the 14th of February.

This year the Archbishop published his *Defence of the true Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ*.

He had now, by the advice and assistance of Bishop Ridley, overcome those strong prejudices under which he had long laboured, concerning the corporal presence, and this treatise, from scripture and reason, very fully con-

confuted that superstitious doctrine.

The Papist party were alarmed at the publication of it, and soon after, two answers to it were published, one written by Mr. Smith, the other by Bishop Gardiner.

The Archbishop defended his book against them both, and was allowed by all impartial readers, to have the superiority in the argument.

The Archbishop's book was afterwards translated into Latin, and highly esteemed by all learned foreigners, for the great knowledge in scripture and ecclesiastical history therein discovered.

The next material occurrence in the life of this eminent divine, was the publication of the forty two articles of religion, which, with the assistance of Bishop Ridley, he drew up for preserving and maintaining the purity and unity of the church.

They were also revised by several other bishops and learned divines, and after their corrections, farther enlarged and improved by Cranmer.

These articles were agreed to by the convocation in 1552, and the following year, published by Royal Authority, both in Latin and English.

The Archbishop had formed a design, in the reign of the late king, to review and purge the old Canon Law from its Popish corruptions, and had made some progress in the work, but by the secret artifices of Gardiner and others, the King was prevailed on, not to countenance and encourage it.

In this reign he resumed his design, and procured a commission from the
N^o VI.

King, for himself, and other learned divines and lawyers, diligently to examine into the old church-laws, and compile such a body of laws, as they thought most expedient to be practised in ecclesiastical courts, and most conducive to order and good discipline.

The Archbishop prosecuted this noble undertaking, with great vigour, and had the principal hand in it: but when a correct and complete draught was finished and prepared for the Royal assent, the unhappy death of the good King blasted this great design, and prevented its confirmation.

This book was published by Archbishop Parker, in the year 1571, under the title of, *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.

King Edward, being now far gone in a consumption (not without strong suspicions of being brought into that condition by slow poison) and finding himself daily decay, began to think of settling the succession.

He had been persuaded, by the artifices of the Duke of Northumberland to exclude his sisters, and bequeath the crown to the Lady Jane Gray, who was married to Northumberland's son.

This the Duke pretended was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the reformed religion, which would be in great danger from the succession of the Princess Mary.

But in reality, he had nothing at heart, but the aggrandizing his own family, and entailing the crown on his posterity, for he was at that time, a secret Papist, as he afterwards confessed at his execution.

The Archbishop did his utmost to oppose this alteration of the succession, he argued against it with the King, telling him, that religion wanted not to be defended by such unrighteous methods; that it was one of the gross errors of the Papists, to justify the excluding or deposing Princes from their just rights on account of religion, and let the consequence be what it would, justice ought to take place, and the protection of the church, to be committed to the care of that righteous providence, which was never known to give a blessing to those who endeavoured to preserve themselves from any imminent danger by unlawful means.

But his majesty being over-persuaded by Northumberland's agents was not to be moved from his resolution: the will was made and subscribed by the council and judges, the Archbishop was sent for last of all, and required to subscribe, but he plainly told them he could not do it without perjury, having sworn to the entail of the crown, upon the two Princesses, Mary and Elizabeth. To this the King replied, that the judges, who best knew the constitution, should be most regarded in this point, and they had informed him, that notwithstanding that entail, he might lawfully bequeath the crown to the Lady Jane.

The Archbishop desired to discourse with them himself about this matter, and they all agreeing that he might lawfully subscribe the King's will, he was, after many persuasions, prevailed upon to resign his own private scruples to their authority, and at last, but not

without the utmost reluctance, he set his hand to it.

On the 6th of July, in the year of our Lord 1553, it pleased Almighty God to take to himself the pious young King, and the Archbishop, having subscribed to his will, thought himself obliged, by virtue of his oath, to join the Lady Jane.

But her short-lived power soon expired, and Queen Mary's title was universally acknowledged.

Soon after her accession, a false report was raised, that Archbishop Cranmer, in order to make his court to the Queen, had offered to restore the Latin service, and that he had already said mass in his Cathedral church of Canterbury.

To vindicate himself from this vile and base aspersion, he published a declaration, in which he not only cleared himself from that unjust imputation, but offered publickly to defend the English liturgy, and prove it consonant to scripture, and the purest antiquity, challenging at the same time his enemies to a disputation.

The declaration soon fell into the hands of the council, who sent a copy of it to the Queen's commissioners, by whom the Archbishop was immediately sent for and examined.

Cranmer owned the declaration, but complained that it had, contrary to his desire, stolen abroad in so imperfect a condition; for his design was to review and correct, and then having affixed his seal, to fix it up at St. Paul's, and on all the church doors in London.

This bold and extraordinary confession,

cession, so irritated the council, that they sent the Archbishop to the Tower, there to be confined, till the Queen's pleasure concerning him was known.

Some of his friends, who foresaw this storm, had advised him to consult his safety by retiring beyond sea; but he thought it would reflect a great dishonour on the cause he had espoused, if he should desert his station at such a time as this, and chose rather to hazard his life, than give just cause of scandal and offence.

In the middle of November, Archbishop Cranmer was attainted by the Parliament, and adjudged guilty of High Treason at Guildhall.

His See was hereupon declared void, and, on the tenth of December, the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury gave commissions to several persons to exercise Archiepiscopal jurisdiction in their name, and by their authority.

Cranmer wrote a very submissive letter to the Queen, in the most humble manner acknowledging his fault, in consenting to sign the King's will; acquainting her what pressing instances he made to the King against it, and excusing himself for being over-ruled by the authority of the judges and lawyers, who, he thought, understood the constitution better than he did himself.

The Queen had pardoned so many already, who had been far more deeply engaged in the Lady Jane's usurpation, that Cranmer could not for shame be denied; he was therefore forgiven the treason, but to gratify Gardiner's malice, and her own implacable hatred against him for her

mother's divorce, orders were given to proceed against him for heresy.

The Tower being full of prisoners, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, Latimer and Bradford, were all put into one chamber, for which, they blessed God, for the opportunity of conversing together, reading and comparing the scriptures, confirming themselves in the true faith, and mutually exhorting each other to constancy in professing it, and patience in suffering for it.

In April 1554, the bishops Ridley and Latimer, were removed from the Tower to Windsor, and from thence to Oxford, to dispute with some select persons of both Universities.

At the first appearance of the Archbishop in the public school, three articles were given him to subscribe, in which the corporal presence, by transubstantiation, was asserted, and the mass affirmed to be propitiatory for the sins of the living and the dead.

These he declared to be vile falsehoods, and promised to give an answer concerning them in writing.

Accordingly he drew them up, and when he was brought to the schools to dispute, he delivered the writing to Dr. Weston the Prolocutor.

At eight in the morning the disputation began, and held till two in the afternoon, during which time, the Archbishop constantly maintained the truth with great learning and force, against a multitude of clamorous and insolent opposers.

Three days after, he was again brought forth to oppose Dr. Harpsfield, who was to respond for his degree

degree in divinity: here he acquitted himself so well, clearly shewing the gross absurdities and inextricable difficulties of the doctrine of transubstantiation, that Weston himself, tho' a great bigot, could not but dismiss him with commendation.

In their disputation, among other slanderous reproaches, the Archbishop was accused with corrupting and falsifying a passage, which, in his Book of the Sacrament, he had quoted from St. Hilary; in answer to this he transcribed it *verbatim*, from the printed book, and that Dr. Smith, one of their own divines there present, had quoted it word for word also; but Smith made no reply, being conscious that it was true.

When the disputation ended, one Mr. Halcot remembering that he had Smith's book, went directly to his chamber in University College, and comparing it with Cranmer's, found the quotation exactly true. He afterwards looked into a book of Gardiner's called *The Devil's Sophistry*, where the same passage was cited, and both the Latin and English exactly agree with Cranmer's quotation and translation.

Upon this he determined to carry the books to the Archbishop in prison, that he might produce them in his own vindication; but when he came thither, he was stopped and brought before Dr. Weston and his colleagues, who upon information of his design, charged him with treason, and abetting Cranmer in his heresy, and committed him to prison.

The next day he was again brought

before them, and they threatened to send him to bishop Gardiner to be tried for treason, unless he would subscribe the three articles, concerning which the disputation had been held. This he then refused, but being sent for again, after the condemnation of Cranmer, through fear he consented to it, yet not till they had assured him, that if he sinned by so doing, they would take the guilt upon themselves, and answer for it to God.

But even this subscription of which he afterwards heartily repented, could not prevail for the restoring the books, lest he should shew them to their shame; nor for his entire discharge, the master of University College being commanded to keep a strict watch over him, till Gardiner's pleasure concerning him was known, and if he heard nothing of him in a fortnight's time, then to expel him the college for his offence.

On the 20th of April, Cranmer was brought to St. Mary's before the Queen's commissioners, and refusing to subscribe, was pronounced a heretic, and sentence of condemnation read against him as such.

Upon this the Archbishop told them, that he appealed from their unjust sentence and judgment, to the judgment of the Almighty, and that he trusted to be received to his presence in Heaven, for maintaining the truth of whose spiritual presence at the altar, he was there condemned.

His servants were now dismissed from their attendance, and himself closely confined in prison.

On the close of this year, a Popish con-

convocation met, and did Dr. Cranmer the honour, to order his book of the sacrament to be burnt, in company with the English Bible and Common-prayer Book.

Cranmer, in the mean time, spent his melancholy hours in writing a vindication of his treatise concerning the Eucharist, from the objections of Gardiner, who had published a book against it, under the feigned name of *Marcus Antonius Constantius*.

Many learned men of the Romish persuasion came to visit him in prison, and endeavoured by disputations and conferences, to draw him over to their church, but in vain.

In 1555, a new commission was sent from Rome, for the trial of Archbishop Cranmer for heresy, the former sentence against him being void in law, because the authority of the Pope, was not then re-established.

The commissioners were, Dr. Brooks bishop of Gloucester, the Pope's delegate, Drs. Storie and Martin, of the civil law. They met at St. Mary's church, and being seated at the high altar, commanded the Archbishop to be brought before them.

To the Queen's commissioners, as representing the supreme authority of the nation, he paid all due respect, but absolutely refused to shew any to the Pope's delegate, lest he should seem to make the least acknowledgment of his usurped supremacy.

Brooks, in a long oration, exhorted him to consider from whence he was fallen, advising him, in the most earnest and pathetic manner, to return to his Holy Mother, the Roman Catho-

N^o 5.

lic church, and by the example of his repentance, to reclaim those whom his past error had misled.

In this oration, he betrayed great ignorance both of scripture and antiquity; of scripture, by affirming that the Arians had more texts by two and forty, to countenance their errors, than the Catholics had for the maintenance of the truth; of antiquity, by making Origen write of Berengarius, who lived near eight hundred years after him, and by confounding the great St. Cyprian with another Cyprian of Antioch, laying the magical studies of the latter to the charge of the former.

When he had finished his harangue Dr. Martin in a short speech, began to open the trial, acquainting the Archbishop with the articles alledged against him, and requiring his answer.

The articles contained a charge of perjury, incontinence, and heresy, first on account of his opposition to the Papal Tyranny, the second in respect to his marriage; and the last, on account of the reformation in the late reign, in which he had the chief hand.

The Archbishop having liberty to speak, after he had repeated the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, began with a justification of his conduct, in relation of his renouncing the Pope's supremacy; the admission of which, he proved by many instances to be contrary to the natural allegiance of the subject, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the original constitution of the Christian church: in the close he boldly charged Brooks with perjury, for sitting there by the Pope's authority, which he had solemnly abjured.

D d

Brooks

Brooks endeavoured to vindicate himself and retort the charge on the Archbishop, by pretending that he was seduced by him to take that oath; but this Cranmer told him was a gross falsehood, the Pope's supremacy having received the said blow from his predecessor, Archbishop Warham; by whose advice King Henry had sent to both the Universities, to examine what foundation it had in the word of God; to which they replied and gave it under their seal, that by the word of God, the supremacy was vested in the King, not in the Pope; and that Brooks had then subscribed this determination, and therefore wronged him in pretending that he was seduced by him.

At this, Brooks was greatly incensed and exclaimed, *We came to examine you, and I think you examine us.*

Then Dr. Storie began to rail at the Archbishop in an indecent manner, for excepting against the authority of his judge, and moved bishop Brooks to require from him a direct answer to articles whereof he stood accused, or if he continued to deny the Pope's authority, and to decline answering, to pronounce sentence against him.

After this, Dr. Martin had a short conference with him concerning the supremacy, and the doctrine of the Eucharist, and they proceeded to demand his answer to certain points concerning the crimes laid to his charge, to which he replied in so full and satisfactory a manner, that Brooks thought himself obliged to make another speech to take off the impression his defence might have made upon the people.

The speech was made unbecoming

the gravity of a Reverend Prelate, consisting of scurrilous and unchristian railings, as well as uncouth and sophistical misapplications of scripture and of the fathers.

Soon after this, the Archbishop was cited to appear at Rome within fourteen days, and there to answer in person: to this he replied, that he would very willingly consent, if the Queen would grant him permission to go to Rome, and justify the reformation to the Pope's face.

But this citation was meer mockery, for he was kept all that time in close confinement, and yet at the expiration of the fourscore days declared *Contumax*; for wilfully absenting himself from Rome, whither he was legally summoned, and then degraded, as we shall see hereafter.

In order to demonstrate the insincerity of Dr. Stillingfleet, and vindicate the character of the Archbishop, we shall present the reader with his last opinion, delivered concerning the extent of the regal supremacy, as contained in his answer to Dr. Martin.

When that Doctor asked him, who was supreme head of the church; he answered, Christ is the head of this member, as he is of the Holy Catholic church.

When the Doctor again demanded, if he had not declared King Henry head of the church; yes, replied Cranmer, of all the people in England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal. What said Martin, and not of the church—no, certainly, declared the Archbishop, for Christ only is the head of his church, and of the faith of the same.

The

The February following, a new commission was given to bishop Bonner, and bishop Thirlby for the degradation of Archbishop Cranmer; accordingly they went down to Oxford and he was brought before them.

Having read their commission from the Pope, Bonner grossly insulted him, and he was severely reprimanded by bishop Thirlby. In the commission it was declared, that the cause had been impartially heard at Rome, the witnesses on both sides were examined, and the Archbishop's council allowed to make the best defence for him they could: at reading this Cranmer exclaimed, *Good God, what lies are these, that I being continually in prison, and not suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should produce witnesses and appoint my council at Rome! God must certainly punish this open and shameless lying.* When Bonner had finished his invective against him, they proceeded to degrade him, and to render him as ridiculous as possible, the episcopal habit which they put on him, was made of canvas and old rags.

Then pulling out of his sleeve a written appeal, he delivered it to them, saying, I appeal to the next general council.

When they had degraded, they cloathed him in the meanest garb and delivered him over to the secular power.

While he continued under confinement, no endeavours were omitted to win him over to the church of Rome.

Many of the most eminent divines in the University resorted to him daily, hoping by arguments and persuasions to work upon him, but all was in-

effectual, for he held fast the profession of his faith without wavering, and could not be shaken by any of the terrors of this world from his constancy in the truth; nay, when he beheld the cruel martyrdom of his dear friends and companions, bishop Ridley and Latimer, he was so far from shrinking, that he prayed to God to strengthen them, and by their example, to animate him to a patient expectation, and endurance of the same fiery trial.

At length however, the Papists concerted a stratagem, which prevailed with him to comply for a time with their desire.

They removed him from prison to the apartments of the Dean of Christchurch, treated him with the greatest civility and respect, and made him great promises of the Queen's favour with many honours and preferments accumulated, if he would recant.

And now behold the weakness of the best of men, a notorious instance of human frailty! the man who had with such undaunted resolution; unshaken constancy, and a primitive spirit of martyrdom, faced the terrors of death, and defied the power of Earth and Hell, sinks at length under the weight of temptation, falls a prey to flattery and hypocrisy, denies his Lord and Master, and sets his hand to what he knew in his heart and conscience was repugnant to the word of truth, and the will of the unchangeable God of truth. There prevails a common error in opinion, that the Archbishop acknowledged the whole of Popery at once, and subscribed but one recantation;

But

But this mistake is rectified by the labour of the industrious Mr. Strype, who has discovered how subtilly he was drawn in by the Papists to subscribe six different papers; the first being expressed in ambiguous terms, capable of a favourable construction, and the five following pretended to be only explanations of the first.

It is probable that they had acquainted Cranmer with the whole of their design at once, for he could never have been seduced to redeem his life with such a dishonourable compliance; but when they had by their hypocrisy and artifice, drawn him into a first and second recantation, a shame to retreat after he had gone so far, and an unwillingness to lose the benefit of his past subscriptions, prevailed with him to go on.

Add to this, that when men so far distrust the goodness of God, as by unjustifiable compliments and sinful prevarications in lesser matters to seek to preserve their lives or fortunes, they put themselves out of the Divine protection, and can no longer promise themselves the assistance of restraining grace, to preserve them from the most heinous sins, and the most fatal consequences of their temptations, into which they have wilfully led themselves.

We have many notable instances in holy writ, that some of the dearest favourites of Heaven, have been so left to their own wills, as to be suffered to fall into the grossest crimes, that he who *thinks he standeth take heed lest he fall*, and to convince all Christians, that their perseverance de-

pends on God's faithfulness and strength and not on their own.

The copy of the Archbishop's first subscription ran thus:

Forasmuch as the King's and Queen's majesties, by consent of their parliament, have received the Pope's authority in this realm, I am content to submit myself to their laws herein, and to take the Pope for the chief head of this church of England, so far as God's laws, and the laws and customs of this realm will permit.

Thomas Cranmer.

This paper was immediately sent up to the Queen and Council; but being not satisfactory, another was offered him to subscribe, in fewer words, but more full, and with less reserve, and was as follows:

I, Thomas Cranmer, Doctor in Divinity, do subscribe myself to the Catholick Church of Christ, and unto the Pope supreme head of the same church, and to the King and Queen's majesties, and unto all their laws and ordinances.

Thomas Cranmer.

This also being thought too brief and ambiguous, a third, yet fuller and more express, was required of him, which was this:

I am content to submit myself to the King's and Queen's Majesties, and to all their laws and ordinances, as well concerning the Pope's Supremacy, as others: and I shall, from time to time, move and stir all others to do the like, to the utter-

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY
1207 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637



Engraved for Englands Bloody Tribunal.



The Burning of Archbishop Cranmer.

uttermoſt of my power, and to live in quietneſs and obedience to their Majeſties, moſt humbly, without murmur, or grudging againſt any of their holy proceedings, And for my book which I have written, I am content to ſubmit to the judgment of the Catholic Church, and the next General Council.

Thomas Cranmer.

This, like the reſt, not giving ſatisfaction, was immediately followed by a fourth, in theſe following words, viz.

Be it known by theſe preſents, that I Thomas Cranmer, Doctor of Divinity, and late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, do firmly, ſtedfaſtly, and aſſuredly believe, in all articles and points of the Chriſtian religion and Catholic Faith, as the Catholic Church doth believe, and hath believed from the beginning. Moreover, as concerning the ſacraments of the church, I believe unfeignedly in all points, as the ſaid Catholic Church doth, and hath believed from the beginning of Chriſtian Religion. In witneſs whereof I have humbly ſubſcribed my hand unto theſe preſents, the 18th day of February, in the year 1555.

Thomas Cranmer.

Having thus far wrought him into compliance, they grew more open, and called upon him to renounce and anathematize all Lutheran and Zuinglian heresies and errors, to acknowledge the unity of the Mother Church, and ſupremacy of the Pope, to whom all Chriſtians ſhould be implicitly ſubject. Then followed an explicit confeſſion of

N^o 6.

faith in the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, the ſeven ſacraments, purgatory, and all the Romiſh ſuperſtitious in general; with a prayer for forgiveness of his paſt heresies, and deſire that all who had, by his means, been ſeduced therefrom, might return to the unity of the Holy Mother Church.

Not deeming this confeſſion ſufficient, they cauſed a ſixth to be drawn up in the moſt expreſs terms, acknowledging all the Popiſh corruptions, and containing a moſt grievous accusation of himſelf as a blaſphemer, an enemy to the church, a deſtroyer of ſouls, deſerving of the acuteſt torments here, and eternal damnation hereafter.

Even this he ſubſcribed, unſuſpecting the deſign of the Papiſts, who determined, at all events, to take him off, nay, had even the ſigning the warrant for his execution.

As the ſentence formerly paſſed againſt our Martyr was invalid, becauſe the papal ſupremacy was not then admitted in England, a new commiſſion was diſpatched from Rome for the conviction of Dr. Cranmer.

Accordingly, on the 17th of March he was brought before the commiſſioners in St. Mary's church at Oxford, dreſſed in his clerical habit, and thus cited by one of the Proctors: *Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, appear, and answer to that which ſhall be alledged to thy charge; namely, blaſphemy, incontinence, and heresy: answer now before the biſhop of Glouceſter, repreſenting the Pope's perſon.*

But the venerable culprit reſuſed to ſhew any reſpect to him, bowing low to the Queen's commiſſioners in honour

E c

Engrav'd for Englands Bloody Tribunal.



The Burning of Archbishop Cranmer.

uttermost of my power, and to live in quietness and obedience to their Majesties, most humbly, without murmur, or grudging against any of their holy proceedings, And for my book which I have written, I am content to submit to the judgment of the Catholic Church, and the next General Council.

Thomas Cranmer.

This, like the rest, not giving satisfaction, was immediately followed by a fourth, in these following words, viz.

Be it known by these presents, that I Thomas Cranmer, Doctor of Divinity, and late Archbishop of Canterbury, do firmly, stedfastly, and assuredly believe, in all articles and points of the Christian religion and Catholic Faith, as the Catholic Church doth believe, and hath believed from the beginning. Moreover, as concerning the sacraments of the church, I believe unfeignedly in all points, as the said Catholic Church doth, and hath believed from the beginning of Christian Religion. In witness whereof I have humbly subscribed my hand unto these presents, the 18th day of February, in the year 1555.

Thomas Cranmer.

Having thus far wrought him into compliance, they grew more open, and called upon him to renounce and anathematize all Lutheran and Zuinglian heresies and errors, to acknowledge the unity of the Mother Church, and supremacy of the Pope, to whom all Christians should be implicitly subject. Then followed an explicit confession of

N^o 6.

faith in the doctrine of transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, purgatory, and all the Romish superstitions in general; with a prayer for forgiveness of his past heresies, and desire that all who had, by his means, been seduced therefrom, might return to the unity of the Holy Mother Church.

Not deeming this confession sufficient, they caused a sixth to be drawn up in the most express terms, acknowledging all the Popish corruptions, and containing a most grievous accusation of himself as a blasphemer, an enemy to the church, a destroyer of souls, deserving of the acutest torments here, and eternal damnation hereafter.

Even this he subscribed, unsuspecting the design of the Papists, who determined, at all events, to take him off, nay, had even the signing the warrant for his execution,

As the sentence formerly passed against our Martyr was invalid, because the papal supremacy was not then admitted in England, a new commission was dispatched from Rome for the conviction of Dr. Cranmer.

Accordingly, on the 17th of March he was brought before the commissioners in St. Mary's church at Oxford, dressed in his clerical habit, and thus cited by one of the Proctors: *Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, appear, and answer to that which shall be alledged to thy charge, namely, blasphemy, incontinence, and heresy: answer now before the bishop of Gloucester, representing the Pope's person.*

But the venerable culprit refused to shew any respect to him, bowing low to the Queen's commissioners in hon-

E c

our

our of his sovereign, but refusing the like to the bishop, because he had abjured the Papal Supremacy in England.

Dr. Brooks, the Pope's representative, then informed him, in a formal harangue, that they were vested with authority by the Pope, and also the King and Queen, to examine him; insisted on the heinousness of his crimes and exhorted him to return to obedience to the Papal See.

Dr. Martin, on the same occasion, inveighed against the Archbishop for acting contrary to the trust reposed in him, and produced articles against him for adultery, perjury, and heresy.

Cranmer having obtained permission to answer for himself, kneeled, said the Lord's Prayer, arose, and repeated the Apostle's Creed, which done, he made the following protestation in form: *This I do profess, as touching my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note; I will never consent that the bishop of Rome shall have any jurisdiction in this realm.*

A note was taken of this protestation, and Dr. Cranmer, being warned to observe his denial of that authority by which he then continued alive, being otherwise attainted of high treason, and a dead man by the laws of this realm, declared, in the presence of all the commissioners, that he was no traitor, and proceeding in his defence said, that he could not allow of the Pope's authority in England, for he had taken an oath to King Henry VIII. as supreme head of the church in his dominions, and the king was chief by the Holy Scriptures in his

own realm; and this was argued and agreed to by both the Universities, and he spoke largely against the Pope's authority in this kingdom.

One of the Doctors in Law then stood up and vindicated the Papal Supremacy in this realm, affirming, that, as the Pope's authority had been abolished by parliament, so now, being restored by parliament, it was as firm as ever.

Another Doctor addressed the Archbishop, concerning his making conscience of the oaths he had taken against the Pope's Supremacy, affirming, that the same was an unlawful oath, and ought not to be kept, and that he had first broken his oath to the Pope, and that he was not formerly of the faith he now professed, but had condemned Lambert for teaching two contrary doctrines.

Cranmer frankly acknowledged, that he was not formerly of the faith he now professed, with respect to the sacrament, but was convinced of his error by conference with bishop Ridley and the scripture authorities which he quoted on the occasion.

After these questions and replies, the following articles were exhibited against the Archbishop in form.

1. *It was objected, that he being yet free, and before he entered into Holy Orders, married one Joan at the Dolphin in Cambridge.*

This he granted.

2. *That after the death of his aforesaid wife, he entered into Holy Orders, and was afterwards made Archbishop by the Pope.*

He replied, that having received a certain

certain Bull from the Pope, he delivered it to the King, by whom he was made Archbishop.

3. *That he being in Holy Orders married another woman, as his second wife, named Ann, and so was twice married.*

This he granted.

4. *That in the reign of King Henry VIII, he kept the said wife secretly, and had children by her.*

This he denied not, affirming, that it was better for him to have his own wife, than, like many hypocritical priests, to hold and keep the wives of others.

5. *That in the time of King Edward VI, he brought forth the said wife, openly affirming and professing publicly the same to be his wife.*

This he also owned, because then it was lawful and allowed him by the laws of the realm.

6. *That he had openly boasted of having had his wife in private many years.*

And though he did so, he said there was no cause for which he should be ashamed.

7. *That falling into divers damnable errors and heresies, he rejected and contemned the authority of the church, opposed the doctrine of the real presence in the sacrament of the Altar, and compiled and disposed divers books contrary to the tenets of the Holy Mother Church.*

When the names of the books were recited in their respective order, he denied not those books, of which he was author, but declared concerning the heresy of Peter Martyr upon the Sacrament, that he never saw it abroad,

though he well approved of his sentiments on that subject.

He acknowledged the book of Articles, with the book against the bishop of Winchester, to be his writing.

8. *That he compelled many against their wills to subscribe to the same articles.*

He confessed that he exhorted, but compelled none against their will to subscribe.

9. *That as he persisted in perpetrating enormous crimes, he was therefore committed to the Tower, and from thence brought to Oxford, at the time in which the Parliament was usually assembled there.*

To this he replied, that he knew of no enormous crimes of which he had been guilty.

10. *That in the said city of Oxford, he openly maintained his heresy, and was convicted upon the same.*

He acknowledged that he defended the cause of the Sacrament there, but denied that he was convicted of the same.

11. *That persisting in the same, he was by the public censure of the University, pronounced an heretic, and his books to be heretical.*

He confessed that he was denounced an heretic, but denied the validity of of the charge.

12. *That he was a notorious schismatic, and had not only receded from the Catholic church and See of Rome, but also moved the King and subjects of this realm to do the same.*

He granted that he had receded, but that his receding only from the See of Rome was by no means schismatical.

13. *That he had been twice sworn to the Pope, and Dr. Martin had produced the instrument of the public Notary, wherein was contained his protestation, made at the time of his consecration.*

To this he said, he did nothing but what was justifiable by the laws of the realm.

14. *That he had not only offended in the abovementioned instances, but most flagrantly insulted the Papal Supremacy, in consecrating bishops and priests without leave or licence from the Holy See.*

He granted, that he had executed such things as were to be referred to the Pope at the time when he was permitted so to do by the public laws and determinations of the realm.

15. *That when the whole realm had subscribed to the authority of the Pope, he alone persisted in his non-conformity.*

That he admitted not the Papal Supremacy he confessed, but denied that he erred in the same.

16. *That all and singular the premises be true—That he also granted, excepting those things, to which he had now answered.*

Having replied to these objections and articles, which were minuted down by the Public Notary, the judges and commissioners having executed the business for which they met, were on the point of departure; but the bishop of Gloucester finding the people moved by the behaviour of Cranmer, addressed them before they were dismissed.

He publicly declared, that he was sorry, heartily sorry for the Archbishop's obstinacy, and perverse continuance in his great crimes and error, especially against the Pope's Holiness,

and the Sacrament of the Altar, and that he also spoke many things concerning the authority of the Catholic Church.

Dr. Storie, on this occasion, thus addressed the Archbishop:

Mr. Cranmer, you have made a goodly process concerning your heretical oath made to the king; if you made it to him only, it ended at his death, and so became null. If you made it to his successors, his true successors have the empire, and they require you to dissolve the same, and become a member of Christ's Church again and it agreeth well with charity to do so.

The Archbishop would have replied, but was interrupted by the Doctor, who declared, that his oath was invalid, because defective in three essential points, Judgment, Justice, and Truth.

The witnesses against the archbishop having been produced and sworn to declare the next day whatever they knew concerning the heresies alledged against him; Dr. Story permitted him to except against any of them, and the Archbishop excepted in general against them as then perjured, and not in the Christian religion; for, said he, if to swear against the Pope were unlawful, they should rather have given their lives than their oaths: but if it were lawful, then they are perjured in defending him whom they abjured before.

After this a new commission arrived from Rome, empowering Dr. Thursby Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Bonner Bishop of London, with others, to sit upon Archbishop Cranmer, and they accordingly came to Oxford, and caused Cranmer to be brought before them, in

in the choir of Christ Church, where their commission was read, setting forth, *That in the court of Rome all things being indifferently examined, both the articles laid to his charge, with the answers made on the behalf of Thomas Cranmer, the party guilty, so that he wanted nothing appertaining to his defence.*

While the commission was reading, our martyr exclaimed, *O Lord, what lies are these, that I, being continually in prison, and never permitted to have counsel, or advocate at home, they should produce witness, and appoint my counsel at Rome! God will certainly punish this open and shameless lying.*

Having read the commission, which came with full power from the Pope, and therefore admitted of no appeal, they proceeded to Cranmer's degradation; first, putting on him the habit of a Bishop, but composed of canvas and old rags, with a mitre and pall of the same, and a crozier staff in his hand, and then gradually divesting him of the same.

The Archbishop took a paper out of his sleeve, and said, *I appeal to the next General Council, and herein, shewing his paper, said he, is comprehended my cause.*

They then pulled off his gown and jacket, and put on him an old threadbare beadle's gown, and a townsman's cap on his head, and then delivered him over to the secular power.

When the form of degradation was over, the insolent bishop Bonner said to Cranmer, *Now you are no more a Lord.*

He was ignominiously carried to prison, without a penny in his purse,
N^o 6.

nor dare any one give him any, for fear of incurring ecclesiastical censure, tho' the general pity was moved at the unworthy treatment of so good and great a man.

During his confinement, several eminent men of the University visited him, and endeavoured, by various means, to bring him over to the Roman Catholic faith; and at length brought a paper to him which, if he would subscribe, they assured him his life should be spared, otherwise, there were no hopes left of escaping the sentence passed upon him for heresy.

As an evidence, among many others, of the weakness of so great a man, Cranmer was prevailed upon to sign a recantation according to the following form:

I Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest, all manner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which be contrary to sound and true doctrine. And I most constantly in my heart, and with my mouth, do confess one Holy and Catholic Church, visible, without which there is no salvation: and therefore I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to be the supreme head on earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest bishop and Pope, and Christ's Vicar, unto whom all Christian people ought to be subject.

And as concerning the sacraments, I believe and worship in the sacrament of the altar, the very body and blood of Christ, being contained in, and most truly, under the forms of bread and wine,
E. f.

wine, the bread through the mighty power of God, being turned into the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the wine into his Blood.

And in the other six sacraments also, (like as in this) I believe and hold as the universal Church holdeth, and the Church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where souls departed are punished for a time; for whom the church doth godly and wholesomely pray, like as it doth honour saints, and make prayers to them.

Finally, in all things I profess, that I do not otherwise believe, than the Catholick Church and the Church of Rome holdeth and teacheth: I am sorry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchsafe to forgive me whatever I have offended against God or his church; and also I desire and beseech all Christian people to pray for me.

And all such as have been deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them, by the blood of Jesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

And to conclude, I submit myself to the Catholick Church of Christ, and to the supreme head thereof; so I submit myself unto the most excellent Majesties of Philip and Mary, King and Queen of this Realm of England, &c. and to all their laws and ordinances, being ready always, as a faithful subject, to obey them. And God is my witness that I have not done this for favour or fear of any person, but willingly and of mine own

mind, as well to the discharge of my own conscience, as to the instruction of others.

Thomas Cranmer.

Witness

Henry Sydall,

John de Villa Garcina.

As a terror and example to others, the Convocation caused the recantation to be printed and published, and transmitted one of the copies to the Queen, who notwithstanding his compliance with the terms of the Court, from an implacable hatred to him, resolved on his death, and that he should be executed not as a traitor but an heretic, and accordingly dispatched her commands to Dr. Cole to prepare a sermon for the occasion of his burning, which was fixed on the 21st of March.

Orders were also sent to divers officers of the peace to assemble at Oxford on that day, to prevent any tumults that might arise on account of the cruel treatment of so popular a man.

Words cannot express the horrors which now shook the very soul of our Martyr, destitute of even a glimmering hope of life, and torn by conscious guilt for denying the cause of his great Lord and Master, in basely signing a recantation.

The morning preceeding the day of his execution, he was visited by Dr. Cole, on a pretence of enquiring whether he continued in the faith he had lately professed, but Cranmer made an evasive reply, telling him, he was determined to abide in the Catholic faith.

On

On the morning of the fatal day, Cole came to him, enquired if he had any money, and on his answering in the negative, presented him with fifteen crowns, but gave him not the least intimation of his approaching death, exhorting him to continue stedfast in the faith which he had professed.

The same morning he was visited by a Spanish Friar who had been witness to his recantation, and then brought a paper containing articles, to be written and signed by Cranmer, who complied with the order, but not without some suspicion of his execution.

When the Friar departed, Dr. Cranmer wrote a prayer, and an exhortation, which he determined to repeat to the people, before he made the last profession of his faith.

At nine in the morning of the 21st of March 1556, the commissioners appointed to see the sentence executed, arrived at Oxford, whither a numerous concourse of people repaired to behold the bloody scene.

Cranmer was brought from prison in solemn state, preceded by the Mayor and aldermen, and walking between two Friars toward St. Mary's Church, the Friars repeating psalms in Latin alternately as they passed.

As soon as they entered the Church they began the song of Old Simeon in Latin, *Nunc dimittis*, &c. and so conducted Cranmer to a place raised above the floor, and opposite to the pulpit.

He was cloathed in a thread-bare gown, and vilely insulted by the bigotted part of the mob while the more

candid and humane beheld him with the utmost pity.

When he came to the part of the church where he was appointed to stand, he lift up his eyes to Heaven and continued in earnest prayer, till Cole mounted the pulpit and began the sermon he was ordered to compose on the occasion.

The sum and substance of this discourse, was a proof of the justice of the sentence executed on heretics in general and Cranmer in particular, who being a member of the Holy Mother Church, and promoted to the archiepiscopal dignity, had not only fallen into pernicious errors himself, but propagated the same, defended them by writings, preaching and authority, and drew many from their adherence to the Holy See.

To palliate Popish cruelty, he observed that God's mercy was so tempered with justice, that as he did not punish men according to the demerit of their crimes, so neither would he let them go always unpunished, as in the case of David, whom he punished with the pestilence for numbering the people.

He further added, that although Cranmer might have expected pardon according to the Canon of the church, seeing he abjured his errors, yet the following reasons might be offered, why the Queen and her council had adjudged him to suffer death.

First, that being a traitor, he had dissolved the lawful matrimony, between King Henry her father, and Queen Catherine her mother, as well

as

as driven the Papal authority out of the realm, while he was Metropolitan.

Secondly, That he had been an heretic, from whom, as from an author and only fountain, all heretical doctrines and schismatical opinions (that so many years prevailed in England) did first rise and spring; that he had not only been a secret favourer of these, but virulent defender of them to the end of his life, dispersing them abroad by writings and arguments to the manifest decay of the Holy Catholic Church.

Thirdly, that it seemed just and equitable, that as the death of the late Duke of Northumberland, made a recompence for the death of Sir Thomas More, the Lord Chancellor, who died for the Church, so there should be one to satisfy for the death of Dr. Fisher bishop of Rochester, and because the deaths of Ridley, Hooper and Farrar could not do it, it seemed fit that Cranmer should make it up.

He then exhorted his hearers to take example by this man, and not to promise themselves impunity or safety in any condition upon earth, as God's vengeance could overtake them, for this man (said he) who was once advanced to the highest dignity in the kingdom, next under the King, was now become so extremely miserable, that the poorest wretch would not change conditions with him.

At the close of this discourse he addressed himself to Cranmer, exhorted him patiently to submit to his sentence, to rely on the mercy of God, and assured him that Christ would receive him

to favour as he did the penitent thief, promising him also that Masses should be said for his soul in all the churches of Oxford.

During the course of the sermon, Cranmer indicated the most pungent distress of mind, and confusion of soul, lifting his eyes to Heaven to implore forgiveness, and casting them towards the earth as if abashed by conscious guilt to seek the pardon of so atrocious a crime, as that of denying the truth as it is in Jesus, and set his hand to the corruptions of the Roman church.

Dr. Cole having finished his sermon, or rather occasional harangue, thus addressed the audience;

Brethren, says he, lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you:

And therefore I pray you, Mr. Cranmer, that you will now perform what you promised not long ago, namely, that you will openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a Catholic indeed.

I will do it, says Cranmer, with a good will. So rising up, and putting off his cap, he began to speak to the people after this manner.

I desire you, well beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me to forgive me my sins, which above all men, both in number and greatness, I have committed; but among all the rest, there is one offence, which above all at this time doth trouble me, of which you shall hear more hereafter.

Then he took his written paper out

out of his bosom, recited, and spake as follows.

Good Christian people, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great without measure: But yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, of which you shall hear more afterwards.

But how great, or how many my sins be, I beseech you to pray to God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all. And here, kneeling down, he said:

O Father of Heaven! O son of God, Redeemer of the world! O Holy Ghost, three persons and One God, have mercy upon me, most wretched Caitiff and miserable sinner! I have offended both against Heaven and Earth, more than my tongue can express; Whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee! to Heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and on Earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To thee therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myself: O Lord my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences: Thou didst not give thy son, O Heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world; so that the sinner return unto thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy upon me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy, have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy's sake: I crave nothing, O Lord, for my own merits,

N^o 6.

but for thy name sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, &c. And now therefore, Our Father in Heaven, hallowed be thy name, &c.

Then rising up he said, Every man (good people) at the time of death desires to give some good exhortation, that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby: So I beseech God to grant me grace, that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you may be edified.

First, It is an heavy case to see people dote so much on this false world, and be so careful for it that they regard not the love of God, nor the world to come. Therefore my first exhortation shall be, that you set not your minds over-much upon this flattering world, but upon God and the world to come; and learn to know what this lesson meaneth, which St. John teacheth, That the love of this world is enmity with God.

The second exhortation is, That next under God, you obey your King and Queen, willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging, not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you, and therefore whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

The third exhortation is, that you love one another like brothers and sisters: for, alas! what pity is it to see what contention and hatred one Christian man beareth to another, not taking each other for brother and sister, but as strangers and mortal enemies. But I

G g

pray

pray you to learn, and bear well away this lesson, to do good unto all men as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own loving brother or sister; for this you may be sure of that whosoever hateth any person, or goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, sure'y, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour.

The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches in this world: They should well weigh and consider three sayings of the scripture; one is of Our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, it is hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of Heaven. The second is of St. John, He that has this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth his compassion towards him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? The third is of St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man after this manner: Weep and howl, ye rich men, for the misery that shall come upon you; your riches do corrupt; the garments are moth eaten, and your silver and gold do rust, and the rust of them do witness against you, and shall eat your flesh like fire: you treasure up God's wrath against you for the last day.

Let them that be rich ponder well these three sentences; for if ever they had occasion to shew their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor being so numerous, and provision so dear.

And now forasmuch as I come to the end of life, whereupon dependeth all my life past; and all my life to come, either to live with my master Christ for ever in

joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell; and I see before mine eyes presently, either Heaven ready to receive me, or else Hell ready to swallow me up; I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I believe without any colour or dissimulation, whatever I have said or written in time past.

First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, &c. And I believe every article of the Catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by Our Saviour Jesus Christ, his Apostles and Prophets, in the Old and New Testament.

And now I come to the great thing that troubles my conscience, more than any thing I ever said or did in my whole life; and that is, the setting abroad a writing contrary to truth, which I now here renounce and refute, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth, which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be: and that is, all such bills and papers which I have signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue.

And forasmuch as my hand offended, in writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for when I come to the fire, it shall be first burned.

And as for the Pope I refute him as Christ's enemy, and Anti-Christ, with all his false doctrine: and as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester. The which book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgement of

of God, where the Papistical doctrine contrary thereunto shall be ashamed to shew its face.

This ingenuous declaration of our martyr at once confounded and amazed the populace, being an absolute refutation of what he had professed in a late extorted recantation.

The Popish part of the audience upbraided him as a dissembler; but he answered with flowing eyes and abashed countenance, that he ever detested falshood, loved truth and simplicity, and never in his life dissembled but on that sole occasion.

He then proceeded more explicitly to declare his opinion concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, but the Papists vehemently exclaimed, *Stop the heretic's mouth, down with him, down with him*, which done, they led him towards the fire, while the Friars upbraided him with folly and madness in returning to his damnable errors, and thereby obviating the least probability of the royal clemency.

But all persuasion was now vain; he regarded not their expostulations, nor made any reply; one indeed, who was remarkably officious, and very troublesome, he desired to go home, retire into his study, consult the Scriptures, and earnestly entreat of God to afford him divine knowledge.

When he came to the spot where Latimer and Ridley suffered, he knelt, and having spent some time in prayer stripped off his shirt, and prepared himself for the flames.

His head and feet were bare, but his beard was long and thick, and by

his venerable aspect he excited at once the respect and pity of the beholders.

Many persons took formal leave of him, and in moving terms expressed their tender concern for the approach of so valuable a loss.

Being led to the stake, he was chained, and soon encircled by the flames, which blazing around him, he stretched out his arm, and held his right hand in the flame, (the unworthy hand that had signed his recantation) which he held there so immoveable, that all the spectators might see his hand, before the flames had reached his body.

He underwent his sufferings with the utmost fortitude, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, and frequently repeating *this unworthy hand, this unworthy hand, &c.* crying out, till his powers failed him, in the word of St. Stephen, *Lord Jesus receive my spirit.*

As it is common, at the close of the life of an eminent personage, to give an abstract of his character, we think ourselves bound, by the law of custom, briefly to exhibit a short display of the vices and virtues of this great man.

In a work of this kind, it may be expected, that, blind to the imperfections of mankind, we should partially look over the foibles of those, who were the professed friends of the reformation, but sensible that such a conduct would not only expose us to the just retort of our Popish adversaries, but keenest censure of our Christian friends, we shall deviate from the general rule, and speak of our martyr as
he

he was, a man, and yet with all his foibles, a Christian.

Before we display the bright side of his character, we cannot but observe, that he acted unbecoming humanity, unbecoming Christianity, in being accessory to the burning of the poor, ignorant Joan Boucher; for certainly he well knew, that the cause of Christ, the cause of genuine Christianity, was not to be promoted by the infliction of human tortures, but by a powerful conviction of the heart and conscience. Besides, our Lord never proceeded on maxims of inhumanity, but by a shining example of patience and forbearance extorted from his very enemies this declaration, *Of a truth God is with him.*

But tho' hurried in some instances by an impetuous zeal, he partook of the forbearance of the Christian, often times reviled, he reviled not again, nay, it was said proverbially concerning him, *Do my Lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he will be your friend as long as you live.*

He had frequent opportunities of avenging himself on his enemies, but he availed not himself of the same, remembering, that it was the duty of the followers of the blessed Jesus to forgive their very enemies.

It is the lot of humanity to err, the most eminent Christians have a tincture of the old man, we therefore may venture to pronounce, that if Dr. Cranmer retained much of the carnal temper, he displayed more of the Heavenly, and that upon the whole, he was a valuable instrument in the hand of God, for promoting the spread-

ing of the glorious Gospel of Christ in its native truth and primitive simplicity.

His candour and sincerity, faithfulness and integrity, meekness and humility are acknowledged by all who conversed with him: when in power, his lenity to the Papists was so great, that he was charged with remissness and negligence, but his reply was, that men ought to have time allowed them to disengage themselves from their prejudices, and that in the mean time, gentle usage was more likely to have a better influence over them, than could be expected from rigorous treatment.

By his intercession with King Henry, he had contributed to the preservation of the life of the Queen, when her father's anger was inflamed to such an extravagant pitch, and her ruin seemed so irrecoverably fixed, that neither the Duke of Norfolk, nor Bishop Gardiner durst interpose a word in her favour, lest they should be punished with her: but such was the bigotry and prejudice of the Queen, that she determined to bring him to the stake.

He was a man of eminent learning, an excellent theologist, well versed in the scriptures, read in the Canon and Civil law, and acquainted with the polite branches of literature.

From proofs cited from scripture, the fathers, councils and schoolmen, he justified the English reformation, and shewed how far the church of Rome had degenerated from the doctrine, worship and discipline of the Primitive church of Christ.

In

In a word, if he had some foibles, he had many virtues, and merits a rank in this class of martyrs, as a valuable assertor of pure Christianity, for which he lived, and for which he died.

The Life and Martyrdom of Lady
JANE GRAY.

TWO days before the death of this excellent lady, Mr. Fecknam, otherwise Howman, was sent to her from the Queen to converse with her, and endeavour to reduce her from the doctrine of Christ to Queen Mary's religion. The effect of which communication here followeth.

A Conference between the Lady Jane and Mr. Fecknam.

Fecknam. Madam, I lament your heavy case, and yet I doubt not, but you will bear out this sorrow of your's with a constant and patient mind.

Jane. You are welcome unto me, Sir, if your coming be to give Christian exhortation. And as for my heavy case, I thank God, through the mercies of Jesus Christ, and the graces of the Holy Spirit, I do so little lament it, that rather I account the same for a more manifest declaration of God's favour toward me, than ever he shewed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cause why either you, or others which bear me good will, should lament or be grieved with this my case, being a thing so profitable for my soul's health.

Nº VII.

Fecknam. I am here come to you at this present from the Queen and her council, to instruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith; although I have so great confidence in you, that I shall have, I trust, little need to travel with you much therein.

Jane. Forsooth I heartily thank the Queen's Highness, which is not unmindful of her humble subject: And I hope likewise that you no less will do your duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were sent for.

Fecknam. What is then required of a Christian man?

Jane. That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God.

Fecknam. What! is there nothing else to be required or looked for in a Christian, but to believe in him?

Jane. Yes, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself.

Fecknam. Why? then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not.

Jane. Yes, verily, faith, as St. Paul saith, only justifieth.

Fecknam. Why, St. Paul saith, if I have all faith without love, it is nothing.

Jane. True it is; for how can I love him whom I trust not? or how can I trust him whom I love not? faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Fecknam. How shall we love our neighbour?

Jane. To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, to cloath the naked,

H h

to

to give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves.

Fecknam. Why, then it is necessary unto salvation to do good works also, and it is not sufficient only to believe.

Jane. I deny that, and I affirm that faith only saveth: but it is meet for a Christian in token that he followeth his master Christ, to do good works, yet may we not say that they profit to our salvation. For when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable servants, and faith only in Christ's blood saveth us.

Fecknam. How many sacraments are there?

Jane. Two. The one the sacrament of Baptism, and the other the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Fecknam. No, there are seven.

Jane. By what scripture find you that?

Fecknam. Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is signified by your two sacraments?

Jane. By the sacrament of Baptism I am washed with water and regenerated by the spirit, and the washing is a token to me that I am a child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper offered unto me, is a sure seal and testimony that I am, by the blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom.

Fecknam. Why, what do you receive in that sacrament? do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?

Jane. No surely, I do not so believe. I think that at the supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but

bread and wine: which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, putteth me in remembrance how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross, and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body and shedding of his blood for our sins on the cross.

Fecknam. Why, doth not Christ speak thus, *take, eat, this is my body*? require you any plainer words? doth he not say it is his body?

Jane. I grant he saith so; and so he said, *I am the vine, I am the door*, but he is neither the door nor the vine. Doth not St. Paul say, Rom. iv. *He called things that are not as though they were*? God forbid that I should say that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ: for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies, or two Christs. One body was tormented on the cross, and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies: or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the cross, or if it were broken upon the cross, it was not eaten of his disciples.

Fecknam. Why? Is it not as possible that Christ by his power could make his body both to be eaten and to be broken, as to be born of a woman without seed of man, and to walk upon the sea, having a body, and other such like miracles as he wrought by his power only?

Jane. Yes verily, if God would have done at his supper any miracle, he might have done so: but I say, that

that then he minded no work nor miracle, but only to break his body, and shed his blood on the cross for our sins. But I pray you to answer me to this one question: where was Christ, when he said, *take, eat, this is my body*? was he not at the table when he said so? he was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. What took he, but bread? and what gave he but bread, look what he took, he brake: and look, what he brake, he gave; and look, what he gave they did eat: and yet all this while he himself was alive, and at supper before his disciples or else they were deceived.

Fecknam. You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay both in a breath, and not upon the Church, whom ye ought to give credit.

Jane. No, I ground my faith on God's word, and not upon the church, for if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word, and not God's word by the church, nor yet my faith. Shall I believe the church because of antiquity? or shall I give credit to the church that taketh away from me the half part of the Lord's Supper, and will not let any man receive it in both kinds? which things if they deny to us, then deny they to us part of our salvation. And I say, that it is an evil church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the Devil, that altereth the Lord's Supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that church, say I, God will add plagues, and from that church will he

take their part out of the book of life: do they learn that of St. Paul when he administered to the Corinthians in both kinds? shall I believe this church? God forbid.

Fecknam. That was done for a good intent of the church, to avoid a heresy that sprang on it.

Jane. Why? shall the church alter God's will and ordinance for good intent? how did King Saul? the Lord God defend.

With these and such like persuasions he endeavoured, but to no purpose, to turn her to the Popish religion. They reasoned about many other things, but these were the chief.

Then Fecknam took his leave, saying, that he was sorry for her: for I am sure, said he, that we two shall never meet.

Jane. True it is, said she, we shall never meet, except God turn your heart. For I am assured, that unless you repent, and turn to God, you are in an evil case: and I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to send you the Holy Spirit; for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it pleased him also to open the eyes of your heart.

The Lady JANE's Letter to her Father.

Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened; yet can I so patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woful days, than if all the world had been given unto my possessions with life lengthened at my own will. And albeit

I am well assured of your impatient griefs, redoubled manifold ways both in bewailing your own woe, and especially, as I hear, my unfortunate state, yet, my dear father, if I may without offence rejoice in my own mishaps, I think in this I may account myself blessed, that washing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, mercy to the innocent. And yet, though I must needs acknowledge, that being constrained, and as you wot well enough, continually essayed, in taking upon me I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the Queen and her laws; yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence towards God is so much the less, in that being in so royal estate as I was, mine enforced honour blended never with mine innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I at present stand. Whose death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seem right woful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure with Christ our Saviour. In whose stedfast faith, if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father, the Lord that hitherto hath strengthened you, so continue you, that at the last we may meet in Heaven with the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost.

When her father, in King Edward's time, flourished in freedom and prosperity, he had belonging to him a certain learned man, a student and graduate of Oxford, who then being his chaplain, and appearing to be a sincere preacher of the gospel according to the

doctrine of that time set forth and received, but shortly after, when the state of religion began to be altered by Queen Mary, he altered his profession according to the time, and of a Protestant, became a friend and defender of the Pope's proceedings. This pious and Christian Lady seeing such a change in a person whom she thought so sincere, was much grieved, and most of all lamented the dangerous state of his soul, in so cowardly sliding away from the truth, and writeth her mind to him in a sharp and vehement letter: which (as it appeared to proceed from an earnest and zealous heart, so) she prayed that God might make it effectual in restoring him to repentance, and engage him to take better hold of that whereon depended the eternal welfare of his soul. The copy of the letter is as follows:

Another Letter of the Lady Jane, to Mr. Harding, late Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, her Father, and then fallen from the Truth of God's most holy word.

So oft as I call to mind the dreadful and fearful saying of God, Luke ix. That he that layeth hold upon the plough and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdom of Heaven. And, on the other side, the considerable words of our Saviour Christ to all those that forsaking themselves, do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case, which seemed some time to be the lively member of Christ, but now the deformed imp of the Devil: some time the beautiful temple of God, but now the stinking
and

and filthy kennel of Satan; some time the unsported spouse of Christ, but now the unshamefaced paramour of Antichrist, some time my faithful brother, but now a stranger; some time a stout Christian soldier, but now a cowardly run-away. Yea, when I consider these things, I cannot but speak to thee, and cry out upon thee thou seed of Satan, and not of Judah, whom the Devil hath deceived, the World hath beguiled, and the desire of life subverted, and made thee of a Christian an Infidel. Wherefore hast thou taken the Testament of the Lord in thy mouth? wherefore hast thou instructed others to be strong in Christ, when thou thyself dost now so shamefully shrink, and so horribly abusest the Testament and law of God? When thou thyself preacheest not to steal, yet most abominably stealest, not from men, but from God, and committing most heinous sacrilege, robbest Christ thy Lord of his right members, thy body and soul, and chusest rather to live miserably with shame in the world, than to die, and gloriously with honour reign with Christ, in whom even death is life? why dost thou now shew thyself most weak, when indeed thou oughtest to be most strong? the strength of a fort is unknown before the assault, but thou yieldest thy hold before any battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou but dust and ashes? And wilt thou resist thy Maker that fashioned and framed thee? wilt thou now forsake him that called thee from custom gathering among the Roman Antichristians, to be an ambassador and messenger of the eternal word? he that first framed thee, and since thy first creation and birth preserved thee,

N^o 7.

nourished and kept thee, yea, and inspired thee with the spirit of knowledge (I cannot say of grace) shalt he not now possess thee? darest thou deliver up thyself to another, being not thy own, but his? how canst thou, having knowledge, or how darest thou neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men; and whereas thou hast been a publick professor of his name, art become now a defacer of his glory? wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the invention of man, the golden calf, the Whore of Babylon, the Romish Religion, the abominable idol, the most wicked mass? wilt thou torment again, rent, and tear the most precious body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, with thy bodily and fleshly teeth? wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any sacrifice unto God for our sins, considering that Christ offered up himself, as St. Paul saith, as a lively sacrifice once for all? can neither the punishment of the Israelites, (which for their idolatry they so oft received) nor the terrible threatenings of the prophets, nor the curses of God's own mouth, fear thee to honour any other God but him. Dost thou so regard him who spared not his only Son for thee, so diminishing, yea, utterly extinguishing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praise of honour due unto him to idols, which have mouths and speak not, ears and hear not; which shall perish with them that made them?

What saith the Prophet Baruch, where he recited the epistle of Jeremy, written to the captive Jews? did he not forewarn them, that in Babylon, they should see Gods of gold, silver, wood and stone borne upon men's shoulders, to
I. i. cast

cast a fear before the heathen? but be not ye afraid of them, saith Jeremy, nor do as others do. But when you see others worship them, say you in your hearts, it is thou, O Lord, that oughtest only to be worshipped: for as for those Gods, the carpenter framed, and polished them, yea, gilded be they, and laid over with silver and vain things, and cannot speak.

He sheweth moreover the abuse of their dealings, how the priests took off their ornaments, and apparelled their women withal: how one holdeth a sceptre, another a sword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themselves, much less any other, from either battle or murder, nor yet from gnawing of worms nor any other evil thing.

These and such like words speaketh Jeremy unto them, whereby he proveth them to be vain things, and no Gods. And at last he concluded thus, Confounded be all they that worship them. They were warned by Jeremy, and thou as Jeremy hath warned others, and art warned thyself by many scriptures in many places. God saith, he is a jealous God, which will have all honour, glory, and worship given to him only. And Christ saith in the fourth of the gospel according to St. Matthew, to Satan that tempted him, even to the same Beelzebub, the same Devil that hath prevailed against thee. It is written, saith he thou shalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

These and such like do prohibit thee and all Christians to worship any other God than that which was before all worlds, and laid the foundation both of Heaven and Earth: and wilt thou

honour a detestable idol, invented by Romish Popes, and the abominable college of crafty Cardinals? Christ offered himself up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleasure? but thou wilt say, thou doest it for a good intent. O sink of sin! O child of perdition! dost thou dream therein of a good intent, where thy conscience beareth thee witness of God's threatened wrath against thee? how did Saul? who disobeyed the word of the Lord, for a good intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal kingdom? wilt thou for a good intent pluck Christ out of Heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his cross by offering him up daily? wilt thou either for fear of death, or hope of life, deny and refuse thy God, who enriched thy poverty, thy infirmity, and yielded to thee his victory, if thou couldest have kept it? dost thou not consider that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can as his will is, either twine it harder to last the longer, or untwine it again to break the sooner? dost thou not then remember the saying of David, a notable king, to teach thee a miserable wretch, in his hundredth and fourth psalm, where he saith thus: When thou takest away thy spirit, O Lord, they die, and are turned again to their dust, but when thou lettest thy breath go forth, they shall be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the Earth. Remember the saying of Christ in his Gospel, Matth. x. Whosoever seeketh to save his life, shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it, And in the same place, Whosoever loveth Father or Mother above me, is not meet for me. He that

that will follow me, let him forsake himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. What cross? the cross of infamy and shame, of misery and poverty, of affliction and persecution for his name's sake. Let the oft falling of those heavenly showers pierce thy stony heart. Let the two-edged sword of God's holy word sheer asunder the sinews of worldly respects, even to the very marrow of thy carnal heart, that thou mayest once again forsake thyself and embrace Christ. And like as good subjects will not refuse to hazard all in the defence of their earthly and temporal governor, so fly not like a white-livered milksop from the standing wherein thy chief Captain Christ hath set thee in array in this life. Fight manfully, come life, come death: the quarrel is God's, and undoubtedly the victory is ours.

But thou wilt say; I will not break unity. What, not the unity of Satan and its members? not the unity of darkness, the agreement of Antichrist and his adherents. Nay, thou deceivest thyself with a fond imagination of such an unity as is among the enemies of Christ. Were not the false prophets in an unity? Were not Joseph's brethren and Jacob's sons in an unity? were not the heathen, as the Amalekites, the Perizzites and the Jebusites in an unity? were not the Scribes and Pharisees in an unity? doth not King David testify, Ps. lxxxiii. 5. They have cast their heads together, and are confederate against the Lord? Yea, thieves, murderers, conspirators have their Unity. But what unity? Tully said of Amity, there is no amity but with the good. But mark my friend,

yea, friend, if thou be not God's enemy; there is no unity but where Christ knitteth the knot among such as be his. Yea, be well assured, that where his truth is not resident, there it is verified that he himself saith Matth. x. 34. I came not to send Peace on earth, but a sword, &c. but to set one against another, the son against the father and the Daughter against the mother in-law. Deceive not thyself therefore with the glittering and glorious name of unity, yet not in deed but in name. The agreement of ill men is not an unity, but a conspiracy. Thou hast heard some threatnings, some curfings, and some admonitions out of the Scripture to those that love themselves above Christ. Thou hast heard also the sharp and biting words to those that deny him for love of life: saith he not Mat. x. He that denieth me before men, I will deny him before my Father in Heaven. And to the same effect writeth St. Paul, Heb. vi. It is impossible, saith he, that they which are once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were Partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, if they fall and slide away, crucifying to themselves the son of God afresh, and making of him a mocking stock, should be renewed again by repentance. And again, saith he, Heb. x. If we shall willingly sin after we have received the Knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for sin, but the terrible expectation of judgment and fire which shall devour the Adversaries. This St. Paul writeth, and this thou readeest, and dost thou not quake and tremble?

Well

Well, if these terrible and thundering threatnings cannot stir thee to cleave unto Christ, and forsake the world; yet let the sweet consolations and promises of the Scriptures, let the example of Christ and his Apostles, holy Martyrs and confessors, encourage thee to take faster hold of Christ. Hearken what he saith, Matth. v. Blessed are you when men revile you, and persecute you for my sake: rejoyce, and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven; for so persecuted they the Prophets which were before you. Hear what the prophet Isaiah saith, Chap. li. Fear not the curse of men, be not ashamed of their blasphemies, for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool, but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation. What art thou then, said he, that fearest a mortal man, the child of man which fadeth away like the flower, and forgettest the Lord that made thee, that spread out the Heavens, and laid the foundations of the Earth? I am the Lord thy God, that make the sea to rage and be still, whose name is the Lord of Hosts: I shall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of an hand. And our Saviour Christ saith, Matt. xiii. Luke xii. to his disciples: They shall accuse you, and bring you before Princes and Rulers for my name's sake, and some of you they shall persecute and kill; but fear you not, said he, nor care you what you shall say: for it is the spirit of your Father that speaketh within you. Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Lay up treasures for yourselves,

said he, where no thief cometh, nor moth corrupteth. Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, but fear him that hath power to destroy both soul and body. If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you, John xv.

Let these and such like consolations taken out of the Scriptures strengthen you Godward; let not the examples of holy men and women go out of your mind, as Daniel and the rest of the prophets, of the three children, of Peter, Paul, Stephen, and other Apostles and holy martyrs in the beginning of the Church. As of good Simeon, Archbishop of Soloma, and Zetrophone, with infinite others under Saporess the King of the Persians and Indians, who contemned all Torments devised by the tyrants for their Saviour's sake.

Return, return again unto Christ's war, and as becometh a faithful warrior, put on the armour that St. Paul, Ephes. xvi. teacheth to be most necessary for a Christian man. And above all things take to you the shield of faith, and be you provoked by Christ's own example to withstand the devil, to forsake the world, and to become a true and spiritual member of his mystical body, who spared not his own body for our sins.

Throw down yourself with the fear of his threatned vengeance for this so great and heinous offence of apostacy: and comfort yourself on the other part with the mercy, blood and promise of him that is ready to turn unto you, whensoever you turn unto him. Disdain not to
came

come again with the lost son, seeing you have so wandered with him. Be not ashamed to turn again with him from the swill of strangers, to the delicacies of your most benign and loving father, acknowledging that you have sinned against heaven and earth: against heaven, by staining the glorious name of God, and causing his most sincere and pure word to be evil spoken of through you. Against earth, by offending so many of your weak brethren, to whom you have been a stumbling block through your sudden sliding. Be not abashed to come home again with Mary, and weep bitterly with Peter, not only with shedding the tears of your bodily eyes, but also pouring out the streams of your heart, to wash away out of the sight of God the filth and mire of your offensive fall. Be not abashed to say with the Publican, Luke xvii. Lord, be merciful unto me a sinner. Remember the horrible history of Julian of old, and the lamentable case of Spira of late, whose case methinks should be yet so green in your remembrance, that being a thing of our time, you should fear the like inconvenience, seeing you are fallen into the like offence.

Last of all, let the lively remembrance of the last day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that such shall be at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Christ, which setting more by the world than by Heaven, more by their life, than by him that gave them life, did shrink, yea did clean fall away from those which forsook them not; and contrarywise, the inestimable joys prepared for them, that fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriously triumphed over all pow-

N^o 7.

ers of darkness, over Hell, death, and damnation, through their most redoubted Captain Christ, who now stretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiss you, and last of all to feed you with the dainties and delicacies of his own precious blood; which undoubtedly, if it might stand with his determinate purpose, he would not let to shed again, rather than you should be lost. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all glory, praise and honour everlasting. Amen.

Be constant, be constant, fear not for any pain,
Christ hath redeemed thee, and Heaven is thy gain.

A Letter written by the Lady Jane at the End of the New Testament in Greek, which she sent to her Sister the Lady Catharine, the Night before she suffered.

I have here sent you, good sister Catherine, a book, which though it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book, dear sister of the Law of the Lord. It is his Testament and last Will which he bequeathed to us wretches; which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy, and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It shall teach you to live and learn to die. It shall win you more than you should have gained from your woful father's lands. For, as if God had prospered him you should have inherited his lands.

Kk

lands; for if you app'y diligently this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheriter of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire with David good sister, to understand the law of the Lord God.

Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life. And trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for as soon, if God call, goeth the young as the old, and labour always to learn to die. Defy the World, deny the Devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord.

Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not: and desire with St. Paul to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death cometh and stealeth upon you as a thief in the night, you be, with the evil servant, found sleeping, and lest for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish women, and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be cast from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your Master Christ, and take up your cross: lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him.

And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, good sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured that I shall, for losing a mortal life, win an immortal life, the which I pray God grant you, and send you of his grace to live in fear, and to die in the new Christian Faith,

from the which, in God's name I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth for to lengthen out your life, God will deny you, and yet shorten your days. And if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days to your comfort and his glory: to which glory God bring you now and hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you.

A Prayer made by the Lady Jane in the time of her Trouble.

O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me poor and desolate woman, which flieth unto thee only in all troubles and miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in thee; and therefore I being defiled with sin, incumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without the which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of any liberty. Albeit it is expedient that seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited sometime with some adversity, whereby we might be both tried whether we be of thy flock or no, and also know thee and ourselves the better: yet thou that saidest thou would

Engraved
for Englands
bloody Tribunal.



Death of Lady Jane Gray.



would not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now a miserable wretch, I beseech thee; which, with Solomon do cry unto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may not be too much puffed up with prosperity, neither too much pressed down with adversity, lest I being too full should deny thee, my God, or being too low brought, should despise and blaspheme thee, my Lord and Saviour. O merciful God, consider my misery best known unto thee, and be thou now unto me a strong Tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace patiently to bear thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was thy right hand that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the space of four hundred years did oppress them, and keep them in bondage. Let it therefore seem good to thy fatherly goodness, to deliver me sorrowful wretch, for whom thy Son shed his precious blood on the Cross, out of this miserable captivity and bondage wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be absent, for ever? O Lord, hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving kindness in displeasure? wilt thou be no more intreated? is thy mercy clean gone for ever more? why dost thou make so long tarrying? shall I despair of thy mercy, O God, far be that from me. I am thy workmanship created in Christ Jesus; give me grace therefore to tarry thy leisure,

and patiently to bear thy works, assuredly knowing, that as thou hast called me to suffer for thy name, thou wilt raise me to glory, and give me a crown far superior to any earthly diadem, even a never-fading crown of glory at thy right hand for ever and ever, for which, prepare thy unworthy servant, O Lord, and thus receive my departing soul. Amen.

When this pious lady mounted the scaffold, erected for the cruel sentence, she addressed the numerous throng of spectators in the following terms.

Good people, I am come to this place to yield up my life to the sentence of the law: that I did consent to the design concerted against the Queen's highness to deprive her of the crown of this realm I frankly confess, but absolutely deny that I entertained the least desire to have that honour transferred to myself: I therefore wash my hands, in token of my innocency, before God and all that behold me this day.

This done she wrung her hands, desiring all present to bear witness, that she died in the true Christian faith, looking and hoping for salvation by no other means, than the mercy of God through the atoning sacrifice of the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ. She confessed, that since she had been taught the word of God in its purity and simplicity, from an attachment to the pleasures and vanities of the present evil world, she had too much neglected the same, esteeming sufferings, the punishment for her sin, though she blessed God, for graciously

ciously bringing her to sincere repentance, desiring all present to offer up their prayers to Almighty God in her behalf.

Having thus addressed the multitude, she devoutly repeated in English the psalm, *Misereri mei Deus*, presented part of her attire to two attending ladies, and prepared herself for the block.

Thus ready for the awful sentence the executioner sued her forgiveness on his bended knees, this she readily granted, as he was only the innocent and unwilling cause of her death.

Kneeling upon the block she desired to be dispatched quickly, and her head at one stroke was severed from her body, having first recommended her departing spirit to that God who gave it, and was able to waft it by an Almighty power to worlds immortal.

Thus died the Lady Jane, on the same day with her consort Lord Guildford Dudley, who fell victims to the implacable resentment of the Queen, because, through want of years and experience, they ignorantly acquiesced with the schemes of others, and thereby exposed themselves to the most rigorous sentence of the law.

It is very remarkable, that Judge Morgan, who pronounced sentence of condemnation on the Lady Jane, a short time after her execution, became insane, and in the extremity of his raving, would cry out, *Take her from me, Take her from me*, till he ended his life with inexpressible horror.

This execution was succeeded by

that of Henry Duke of Suffolk, who was beheaded on Tower-hill the fourth day after his condemnation, together with many gentlemen and yeomen in and about the city of London.

AGNES POTTEN, and JOAN TRUNCHFIELD.

THESE pious women, and steadfast believers in the pure gospel of Christ, living in the town of Ipswich and diocese of Norwich, were examined in the Bishop's court concerning their religion in general and their faith in the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar in particular. They delivered it as their opinion, that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there was represented the memorial only of Christ's death and passion, saying, that Jesus Christ is ascended up into heaven, and is on the right hand of God the Father according to the scriptures, as he was born of the Virgin Mary.

Continuing steadfast in this profession, sentence was pronounced against them as Heretics, and they were delivered to the sheriffs to be burned in the town of Ipswich in the Month of May 1556.

The constancy of these women in the profession of their faith was admired by the multitude that saw them suffer; for as they undressed, and prepared themselves for the fire, they earnestly exhorted the people to believe, rely on the unerring word of the only living
and



Engraving
for England's
Bloody Tribunal



The Burning of Agnes Potten & Joan Trunchfield
at Ipswich.

and true God, and not regard the devices and intentions of men.

They openly declared that they despised the errors and superstitions of the Church of Rome, and most patiently submitted to the acute torments of devouring flames, calling upon the God of their salvation, and triumphing in being deemed worthy to suffer for the glorious cause of their Lord and Master Jesus Christ, to the wonder and astonishment of all that beheld them.

ROBERT DRAKE, WILLIAM TIMS,
RICHARD SPURG, THOMAS SPURG,
JOHN CAVILL, and GEORGE AM-
BROSE.

THESE persons resided in the county of Essex and diocese of London, and were sent up by the lord Rich and other commissioners at divers times, to bishop Gardiner, Lord Chancellor of England, who after a short examination, sent some of them to the King's Bench prison and others to the Marshalsea in the Borough of Southwark, where they continued during the space of a whole year, till the death of the bishop of Winchester.

When Dr. Heath, Archbishop of York, succeeded to the Chancellorship, four of these persecuted brethren, weary of their tedious confinement, presented a petition to the Lord Chancellor, subscribing their names, and requesting his interest for their enlargement.

Soon after the delivery of this petition, Sir Richard Read, one of the
N^o 7.

officers of the Court of Chancery, was sent by the Chancellor to the Marshalsea to examine them.

The first who passed examination was Richard Spurg, who being asked the cause of his imprisonment, replied, that he, with several others, being complained of by the minister of Bocking for not coming to their Parish Church, to the Lord Rich, was thereupon sent up to London by his Lordship, to be examined by the late Chancellor.

He acknowledged that he had not been at Church since the English service was changed in Latin (except on Christmas day was Twelvemonth) because he disliked the same and the mass also, as not agreeable to God's holy word.

He then desired, that he might be no farther examined concerning this matter, until it pleased the present Chancellor to enquire his faith concerning the same which he was ready to deliver.

THOMAS SPURG on his examination, answered to the same effect with the other, confessing that he absented himself from church, because the word of God was not there truly taught, nor the sacraments of Christ duly administered, as prescribed by the same word.

Being farther examined touching his faith in the sacrament of the altar, he said, that if he stood accused in that particular, he would answer as God had given him knowledge.

GEORGE AMBROSE answered
L 1

to the same effect, adding moreover, that after he had read the late Bishop of Winchester's book, intituled, *De verâ Obedientiâ*, with Bishop Bonner's preface thereunto annexed, both inveighing against the authority of the bishop of Rome, he esteemed their principles more lightly than he had done before.

JOHN CAVILL agreeing in the main with those of his brethren who had been already examined, added moreover, that the cause of his absenting himself from church, was, that the ministers there had advanced two doctrines contrary to each other; for first, in a sermon he delivered when the Queen came to the crown, he exhorted the people to believe the gospel, declaring it to be the truth, and that if they believed it not, they would be damned; and that secondly, in a future discourse he declared that the Testament was false in forty places, which contrariety gave him much disgust and was among other things, the cause of his absenting himself from church.

ROBERT DRAKES, who was minister of Thundersly in Essex, being presented to that living by the Lord Rich in the reign of King Edward VI. when he was ordained priest by Dr. Ridley then bishop of London, according to the reformed English service for ordination.

But now on the accession of Queen Mary to the throne of England, he was sent to Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who demanded of him, whe-

ther he would conform, like a good subject, to the laws of the realm, then in force; he replied that he would abide by all the laws, that were agreeable to the law of God, upon which he was committed to prison where he remained near a year.

WILLIAM TIMS was a deacon and curate of Hockley in Essex in the reign of Edward VI. but being deprived of his living soon after the succession of Queen Mary, he absconded, and privately preached in a neighbouring wood, whither many repaired to hear the word of God.

For this reason he was apprehended by one of the constables and sent up to the bishop of London, by whom he was referred to Gardiner bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor, who committed him to the King's Bench prison.

Tims, soon after his confinement was examined by the bishop of London together with the others abovementioned, and with them questioned in the usual manner, concerning his faith in the sacrament of the altar.

He answered, that the body of Christ was not in the Sacrament of the altar really and corporally, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, and that they had been a long time of that opinion, even since the time that it pleased God of his infinite mercy to call them to the true knowledge of the gospel of his grace.

Upon the 28th of March 1556, the six persons abovementioned were brought into the Consistory court in St. Paul's church, before the bishop, in order to be examined for the last time

time, and assured; that if they did not submit to the church of Rome, they should be condemned for heresy.

The bishop began the examination of Tims as the ringleader of his companions, reminding them that he taught them heresies, confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to render them as abominable as himself, with many more terms to the same purpose.

He was then demanded what he had to say in his own vindication, in order to prevent the bishop from proceeding against him as his ordinary.

Having obtained permission from his lordship to speak, he said as follows:

My lord, I am astonished that you should begin your charge with a falsehood; you aver that I am the ringleader of the company now brought before you, and have taught them principles contrary to the Romish church since we have been together in confinement; but the injustice of this declaration will soon appear, if you will be pleased to enquire of these my brethren, whether when at liberty and out of prison, they dissented not from Popish principles as much as they do at present: such enquiry I presume will render it evident, that they learned not their religion in prison.

For my own part I declare I never knew them, till such time as I became their fellow-prisoner, how then could I be their ringleader and teacher? With respect to the charge alledged against me, a charge which you endeavour to aggravate to the highest degree, whatever opinion you maintain concerning me, I am well assured that I hold no other religion

than what Christ preached, the Apostles witnessed, the Primitive Church received, and of late the Apostolical and Evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught, and for which you have cruelly caused them to be burnt, and now seek to treat us with the like inhuman severity. I acknowledge you to be my ordinary.

The bishop finding it necessary to come to a point with him, demanded, if he would submit himself to the Holy Mother-Church, promising that in so doing he should be kindly received, and threatening at the same time, that, on his non-compliance, judgment should be denounced against him as an heretic.

Tims assured his lordship, that he was well persuaded he was within the pale of the Catholic church, whatever he might judge concerning him, and reminded him, that he had most solemnly abjured that very church to which he since professed such strenuous allegiance; and that contrary to his oath, he again admitted in this realm the authority of the Pope, and was therefore perjured and forsworn in the higher degree. He also recalled to his memory, that he had spoken with great force and perspicuity against the usurped power of the Pope, tho' he afterwards sentenced persons to be burnt, because they would not acknowledge the Pope to be the supreme head of the church.

When Bonner sternly demanded what he had written against the church of Rome? Tims pertinently answered, *My lord, the late bishop of Winchester wrote a very learned treatise, intituled, De verâ Obedientiâ, which contains many solid*

solid arguments against the Papal Supremacy : to this book you wrote a preface, strongly inveighing against the bishop of Rome, reprovng his tyranny and usurpation, and shewing that his power was ill founded, and contrary both to the will of God and the real interest of mankind.

Bonner, struck with the poignance of this reproof, evasively told him, that the bishop of Winchester wrote a book against the supremacy of the Pope's Holiness, and he wrote a preface to the same book, tending to the same purpose : but that the cause of the same arose not from their disregard to his Holiness, but because it was then deemed treason by the laws of the realm to maintain the Pope's authority in England.

He also observed, that at such time it was dangerous to profess to favour the church of Rome, and therefore fear compelled them to comply with the prevailing opinions of the times ; for if any person had conscientiously acknowledged the Pope's authority in those days, he would have been put to death : but that since the Queen's happy accession to the throne, they might boldly speak the dictates of their conscience ; and farther reminded him, that as my Lord of Winchester was not ashamed to recant his errors at St. Paul's Cross, and that he himself had done the same, every inferior clergyman should follow the example of their superiors.

Tims still persisting in the vindication of his own conduct and reprehension of that of the bishop, again replied, *My lord, that which you have*

written against the supremacy of the Pope may be well proved from scripture to be true ; but that which you now do is contrary to the word of God, as I can sufficiently prove.

Then Bishop Bonner, after much conversation, proceeded to form of law, causing his articles and answers to the same to be then and there openly read.

Tims acknowledged only two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, commended the bishop of Winchester's book *De verâ Obedientiâ*, and the bishop of London's preface to the same.

He declared that the mass was blasphemy to Christ's passion and death ; that Christ is not corporally but spiritually present in the sacrament, and that as they used it, it was an abominable idol.—Bonner exhorted him to revoke his errors and heresies, conform to the Church of Rome, and not abide so strenuously by the literal sense of the scripture, but use the interpretation of the Fathers.

Tims frankly declared that he would not conform thereunto, notwithstanding the execrations denounced against him by the Church of Rome, and demanded of the bishop what he had to support the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, but the bare letter of scripture ? On the bishop's replying the author of the Holy Catholic Church, Tims informed him that he had the Popish Church for which he was perjured and forsworn, declaring that the See of Rome was the See of Antichrist, and therefore he would never consent

consent to yield obedience unto the same.

Bonner finding him so inflexible in his adherence to the faith he professed, that every attempt to draw him from it was vain and fruitless, read his definitive sentence and he was delivered over to the Secular Power.

The bishop used the same measures with Robert Drakes as he had done with Tims, but Drakes bluntly declared, that he defied and denied the Church of Rome, with all the works thereof, even as he denied the Devil and all his works.

Bonner perceiving all his exhortations fruitless, pronounced sentence likewise against Drakes and delivered him into the custody of the sheriff.

After this, Thomas and Richard Spurg, George Ambrose, and John Cavill were severally demanded, if they would forsake their heresies and return to the Catholic church? they denied consenting to the church of Rome, but were willing to return to the true Catholic Church and continue in the same.

The bishop therefore read their several definitive sentences and judgments, and committed them to the custody of the sheriffs of London, who sent them all to Newgate, where they remained most joyfully till they were brought together into Smithfield, fastened to the same stake, and burnt in one fire, patiently submitting themselves to the flames, and resigning their souls into the hands of that glorious Redeemer for whose sake they delivered their bodies to be burned.

N^o 7.

JOAN BEACH and JOHN HARPOLE.

THE former of these martyrs for the cause of Christ, lived in the county of Kent and diocese of Rochester and was brought before Maurice bishop of the said diocese, who exhibited the following articles against her.

1. *That living in the parish of Tunbridge she belonged to the diocese of Rochester.*

This she granted.

2. *That all people, who preach, teach, believe or say otherwise or contrary to their Mother, the Holy Catholic church are excommunicate persons and heretics.*

This she acknowledged to be true, but added withal, that nevertheless, she believed not the Holy Catholic Church to be her Mother, but believed only the Father of Heaven to be her Father.

3. *That she had affirmed, and did affirm, maintain and believe, contrary to the said Mother Church of Christ, that in the blessed sacrament of the Altar, under form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ in substance, but only a token and memorial thereof, and that the very body and blood of Christ is in Heaven and not in the sacrament.*

4. *That Christ being in Heaven, could not be in the Sacrament.*

To this she answered, that she had and did verily believe, hold and affirm, in the Sacrament of the Altar, under
M. m. the

the forms of bread and wine, there was not the very body and blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and remembrance of his death to the faithful receiver, and that his body and substance is only in Heaven and not in the sacrament.

5. *That she had been and then was, among the parishioners of Tunbridge noted and strongly suspected of being a sacramentary and an heretic.*

She answered, that she did not know how she had been or was reputed amongst the parishioners of Tunbridge, nor was their opinion of any avail to her immortal state.

JOHN HARPOLE of the parish of St. Nicholas in Rochester, was also brought before Maurice bishop of that diocese, and had articles administered unto him of the same import with those administered to Joan Beach.

He likewise replied much to the same effect, upon which the bishop pronounced sentence of death on them both according to the usual form.

Being delivered over to the secular power, they were burned together in one fire in the city of Rochester, April 1, 1556, as appears by the Bloody Register of that diocese.

CHRISTOPHER LISTER, JOHN MACE, JOHN SPENSER, SIMON JOYN, RICHARD NICHOLS, and JOHN HAMMOND, who suffered Martyrdom at Colchester in Essex.

THESE six persons were sent by the Earl of Oxford and other

Commissioners, to John Kingston, Bachelor of Civil Law, Commissary in Essex, under Dr. Bonner, Bishop of London.

Kingston referred them to the bishop, who ordered them to be brought to his house at Fulham, and there administered to them divers articles, of the same nature, as those which had been administered to others, and with the usual form.

1. *To the first, there was one Holy Catholic church on earth, in which the religion and faith of Christ is truly professed, they all consented and agreed, but John Spenser added, that the church of Rome was no part of Christ's Catholic Church.*

2. *To the second, concerning the seven sacraments they answered, that in the true Catholic Church of Christ, there are but two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.*

3. *To the third, they unanimously agreed and confessed, that they were baptized in the faith and belief of the Catholic church, and that their Godfathers and Godmothers had promised and professed for them, as contained in the article administered.*

4. *To the fourth article, concerning their continuance in that faith and profession into which they were baptized and agreed that they did so continue; Nichols observed that he had more plainly learned the truth of his profession, by the doctrine set forth in the days of King Edward the sixth, that thereupon he had built his faith, and would continue in the same by the grace of God to his life's end.*

5. *Concerning swerving from the Catholic faith, they declared that they had*
not

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION

500 N. 5TH ST. NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23

1969 FEB 23



g
-
ad
i-
ly
be
d-
ad
be
e's

a-
ad
not

*Engraved for England's
Bloody Tribunal.*



*The Burning of C. Lyster, J. Mace, J. Spencer, S. Joynes,
R. Nichols & J. Hammond at Solchester.*

not swerved nor departed from the faith of Christ.

However, they confessed, that within the time mentioned in the same article, they had disapproved and spoken against the sacrifice of the Mass, and the Sacrament of the altar, affirming, that they would not come to hear, nor be partakers thereof; that they had believed and then did believe, that they were set forth and used contrary to God's word and glory.

They granted also that they had spoken against the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome, who was an oppressor of the gospel church of Christ, and ought not to have any power in England.

6. *Concerning their reconciliation to the unity of the Church, they declared that they never refused, nor did then refuse to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's Catholic Church, but declared they had and then did and would forever hereafter refuse to come to the church of Rome, or to acknowledge the authority of the Papal See; but did utterly abhor the same for rejecting the book of God, the bible, and setting up the mass, with other ridiculous and Antichristian ceremonies.*

7. *That disapproving the mass and sacrament of the altar they had refused to come to the Popish Church, &c.*

This they all granted, and Simon Joyn added moreover, that the cause wherefore he refused to be partaker of their trumpery, was, because the commandments of God were there broken, and Christ's ordinances changed, and the bishop of Rome's ordinances put up in their room and stead.

Christopher Lister affirmed, that in the sacrament of the altar, there is the substance of bread and wine, as well after the words of consecration as before, and that there is not in the same the very body and blood of Christ, really, substantially, and truly, but only sacramentally and spiritually, by faith in the Faithful Receiver, and that the Mass is not a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, but meer idolatry and abomination.

To the 8th article they replied, that they were sent to Colchester prison by the King and Queen's commissioners, because they would not come to their Parish churches, and by them sent to the bishop of London to be examined.

To this article they generally replied, that what was contained in the premises was true, and that they belonged to the diocese of London.

After this examination, the bishop of London dismissed them till the afternoon, and then commanded them to be brought into the church again, where their articles and answers were once more read to them, and they resolutely persisted in the profession they had made.

After various endeavours to bring them to a recantation, without the least effect, sentence of condemnation was pronounced against them, and they were delivered over to the Secular Power, which upon receiving the King's writ for their execution, sent them to Colchester, where, on the 28th of April 1556, they were fastened to two stakes, and most chearfully resigned their lives, giving glory to God in the midst of the flames, and encouraging

raging others to die with pleasure for the sake of the truth when ever God in the course of his wise Providence might call them to the fiery trial.

HUGH LAVEROCK *an old lame Man,*
and JOHN APPRICE, *a blind Man.*

HUGH LAVEROCK lived in the parish of Barking in Essex, was by trade a painter, and had arrived to the age of sixty-eight years, when together with his fellow-sufferer he was accused of Heresy, by some of their officious Popish neighbours, unto the bishop of London, who examined them at his palace, May 1. 1556.

Bonner objected to them the very nine articles mentioned in the former lives, and they returned answers much to the same effect with other Protestant Martyrs.

On the ninth of the same month, they were both brought into the Consistory Court at St. Paul's, where their articles and answers were publicly read, and the bishop persuaded them to recant their opinion concerning the sacrament of the Altar.

Hugh Laverock declared, that by the grace of God he would stand to the profession he had already made, nor could he find the least authority in the word of God for enjoining the doctrine of the corporal presence of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Bishop Bonner then addressed himself to John Apprice, and demanded what he could urge in his own defence? the honest blind man told the haughty prelate, that the doctrine he set forth

and taught was so conformable to the world, that it could not be agreeable to the scripture of God, and that he was no member of the Catholic Church of Jesus Christ, seeing he made laws to kill men, and made the Queen his executioner.

The bishop having occasion to retire to Fulham, commanded these poor men to be brought thither, and after some discourse with them, pronounced the definitive sentence according to the usual form, and they were delivered up to the Secular Power, sent to Newgate, where they continued to the 15th of May, when they were conveyed to Stratford Le Bow, fastened to a stake, and yielded up their lives, in testimony of the truth.

Laverock, casting away his crutch, said to his blind fellow martyr, *John Apprice, be of good comfort, brother, for my Lord of London is our good physician, he will cure us both shortly, thee of thy blindness and me of my lameness.*

They endured their suffering with great fortitude, and died in the most lively exercise of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, to obtain eternal life in the glorious state where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.

CATHERINE HUT, JOAN HORNES,
and ELIZABETH THACKVILL.

THESE three women by order of Sir John Mordaunt, and Edmund Tyrrel Esqs; justices of the peace of the county of Essex, were sent

sent up prisoners to the bishop of London at his palace, for not conforming to the order of the Church, nor believing the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, as expressed in the letter which the justices sent with them to the bishop, dated March 2, 1556.

The bishop objecting to them the articles usually produced on the occasion, they replied as follows.

To the first, concerning their belief, that there was a Catholic Church of Christ upon earth, they all assented.

To the second, relating to the seven sacraments, they did not understand properly what a sacrament was.

To the third, concerning their Baptism, they replied, they believed they were baptised, but knew not what their Godfathers and Godmothers promised for them.

To the fourth, about their continuance in the same faith into which they were baptised, until they arrived at the age of fourteen years, or the age of discretion, without disapproving the same; they granted it to be true.

To this article Catherine Hut observed, that at that time she did not understand what she professed.

Joan Hornes added, that in the days of king Edward VI. she learned the faith that was then set forth, and yet continued in the same, and would, with God's assistance, continue the remainder of her life.

To the fifth article concerning the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, they said, they could discern no excellence in the mass, nor could they believe but that Christ's natural body

N^o VIII.

was in Heaven, and not in the sacrament of the altar.

Concerning the see of Rome, they acknowledged no supremacy in the same, nor would they adhere to it.

To the sixth article of their reconciliation to the church of Rome, they refused to be reconciled to the same.

To the seventh, of their disapproving the service of the church, and not frequenting their parish-church, they acknowledged it to be true.

Catherine Hut alledged, as the cause of her absenting herself from church, that she neither approved the service in Latin, the mass, mattins, or even song, nor were the sacraments used and administered according to God's word.

She declared, moreover, that mass was an idol, neither was the true body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as they compelled persons to believe.

To the eighth article they declared, that they were all sent up to the bishop of London by Sir John Mordaunt and Edmund Tyrell, Esqs. justices of the peace for the county of Essex, because they could not affirm the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and for absenting themselves from their parish church.

To the ninth article, they were of the diocese of London they all assented, excepting Catherine Hut, who said she was of the parish of Bocking in Essex, which is of the peculiar jurisdiction of Canterbury, and not under that of the diocese of London.

Upon the 13th of April they were again brought before the bishop, and

N. n.

their

their answers and articles publicly read in court in order to their final judgment.

First, Catherine Hut was required to declare her opinion of the sacrament of the altar and to return to the Catholic faith. She openly protested that the said sacrament was not truly God, but a dumb God made with men's hands, upon which she received sentence of death.

Joan Hornes was next examined, and being charged that she did not believe the sacrament of Christ's body and blood to be Christ himself, said, if you can make your God to shed blood, or shew any sign of a true, living body, then will I believe you: but it is bread as to the substance, and that which you call heresy is the manner in which I trust to serve my God to the end of my life.

Concerning the bishop and see of Rome, I detest them as abominations, and desire ever to be delivered from the same.

Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced upon her.

Elizabeth Thackvill continuing steadfast in her former confessions, and refusing to recant, was likewise condemned to suffer with the rest.

Being delivered over to the sheriffs of London, on the 16th of May they were brought to Smithfield, where, being fastened to a stake, their bodies were consumed by the flames, having recommended their spirits into the hands of that God, for the truth of whose word they joyfully suffered death, in order to obtain eternal life.

THOMAS SPICER, JOHN DENNY,
and EDMUND POLE.

THESE persons were apprehended for not attending mass at their parish church, by the justices of the county of Suffolk, and committed to prison, where they continued till they were brought before Chancellor Dunning of Norwich, and Mynges the register, who sat at the town of Beccles to examine them.

The articles objected to them, were those commonly objected to others of the same diocese by Dr. Hopton, bishop of Norwich, viz.

1. *That they believed not the Pope of Rome to be supreme head immediately under Christ, of the universal Catholic Church.*

2. *That they believed not holy bread and holy water, ashes, palms, and other like ceremonies used in the church to be good and laudable for stirring up the people to devotion.*

3. *That they believed not after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, the very natural body of Christ, and no other substance of bread and wine, to be in the sacrament of the altar.*

4. *That they believed it to be idolatry to worship Christ in the sacrament of the altar.*

5. *That they took bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's passion.*

6. *That they would not follow the cross in procession, nor be confessed to a priest.*

For these doctrines and articles they were

were condemned by Dr. Dunning the chancellor, who first endeavoured to reclaim them from their opinions, and bring them over to the Holy Mother Church of Rome, but all his admonitions and exhortations proving ineffectual, he pronounced sentence against them with much reluctance, and delivered them over to the high sheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk, who caused them to be brought to the stake at Beccles, May 21, 1556.

When they came to the place of execution, they devoutly prayed, and repeated the articles of their faith, and when they came to that article concerning Holy Catholic Church, Sir John Silliard the high sheriff, thus addressed them, *That is well said, sirs, I am glad to hear you say you believe that cathol c church; this is the best expression I have heard from you yet.*

Pole observed on the occasion, that though they believed the Catholic Church, yet they believed not in their Popish church, which is no part of Christ's Catholic Church, and therefore no part of their belief.

When they arose from prayer, they went joyfully to the stake, and being bound, they praised God with such cheerfulness in the midst of the flames, as exacted the wonder and astonishment of all who heard them.

A persecuting, bigotted Papist called to the executioner to throw faggots at the heretics, in order to stop their mouths, but our martyrs being stedfast in the faith, regarded not their malice, but boldly confessed the truth of Christ with their latest breath; dy-

ing as they had lived, in certain hopes of a resurrection to life eternal.

THOMAS HARLAND, JOHN OSWALD,
THOMAS ABINGTON, and THOMAS READ.

IT was objected by the bishop of London to Thomas Harland, that he absented himself from church: he answered, that since the mass was restored, he never chose to hear the same, because it was in Latin, which he did not understand, and therefore could reap no benefit thereby.

John Oswald refused to answer any objection, till his accusers were brought face to face before him; nevertheless he declared that he was not to be awed into any concessions by the fear of fire and faggot; but as the faithful ministers of the gospel of Christ, during the reign of King Edward VI, had suffered and gone before him, he was ready to suffer and follow after them, and would count it his glory and honour so to do.

Abington and Read professed their faith in the pure gospel of Christ, and abjured all popish superstitions and errors.

After a long confinement in the King's-bench prison, they were all sent down to Lewes in Suffex, and there burnt in one fire June 6, 1556.

On the 20th of the same month were burnt in the same town, Thomas Wood, minister, and Thomas Mills for opposing the doctrine of the church of

of Rome, but the particulars of their trial is not upon record.

Thirteen Persons who suffered Martyrdom together at Stradford Bow, near London.

THESE persons, eleven of whom were men, and two women, were sent by divers officers from several places to Dr. Bonner, Bishop of London to be examined, concerning their religious principles.

On the 9th of June they were brought before Dr. Darbyshire, the Bishop's chancellor, who in form of law administered the same articles unto them as had been usually propounded to others,

To the first article, that there is on earth a Catholic church wherein the religion of Christ is truly professed, they all answered in the affirmative; but added that they believed the true faith of Christ was, wherever the word of God was truly preached.

To the second article concerning the seven sacraments, they all answered in the negative; some affirmed, that in the church of Christ there were only two sacraments, viz. Baptism and the Lord's Supper; others desired to believe as the scriptures taught them; others refused to reply, not properly understanding these points.

To the third article, that they were baptized in the faith of the Catholic church, professing by their god-fathers, &c. the religion of Christ, and to renounce the devil and all his works,

&c. They all assented without exception.

To the fourth article, that when they come to years of discretion, they did not depart from the said profession and faith, and did not disprove any part thereof for several years.

To this most of them answered in the affirmative, but one of them refused making any reply, others said they believed the article to be true, but it was for want of better knowledge.

One of the women added, that in the days of king Edward VI, she departed from her old faith and religion, and embraced the gospel of Christ as it was then taught and set forth.

The fifth article, that of late they had swerved from their former Catholic faith, and had spoken against the Mass, the sacrament of the altar, and authority of the Papal see. This upon the whole they confessed to be true.

One of them said, that the mass was of such a nature as he could not in his conscience believe to be authorized from God.

Another observed, that for nine or ten years past, he could not approve the mass nor the Sacrament of the Altar, because they could not be proved from the scripture of truth, declaring at the same time, that at the age of fourteen years he had taken an oath against the authority of the Papal See, and would by the grace of God abide firmly by the same.

The sixth article, that they refused to be reconciled to the unity of the church, or to confess the lawfulness of the Papal See.

To this article all, except two, answered in the affirmative; those who refused to reply, declaring that they understood not the import of the same.

The women added, they refused to be reconciled to the faith and religion that was then used in the realm of England, though they never refused to be reconciled and brought to the unity of the Catholic church of Christ.

The seventh article, that disapproving the service of the church, they refused to come to their parish churches, denied the bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament, called the mass an abomination, &c.

This was answered in general in the affirmative, but one denied that he called the mass an abomination or an idol; another, though he granted the article confessed his infirmity, that he went to his parish church and received before he was put in prison.

Before we proceed to the consideration of the two last articles it will be expedient to mention the names and professions of the several persons examined, as such distinction will be necessary to illustrate their various religious principles, as well as ascertain their courage and perseverance in the faith once delivered to the saints:

Henry Wye, brewer of Standford le Hox, aged 23 years.—William Hallywell of Waltham-Cross, aged 32 years.—Ralph Jackson servant in the parish of Chipping Ongar in Essex, aged 31 years.—Laurence Pern, smith of Hodden in the county of Hertford aged 22 years.—John Derifall, labourer of the parish of Kettington in Essex, aged 50 years.—Thomas Bow-

N^o 8.

yer, Weaver of the parish of Much-Dunmow in Essex, aged 26 years.—George Searls Taylor, of the parish of White Nottle in Essex, aged 20 years.—Lyon Couch of London, broker, born in Flanders, aged 28 years.—Henry Adlinton, Sawyer of Greensted in Suffex, aged 30 years.—John Routh labourer, of the parish of Wycks in Essex, aged 26 years.—Elizabeth Peper, wife of Thomas Peper of the parish of St. James's Colchester, and Agnes George, wife, of Richard George, husbandman of West Batefield in Essex, aged 26 years.

Concerning the eighth article, which related to their being brought before the commissioners, and by them sent to the bishop of London, they answered in the following order.

Edmund Hurst, Ralph Jackson and George Searls answered in the affirmative.

Henry Wye said, that he was brought before several justices of peace in Essex, concerning one Highed his late master, and thereupon committed to Colchester castle, and from thence sent to London to the Bishop of London for farther examination.

William Hallywell made the like confession, excepting the circumstance of Highted.

John Derifall said, he was called before the Lord Rich, and Mr. Mildway of Chelmsford, and by them sent to the Bishop of London to be farther examined.

Thomas Bowyer said, he was brought before one Mr. Wiseman of Felstead, and by him sent to Colchester castle, and from thence to the Bishop of London,

O o

don to be farther examined.

Lyon Couch said that he was three times brought before the King and Queen's commissioners and by them sent to the Bishop of London.

Henry Adlinton said, that coming to Newgate, to speak with one Gratwick prisoner there for the testimony of Jesus Christ, was apprehended and brought before Dr. Story and by him sent to the bishop of London.

Agnes George said, that she was committed to prison in Colchester by Mr. Maynard, an alderman of the town, for refusing to go to church, and by him sent to the bishop of London.

Elizabeth Peper said, that she was apprehended by two constables and an alderman, for refusing to come to church, and by them sent to the bishop of London to be farther examined.

The ninth and last article, that they believed the premises to be true, as confessed above, and that they were of the diocese of London.

Elizabeth Peper added, she was of the Town of Colchester, and Agnes George said, she was of the parish of Barefold.

These thirteen persons being thus examined by the bishop of London's chancellor, in open court, persisting in their answers, and refusing to recant or be reconciled to the church of Rome, had sentence of condemnation pronounced against them, and were delivered to the Secular Power, who sent them all to Newgate.

Three others were also condemned to die at the same time, but before the day appointed for their execution, a re-

prieve was sent them by Cardinal Pole.

The Sunday after the condemnation of our martyrs, Dr. Fecknam Dean of St. Paul's observed, that the persons abovementioned held as many tenets as they had faces, in consequence of which representation, they drew up in writing a public confession of their faith, agreeable to the word of God and subscribed it with their names.

On the 28th of June 1556, the sheriff caused them to be removed from Newgate to Stratford Bow, being the place appointed for their execution, and on their arrival they were divided into two companies and put into two several apartments.

This occasioned the sheriff to use a stratagem to bring them to a recantation: he visited one company, and told them that the others had recanted, and would by that means save their lives, exhorting them to follow their example, and not cast themselves away, by their own meer obstinacy.

But this scheme failed in its effect, for they told the sheriff, that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ crucified.

The sheriff finding his project fail with the first party, to whom he applied, had recourse to the same means with the others, admonishing them to recant like wise men, and not be guilty of destroying themselves by their own bigotry and prejudice.

But they answered to the same effect as their brethren had done before, assuring the sheriff, that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ and his infallible word.

When

When he found that this stratagem had no effect, he caused them all to be brought forth to the place of execution, where they met together with joy, joined in prayer, chearfully went to the stake, and heartily embraced it.

The eleven men were chained to three stakes, and the two women put loose among them, without any stake or bands, and so burnt together in one fire, shewing such love to each other and stedfast faith in their Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, that the concourse of spectators assembled on the occasion were astonished at the undaunted behaviour of so many poor innocents, thus patiently enduring the acutest torments, rather than comply with the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome, which had corrupted the earth with her abominations and was drunk with the blood of the saints and the martyrs of God, who had courageously withstood the devices and inventions of men, and maintained the cause of Christ in opposition to the power of men and devils.

ROBERT BERNARD, ADAM FOSTER
and ROBERT LAWSON, *who were*
martyred, in St. Edmund's Bury, in
Suffolk in the diocese of Norwich.

ROBERT BERNARD a labourer in the parish of Frafden in the county of Suffolk, was apprehended for not coming to church, and brought before Dr. Hopton bishop of Norwich,

who enquired of him, whether he had been with a priest at Easter to be confessed, or received the blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

Bernard bluntly replied, *No, I have not been with the priest nor confessed myself unto him, but I have confessed my sins unto Almighty God, and I trust he hath forgiven me, wherefore I need not go to the priest for such matters, as he cannot forgive his own sins.*

After some persuation to induce him to go to confession without effect, the Bishop pronounced him an heretic, and Bernard thus answered his Lordship, *My Lord, it grieveth me not one whit to be called an heretic by you, for so your forefathers called the prophets and apostles of Christ long before this time.*

The Bishop incensed at the abruptness of the reply, rose up and bid Bernard follow him, and went to the Sacrament of the Altar, to which he kneeled and prayed, and severely reproved Bernard for not doing the same; but our martyr told him, he knew no authority for such behaviour in the word of God.

The Bishop then addressing him, pointed to the pix over the altar in which the wafer or host is kept, and said, *Why, lewd fellow, whom seeest thou yonder?* Nobody, my lord, replied Bernard; *seeest thou not thy Maker, varlet?* demanded the prelate; My Maker, returned the countryman, No, I see nothing but a few clouts hanging together in a heap.

The Bishop then rose up much displeased, and commanded the goaler to take him away and lay irons enough on him, declaring, that he would take him

him and reduce him to subjection before he left him.

Being brought before him the following day, he was asked if he retained the same opinions as he professed yesterday, he replied, *Yes, my lord, I remember myself well, for I am the same man to-day that I was yesterday, and hope I shall remain stedfast to the end of my life in the principles I have professed.*

One of the guards desirous of examining him, advised the Bishop to prevent bringing farther trouble on himself, to commit his examination to him, and having obtained orders from his lordship, took him to an inn, where several persons were assembled, and used many fair words and alluring promises to persuade him to abjure, what they called his heretical opinions; when fair means succeeded not, they threatened him with whipping, stocks, and burning, but all to no purpose, for Bernard said to them, *Friends, I am not better than my master Christ and the prophets whom your forefathers served after this sort, and I, for his sake, am content to suffer the like at your hands, if God should so permit, trusting that he will strengthen me in the same, according to his promise and that of all his ministers.*

After this declaration, they carried him back to the Bishop, who according to the usual form of proceeding in the court, condemned him as an heretic, and then delivered him into the hands of the sheriff, in order for his execution.

ADAM FOSTER, who lived in

the parish of Mendlesham in the county of Suffolk, was apprehended in his own house by two constables at the command of a neighbouring justice, for absenting himself from mass, and not receiving the Sacrament at Easter, and brought before the Bishop of Norwich, who examined him concerning his religious principles, and finding him stedfast in his faith, according to the doctrines set forth in the days of good king Edward, condemned him as an heretic, and delivered him to the Secular Power to be proceeded against according to law.

ROBERT LAWSON, by trade a linen draper, was apprehended and sent to Aye dungeon at the command of Sir John Tyrrel for the same cause as the person under consideration, and proceeded against by the Bishop of Norwich in the same manner.

They were all three carried to the place of execution at St. Edmundsbury June 30th, 1556, where being chained to the stake, they made a most triumphant exit, and died in full assurance of faith, giving glory to God.

There was also, about the same time and place, one John Fortune, a blacksmith of the parish of Hendlesham, in Suffolk, who was several times examined by the Bishop of Norwich and others about the mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and other points of the Romish religion, which he refuted by texts quoted from scripture.

His sentence of condemnation is recorded in the Bishop's register, but whether it was ever pronounced, or if pronounced, whether it was carried

ed into execution, cannot be determined.

JULIUS PALMER, *Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford*; JOHN GWIN, and THOMAS ASKINE, *who suffered Martyrdom at Newbery in Berkshire, in the Diocese of Salisbury.*

MR. Julius Palmer was born at Coventry, in the county of Warwick, his father was a merchant of that city, gave him a good education at the free school, and afterwards sent him to Magdalen college, Oxford, where, in process of time, he obtained a fellowship.

Being a zealous papist, and refusing to conform to the service of the church, used in the days of king Edward VI. he was expelled the college, and obliged to teach school for his living.

On the accession of queen Mary to the crown of England, the visitors came to Magdalen college among the rest, to displace such as refused to be of the Popish religion; at this time Julius Palmer upon his application to them, was reinstated in his fellowship.

During the time of his expulsion from the college, he used to converse occasionally with some of his acquaintance, who were Protestants, insomuch that being by them advised to study the scriptures, he began to entertain doubts concerning the truth of several Romish doctrines, and would frequently ask questions about the same.

His sincere attachment to the prin-
N^o 8.

ciples he professed, was the cause of his expulsion in the days of king Edward VI, and his troubles in the reign of queen Mary; for had he been a disssembler, he might have retained his fellowship under the reign of the former, and escaped death under that of the latter.

When the persecution raged in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, he enquired very particularly into the cause of persons being apprehended, the nature of the articles upon which they were condemned, the manner of their treatment, and their behaviour at the time of their suffering.

Nay to this end, he sent over one of his pupils from Oxford to Gloucester, to see the whole form of Bishop Hooper's execution, and bring him a minute account of the bloody transaction.

Before he imbibed well-grounded notions of the gospel of Christ, and the pure uncorrupted worship of God, he was inclined to think that very few would undergo the fiery trial for the sake of their profession, but when experience proved to him the cruelties which the Papists inflicted and the Protestants endured; when he had been present at the examination of Bishop Ridley and Latimer, and had seen them burnt at Oxford, as well as been an eye-witness to their faith, patience and fortitude, these scenes converted him absolutely from Popery, and on his return from the execution, he was heard to utter these expressions amongst his friends, *O raging cruelty, O barbarous tyranny?* from that very day he applied himself most assiduously
P p 10

to learn the truth of God's word, and to that end, borrowed Peter Martyr's commentary on the Corinthians, and other well-written treatises on religion, till at length he became as zealous an assertor of the Protestant cause as he before had been an obstinate opposer of it.

He now began to form excuses and pretences for absenting himself from mass and other Popish services and ceremonies, but finding that his absence on these occasions, incurred the suspicions of many, and disapprobation of the president of the college; to avoid expulsion, which might be attended with danger, he resigned his fellowship to preserve his conscience inviolate.

When he left college, his friends procured him a patent for teaching the grammar school at Reading in Berkshire, where he was received by those who loved the gospel of Christ, both on account of his eminent learning and zealous adherence to the truth. But in process of time, some hypocritical professors of the reformed religion insinuated themselves in his confidence, with a design to learn his religious principles.

Their disingenuous stratagem succeeded to their wishes; for as he was a man of an open, unreserved temper, he freely declared his sentiments, which those snakes reported to his enemies, who thereupon caused his library to be searched for heretical books, and finding some of his writings both Latin and English, that inveighed against Popish cruelty, they threatened they would lay this discovery before the

queen's commissioners, unless he would quietly resign his school to a friend of theirs and then depart. For fear of death he complied with their unjust proposal, and departed from Reading, leaving behind him all his goods with a quarter's salary, that was due to him.

Being thus destitute of a livelihood, he went to Evesham in Worcestershire, where his mother lived, in order to obtain from her a legacy which his father had bequeathed him four years ago.

When he came into his mother's presence, he implored her blessing on his bended knees, but having been informed by his brother of the cause of his resignation, and the business of his visit, she hastily exclaimed, *Thou shalt have Christ's curse and mine, whither soever thou goest.*

Julius at first stood amazed at so unexpected and heavy a curse from his own mother, but after he had recollected himself a little, *O mother, said he, your own curse, you may give me, which God knoweth I never deserved; but God's curse you cannot give me, for he hath already blessed me.*

Thou wentest (replied the mother) from God's blessing, when thou wast banished for an heretic from thy fellowship at Oxford and for the like knavery hast thou been expelled from Reading too. *Alas mother, returned Julius, my case has been misrepresented to you, for I was not expelled from the college at Oxford, but freely I resigned my fellowship there. Heretic, I am none, for I oppose not the true doctrine of Christ, but defend it to my utmost power.*

His

His mother vehemently declaring, that he believed not as his father and forefathers had done, but according to the new doctrine taught and set forth in the days of King Edward VI. which is damnable heresy; he confessed, that he believed that doctrine that was publicly set forth in the reign of King Edward VI. but affirmed it to be truth, and instead of being new, that it was as old as Christ and his Apostles.

The old woman incensed at this frank declaration of his principles, commanded him to depart the house, nor ever more esteem her as his mother, informing him at the same time, that he had no property there either in money or goods, as his father bequeathed nothing to heretics.

But our martyr, as became a true follower of the blessed Jesus, when he was reviled, reviled not again, but committed his cause to him, who judgeth righteously, and thus on his departure bespoke his blind and bigotted parent.

Mother, when you have cursed me, I again beseech God to bless you, and prosper your undertakings as long as you live; this pathetic address attended with flowing tears in some degree excited her parental affection, so that she threw a piece of gold after him, saying, keep that to make thee a true man.

Thus repulsed by his mother, on whom he relied as his only friend, as well as disregarded by his brother, he was destitute of all help, and knew not which way to turn himself.

Amidst a distraction of mind, he thought of returning privately to Mag-

dalen College, upon confidence of a few friends he had in that house, when through the interest of Mr. Allen Cope a fellow of the same, he obtained a recommendation to a school in Gloucestershire.

But he had not proceeded far in his journey thither, before he altered his resolution, and determined to go privately to Reading, to try if he could obtain his salary that was due, and at the same time dispose of his goods.

He accordingly arrived thither, but remained not long, before his old enemies got knowledge of it and consulted in what manner they should proceed against him.

In a short time, it was concluded among them that one Mr. Hampton, who had formerly professed himself a Protestant (but was in reality a time-server) should visit him under colour of friendship, to learn the cause of his return.

Hampton traiterously went, and Palmer with his usual sincerity, and openness of soul, disclosed his whole design, which the other immediately related to the confederates, who caused him to be apprehended that very night by the officers appointed for the purpose, requiring him in the Queen's name quietly to surrender himself to them.

He was then carried to prison, and put in the stocks, where he remained ten days in the custody of an unmerciful keeper.

He was, at the expiration of that time, brought before the mayor of Reading, and charged with the following crimes.

1. *That he said the Queen's sword was not put into her hand, to execute tyranny, and to kill and murder the true servants of God.*

2. *That her sword was too blunt towards the Papists, but too sharp towards the true Christians.*

3. *That certain servants of Sir Francis Knowles and others resorting to his lectures, fell out among them, and had almost committed murder; therefore he was a sower of sedition, and a procurer of unlawfull assemblies.*

4. *That his landlady had written a letter to him, which they had intercepted, wherein she requested him to return to Reading, and sent her commendations by the token, that the knife lay hid under the beam, whereby they inferred that she had conspired with her husband.*

5. *That they once found him alone with his said landlady by the fire side, the door being shut, thereby suspecting him of incontinency with her.*

Three men were suborned by one of the confederates to swear these things against him before the mayor, who thereupon sent him to the cage, to be an open spectacle of contempt to the people.

The same villain also spread a report, that he was thus punished for the most enormous crimes and misdemeanours, which had been fully proved against him.

After he had been thus unjustly exposed to public shame, the mayor sent for him to answer for himself, concerning what was laid to his charge.

He fully overthrew all the evidence

and asserted his own innocence, and proved the letters to be of their own forging, so that the mayor was confounded that he had given so much credit to them, and considered of means to send him away privately, before the matter was divulged.

During the time of his imprisonment, he was visited by one John Galant, a true professor of the gospel, who said to him, *O Palmer! thou hast deceived many men's expectations for we bear that you suffer not for righteousness sake, but for thy own demerits.*

Palmer replied, *O brother Galant, these be the old practices of that fanatical brood; but be you well assured, and God be praised for it, I have so purged myself and detected their falshood, that from henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith.*

When his enemies found they had miscarried in their plot against him, they feared he should escape privily, and therefore resolved to accuse him of heresy (tho' some of them had been formerly accounted zealous brethren.)

In consequence of their information, he was brought out of prison before the mayor, and Mr. Bird the Bishop of Salisbury's official and two justices of peace, to render an account of his faith, and to answer to such informations as might be laid against him.

Upon his examination, they gathered from his own mouth, sufficient matter to entrap him.

They drew up articles against him, which they sent to Newbery, to Dr. Jeffrey, who was to hold his visitation there, on the Tuesday following, being the tenth day of July.

Palmer

Palmer was therefore sent thither with one Thomas Askine, his fellow prisoner, on account of his religion, and on his arrival together with him committed to the blind-house, where they found one John Gwyn their faithful brother in the Lord.

On Tuesday, July 10, 1556, a place being prepared in the parish church of Newbery to hold the consistory court, Dr. Jeffrey representative of the Bishop of Sarum, Sir Richard Abridge, and John Winchom, Esq; and the minister of Inglefield repaired thither, as commissioners appointed for the purpose.

After the prisoners were produced, the commission read, and other things passed according to the usual form, Dr. Jeffrey, in the presence of several hundred spectators, called to Palmer, and asked if he was the writer of a two-penny pamphlet that had been lately published?

Having some altercation about this affair, in which Palmer answered in his own behalf with great force and propriety, the Doctor rising from his seat, said to him, *Mr. Palmer, we have received certain writings and articles against you from the right worshipful the Mayor of Reading, and other Justices, whereby we understand, that being brought before them, you were convicted of certain heresies.*

1. *That you deny the supremacy of the Pope's Holiness.*

2. *That you affirm there are but two sacraments.*

3. *You say that the priest sheweth up an idol at mass, and therefore you went to no mass since your first coming to Reading.*

N^o 8.

4. *You hold there is no purgatory.*

5. *You are charged with sowing sedition, and seeking to divide the unity of the Queen's subjects.*

Several books and pamphlets were then produced, and Palmer being asked if he was the author of them, replied in the affirmative, declaring at the same time, that they contained nothing but what was founded on the word of God.

The doctor then reviled him, declaring that such opinions were dictated by no good spirit, and that he was very wicked in slandering the dead, and railing at a Catholic and learned man living.

Our martyr replied, if it be a slander, he slandered himself, for I do but report his own writings, and open the absurdities therein contained; and I esteem it not railing to inveigh against Annas and Caiphas being dead.

Jeffrey incensed at this reply, assured him, that he would take such measures as should compel him to recant his damnable errors and heresies, but Palmer told him, that although of himself he could do nothing, yet if he and all his enemies both bodily and ghostly should exert all their efforts, they would not be able to effect what they desired, neither could they prevail against the mighty Powers of Divine Grace, by which he understood the truth, and was determined to speak it boldly.

After much discourse, the minister of Inglefield pointed to the pix over the altar, saying to Palmer, what seest thou there? he answered, a canopy of silk embroidered with gold.

Q. 9.

But

But what is within it, demanded the priest? a piece of bread in a cloth, replied our martyr.

The priest then upbraided him as a vile heretic, and asked him if he did not believe that they who receive the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, do truly eat Christ's natural body.

He answered, if the sacrament of the Lord's Supper be administered as Christ did ordain it, the faithful receivers do indeed spiritually and truly eat and drink in it Christ's very body and blood.

On being asked, if he meant with the Holy Mother Church, really, carnally, and substantially; he declared he could not believe so absurd and monstrous a doctrine.

When the doctor demanded the precise manner in which Christ was present in the sacrament, he answered, that the doctors say it was *modo ineffabili*: (that is, in an unspeakable manner) therefore why do you ask me? would to God you were disposed in your heart to believe it, or I had a tongue able to express it.

The court being adjourned, one of the justices sent for Palmer, and in the presence of divers persons of Newbery exhorted him to revoke his opinions, and spare his youth, promising him at the same time if he would conform to the church to take him into his family in the capacity of Chaplain, and a salary suitable to his capacity, or if he chose not to resume the clerical function, to procure him a wife, help him to a farm and stock it for him.

Our martyr heartily thanked him for his kind offer, but assured him

that he had already renounced his living in two places for the sake of Christ and his gospel, and was ready to yield up his life in defence of the same, if God in his providence should see fit to call him to it.

When the justice found he could by no means bring him to a recantation, he said, *Well, Palmer, I perceive that one of us two must be damned, for we are of two faiths, and there is but one faith that leads to life and salvation.*

Palmer observed on the occasion, that it was possible they might both be saved, for that as it had pleased a merciful God, to call him at the third hour of the day, that is in the prime of life, at the age of twenty four years, so he trusted that in his infinite goodness, he would graciously call him at the eleventh hour of his old age, and give him an eternal inheritance among the saints in light.

After much conversation had passed, and many efforts were tried in vain, Palmer was remanded back to prison, but the other men, John Gwin and Thomas Askine, were brought into the consistory court, received their definitive sentence, and were delivered over to the Secular Power, to be burned as heretics.

Though their particular examinations and answers, are not recorded, there is the utmost reason to believe they were of the same faith with their brother Palmer with whom they suffered, though they were ignorant, and could alledge very little in their own defence.

The next morning, the commissioners required Julius Palmer to subscribe

scribe to certain articles which they had gathered from his answers, with the addition of those odious epithets and terms, horrid, heretical, damnable and execrable doctrines, which when he had read, he refused to subscribe, affirming that the doctrine which he held and professed, was not such, but agreeable to and founded on the word of God, the oracles of truth.

The Doctor, being now greatly incensed, Palmer consented to subscribe provided they would strike out those odious epithets; upon which, they gave him a pen, and bid him do as he pleased, and he made such alterations as he thought proper and then subscribed.

Having thus set his hand to the articles which they had drawn up, they asked him if he would recant, and upon his refusal pronounced sentence against him and delivered him also to the Secular Power in order to his being executed.

An hour before they were led to the place of execution, Palmer comforted his two fellow sufferers in the presence of many people with words to this effect.

Brethren be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not; remember the words of our Saviour Christ who saith, Happy are ye when men shall revile and persecute you for my sake: Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, but are not to hurt the soul, God is faithful and will not suffer us to be tempted above what we are able to bear. We shall end our lives

in the fire, but exchange them for a better life: yea for coals we shall receive pearls; for God's spirit certifieth our spirit, that he hath prepared for us blissful mansions in Heaven, for his sake, who suffered for us.

These words not only strengthened and confirmed the resolution of his too weak brethren, but drew tears from many of the multitude, which heard them delivered.

When they were brought by the high sheriff and constables of the Town to the Sand-pits (the place appointed for their execution) they fell on the ground and Palmer with an audible voice repeated the 31st psalm, but the other two made their prayers secretly to Almighty God.

When Palmer arose from prayer, there came behind him two Popish priests, exhorting him to recant and save his soul.

Our martyr exclaimed, *Away, away, and tempt me no longer! away! I say from me, all ye that work iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears.*

When they were chained to the stake. Palmer thus addressed the spectators; *Good people, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end, and for Christ's sake beware of Popish teachers, for they deceive you.*

As he spoke this, one of the attendants threw a faggot at him, which striking him on the face, caused the blood to gush from three several places; but this cruel behaviour escaped not the notice or resentment of the sheriffs, who not only upbraided his cruelty, but manually retaliated the injury on the

the man, who had thus insulted suffering innocence.

When the fire was kindled, and began to reach their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards Heaven, and cheerfully, as though they felt not much pain, said, *Lord Jesu, strengthen us! Lord Jesu assist us! Lord Jesu, receive our souls*, and thus they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and sometimes beating upon their breasts, and calling on the name of Jesus, till they ended their mortal lives, and exchanged a scene of exquisite pain, for that glorious rest that remaineth for the people of God.

JOAN WAST, *a poor blind Woman, who suffered Martyrdom in the Town of Derby, in the Diocese of Litchfield and Coventry.*

THE poor woman now under consideration, in the time of king Edward VI. used to frequent the church to hear Divine service in the vulgar tongue, together with Homilies and Sermons, by which means she became confirmed and established in the reformed religion and doctrines.

Having purchased a New Testament in English, she applied to an old man, whom she paid for reading such passages as she directed him; by which means she became so well versed in the holy scriptures, that she could repeat entire chapters by heart, and by citing proper texts of scripture, would reprove the errors in religion, as well as the

vicious customs and practices that prevailed in those days.

Thus increased this pious woman in the knowledge of God's word, leading a life of exemplary godliness, without molestation or any kind of interruption, during the reign of good king Edward.

But on his demise, and the introduction of Popery, with the accession of queen Mary, because she continued steadfast in the profession of that faith she had embraced from the knowledge of the divine word, and refused to communicate with those who maintained contrary doctrines; she was brought before Dr. Ralph Bayn, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and Dr. Draycott the chancellor, as one suspected of heresies, and by them committed to Derby prison.

She was divers times privately examined by Peter Finch the Bishop's official; and afterwards brought to public examination before the bishop, his chancellor, and several more of the queen's commissioners.

The following articles were alledged to her charge.

1. *That she held the Sacrament of the Altar, to be only a memorial or representation of Christ's body, and material bread and wine, and that it ought not to be reserved from time to time, but immediately received.*

2. *That she held, that in the receiving the Sacrament of the Altar, she did not receive the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered on the cross for the redemption of mankind.*

3. *That she held, that Christ at his last supper did not only bless the bread which*

which he had then in his hands, but was blessed himself; and that by virtue of the words of consecration, the substance of the bread and wine was not converted, nor turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

4, That she granted she was of the parish of Allhollows in Derby, and that all and singular the premises were true.

To these articles Joan Wast answered, that she believed just as much as the holy scriptures taught her, and according to what she heard preached by many pious and learned men; some of whom suffered imprisonment, and others death for the same doctrine.

Among others, she mentioned Dr. Taylor, and asked of them if they would follow his example in testimony of their doctrine? which, unless they were willing to do, she desired for God's sake they would not trouble her (being a poor, blind, and illiterate woman) declaring at the same time, she was ready to yield up her life in defence of that faith she had publicly professed.

The Bishop and his chancellor urged many arguments from Christ's omnipotence in proof of the doctrine of the real presence in the Sacrament of the Altar, demanding why Christ was not as able to make the bread his body, as to turn water into wine, to raise Lazarus from the dead and the like, threatening her at the same time with imprisonments, torments, and death.

The poor woman terrified at these threatenings, told the Bishop, if he would before that company take it upon his conscience, that the doctrine

N^o 8.

which he would have her to believe concerning the Sacrament, was true, and that he would at the awful tribunal of God answer for her therein (as Dr. Taylor in several sermons has offered) she would then further answer them.

The Bishop declaring that he would, the chancellor said to him, *My lord, you know not what you do, you may in no case answer for an heretic.*

The Bishop struck by this interposition of the chancellor, demanded of the woman, whether she would recant or not, and told her she should answer for herself.

This honest christian finding at length they designed but to prevaricate, told his lordship, that if he refused to take upon himself to answer for the truth of what they required her to believe, she would answer no farther, but desired them to do their pleasure.

In consequence of which sentence of death was pronounced against her, and she was committed to Derby prison, where she continued till the day of execution.

When she came to the fatal place, she desired the people to pray for her, and said such prayers as she had formerly learned, and so being bound to the stake, and fire put to her, she called on Christ to have mercy on her as long as her lips lasted. She died with great fortitude August 1. 1556.

R. S.

Twenty

Twenty-two Prisoners brought in one band from Colchester to London.

Copy of a bloody Commission set forth by King Philip, and Queen Mary, to prosecute the poor members of Christ.

PHILIP and Mary, by the grace of God, king and Queen of England, &c. To the Right Reverend Father in God our right trusty and well-beloved William Windfore, Knight, Lord Windfore, Edward North, Knight, Lord North, and to our trusty and well beloved counsellor J. Bourn, Knight, one of our chief secretaries, J. Mordaunt, Knight, Frances Inglefield, Knight, master of our Wards and Liveries, Edward Wardrobe, Nicholas Hare, Knight, Master of the Rolls, Thomas Pope, Knight, Roger Cholmley, Knight, Richard Rede, Knight, Rowland Hill, Knight, William Rastal, Serjeant at Law, Henry Cole, Clerk, Dean of St. Paul's, William Roper, and Ralph Cholmley, Esquires, William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, Doctors of the Law, greeting.

Forasmuch as divers devilish and slanderous persons have not only invented, bruted, and set forth divers false rumours, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown divers heresies and heretical opinions, and set forth divers seditious books within this our rea'm of England, meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention,

and sedition, not only amongst our loving subjects, but also betwixt us and our said subjects with divers other outrageous misdemeanors, enormities, contempts and offences, daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us, and our people, we, minding due punishment of such like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours from henceforth, having special trust and confidences in your fidelities, wisdoms, discretions, have authorized, appointed and assigned you to be our commissioners, and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, and three of you, to enquire as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses and all other means and politick ways you can devise, of all the heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and all false rumours, tales, seditious and slanderous words or sayings, raised, published, bruted, invented, or set forth against us, or either of us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwise, in any county, key, bowing, or other place beyond the seas, and of the bringers in, utterers, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers of such letters, books, rumour and tale, and of all and every their coadjutors, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving unto you and three of you full power and authority by virtue hereof, to search out and take into your hand, and possessions, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, and writing wheresoever they or any of them sha'll be found, as well in printing houses and shops as e'sewhere, willing you

you and every of you to search for them in all places according to your discretions.

And also to enquire, hear and determine all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, and negligences committed in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm, and also for and concerning the taking away or with-holding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, stocks of money, or other things belonging to every of the same churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the same.

And also to enquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or to come to their parish churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine service, and all such as refuse to go in procession, to take holy bread or holy water, or otherwise do misuse themselves in any church or other hallowed place, wheresoever any of the officers have been, or hereafter shall be committed within this our realm.

Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as any person or persons, hereafter being called and converted before you, do obstinately persist, or stand in any manner of heresy or heretical opinion, that then ye, or three of you do immediately take order, that the same person or persons, so standing or persisting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws.

And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority, to enquire and search out all vagabonds, and

masterless men, barretours, quarrellers, and suspected persons, abiding within our city of London, and ten miles compass of the same, and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city and compass.

And farther to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages in the diocese of the same, being within this realm, giving you, and every of you full power and authority by virtue hereof to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed according to your wisdoms, consciences, and discretions, willing and commanding you or three of you from time to time, to use and devise all such politick ways and means, for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you or three of you, concerning the premises or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise, and to take such order for redress and reformation, of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you shall be thought meet and convenient.

Further willing and commanding you and every three of you, in case you shall find any person or persons obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you at calling or assignment, or else in not accomplishing, or not obeying your decrees, orders and commandments in any thing or things, touching the premises or any part thereof, to commit the same person or persons so offending to ward, there to remain, till by you, or three of you, be discharged or delivered.

This

This bloody proclamation, which was issued the eighth day of February, gave the new inquisition an opportunity of extending their horrid ravages; so that persecution universally prevailed, and the jails were full of prisoners.

The rage of persecution was very prevalent in and about the town of Colchester, insomuch that three and twenty persons were apprehended together, of which number only one escaped; the other being sent up bound to London, in order to abide by the award of a most bloody tribunal.

The bishop, however, fearing the resentment of the populace, if so many should be committed to the flames at once, drew up a very easy submission for them, or rather permitted them to draw it up for themselves; but this was meer art and cunning, for several of them were apprehended afterwards and brought to the stake.

These fourteen men and eight women were conducted to London, two and two together, having a band or line placed between them, each holding the same in their hands, and having at the same time a cord about the arm, as though they were tied.

At their entry into London, they were pin-ironed, and march into the city in procession.

Here it will be necessary to transcribe the Popish Commissary letter directed to Bishop Bonner, in order to enhance the reader's detestation of that faith which can justify such horrid cruelty and injustice.

The Commissary's Letter to Bonner, bishop of London.

After my duty done in receiving and accomplishing your honourable and most loving letters, dated August the seventh, be it known unto your lordship, that the twenty-eighth of August, the Lord Oxenford, Lord Darcy, H. Tyrel, A. Brown, W. Bendlows, E. Tyrel, R. Weston, R. Appleton, published their commission to seize the lands, tenements and goods of the fugitives, so that the owners should have neither use nor advantage thereof, but by inventory remain in safe keeping, until the cause were determined.

And also there was likewise proclaimed the queen's warrant, for the restitution of the church goods within Colchester, and the hundreds thereabout, to the use of God's service. And then were called the parishes particularly, and the hereticks partly committed to my examination. And that divers persons should certify me of the ornaments of their churches, betwixt this and the justices next appearance, which shall be on Michaelmas next. And the parishes which had presented at two several times, to have all ornaments, with other things, in good order, were exonerated for ever, till they were warned again, and others to make their appearance from time to time.

And those names blotted in the indenture were indicted for treason, fugitives, or disobedients, were put forth by Mr. Brown's commandment. And before the sealing, my Lord Darcy said unto me
apart.

part, and Mr. Bendlows, that I should have sufficient time to send unto your lordship, yea, if need were, the hereticks to remain in durance till I had an answer from you, yea till the Lord Legate's Grace's commissioners come into the country.

And Mr. Brown came unto my Lord Darcy's house and parlour belonging unto Mr. Barnaby, before my said Lord and all the justices, and laid his hand on my shoulder, with a smiling countenance, and desired me to make his hearty commendations to your good lordship, and asked me if I would: and I said yea with a good will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought that I would not be charged with so sudden carriage.

But after dinner, the justices counselled with the bailiffs, and with the jailors, and then after took me unto them, and make collation of the indentures, and sealed them; and then Mr. Brown commanded me this afternoon being the thirtieth of August, to go and receive my prisoners. Then I said, it is an unreasonable commandment, for that I have attended on you these three days, and this Sunday early I have sent home my men.

Wherefore I desire you to have a convenient time appointed, wherein I may know, whether it will please my lord my master to send his commissioners hither, or that I shall make carriage of them to his lordship.

Then Mr. Brown said, We are certified that the council have written to your master to make speed, and to rid these prisoners out of hand: therefore go receive your prisoners in haste.

I answered, Sir, I shall receive them

N^o IX.

within these ten days. Then Mr. Brown said, The limitation lieth in us, and not in you, wherefore get you hence. I replied, Sir, ye have indicted and delivered me by this indenture, whose faith or opinions I knew not, trusting that ye will grant me a time to examine them, lest I should punish the Catholicks. Well, said Mr. Brown, for that cause ye shall have time betwixt this and Wednesday. And I say unto you, Mr. Bailiffs, if he do not receive them at your hands, on Wednesday, set open your door and let them go. Then I said, my lord, and masters all, I promise to discharge the town and country of these hereticks within these ten days. The Lord Darcy answered, commissary, we do and must agree all in one. Wherefore do ye receive them on or before Wednesday. To which I replied, my lord, the last I carried, I was going betwixt the castle and St. Catherine's chapel two hours and a half in great press and danger. Therefore this may be to desire your lordship, to give in commandment to Mr. Sayer my bailiff here present, to aid me through the liberties, not only with men and weapons, but that the town-clerk may be ready there with his book to write the names of the most busy persons, and this upon three hours warning; all which both my lord and Mr. Brown commanded.

The thirty-first of August, William Goodwin of Muchbitch, husbandman, this bringer, and Thomas Alsey of Copford, your lordship's apparitor of your consistory in Colchester, covenanted with me, that they should hire two other men at the least, whereof one should be a

S f

bow

bowman, to come to me the next day about two of the clock in the afternoon, so that I might recite this bargain before Mr. Archdeacon, and pay the money, that is, forty-six shillings and eight-pence. Wherefore they should then go forth with me unto Colchester, and on Wednesday before three of the clock in the morning receive there at my hand within the castle and Mote-hall, fourteen men and eight women, bound with cords and fetters, and drive, carry or lead and feed with meat and drink, as hereticks ought to be found continually, unto such time that the said Goodwin and Alfey shall cause the said two and twenty persons to be delivered unto my lord of London's officers, and within the safe keeping of my said lord, and then to bring unto me again the said fetters, with a perfect token of or from my said lord, and then this covenant is void, or else, &c. Mr. Bendlows said unto me in my lord of Oxenford's chamber at the King's Head, after I had said mass before the lords, the morrow after Holy Rood Day, when we shall meet at Chelmsford for the division of these lands, I think Mr. Archdeacon, you, and Mr. Smith, shall be fain to ride with certain of the jury to these portions and manors in your part of Essex, and in like divide yourselves, to tread and view the ground with the quest, or else I think they will not labour the matter, and so do you say unto Mr. Archdeacon.

Alice the wife William Wa'ley of Colchester, hath submitted herself, abjured her erroneous opinions, asked absolution, promised to do solemn penance in her parish Church at St. Peter's on Sunday next, and to continue a catholick

and a faithful woman, as long as God shall send her life. And for these covenants her husband standeth bound in five pounds. Which Alice is one of the nine women of this your indenture, and she is big with child.

Wherefore she remaineth at home, and this done in the presence of the Bailiffs, Aldermen and Town-clerk. And because Mr. Brown was certified there was no curate at Lexdon, he enquired who was the former? The answer was made, Sir Francis Jobson. Who is the parson? They of the quest men answered, Sir Roger Ghosilow. When was he with you? Not these fourteen years. How is your cure served? Now and then. Who is the patron? My Lord of Arundel. And within a short time after, Sir Francis Jobson came with great courtesy unto my Lord Darcy's place. And of all gentlemen about us, I saw no more come in.

Sir Robert Smith, priest, sometime canon of Bridlington, now curate of Apple-dore in the Wild of Kent, came to Colchester the twenty-eighth day of August, with his wife big with child, of late divorced, taken on suspicion, examined by the Lords, and Mr. Brown told me that they have received letters from the council for the attachment of certain persons, and especially of one priest, whose name is Pullen (but his right name is Smith) doubting this priest to be the said Pullen, although neither he nor his wife would confess the same.

Wherefore he lieth still in prison, but surely this is not Pullen. If it please your lordship to have in remembrance, that the householder might be compelled to bring every man his own wife to her own

own seat in the church in time of divine service, it would profit much.

And also there be yet standing hospitals, and others of like foundation about Colchester, which I have not known to appear at any visitation, as the masters and lazars of St. Mary Magdalene in Colchester, the proctor of St. Catherine's Chapel in Colchester, the hospital or breadhouse of the foundation of the lord H. Harney in Laremarney, the hospital and beadman of Little Horsley.

Thus presuming on your lordship's goodness, I am more than bold to trouble you with this worldly business, beseeching Almighty God to send your honourable lordship a condign reward.

From Eastthorp this present thirtieth day of August.

We found a letter concerning the marriage of priests in the hands of the aforesaid Sir Robert Smith. Also I desired Mr. Brown, the doer of all things, to require the audience to bring in their unlawful writings and books; who asked me, if I had proclaimed the proclamation? I said, yea. Then he said openly upon the bench, that they should be proclaimed once every quarter. And then take the constables and officers, and they alone take and punish the offenders accordingly.

By your poor Beadman,

John Kingston, Priest.

An Indenture made between the Lords and Justices within specified, and Bonner's Commissary, concerning the delivery of the Prisoners abovenamed.

THIS indenture made the nineteenth of August, in the third and fourth years of the reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady Philip and Mary, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of England, Spain, France, both Cicilies, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Burgundy, Millain and Brabant, Counties of Hasburgh, Flanders and Tirol, between the Right Honourable Lord John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Chamberlain of England, Thomas Lord Darcy of Chich, Henry Tirel, Knight, Anthony Brown the King and Queen's Serjeant at law, William Bendelows, Serjeant at Law, Edmund Tirel, Richard Weston, Roger Appleton, Esquires, Justices of Oyer and Terminer, and of the Peace within the said county of Essex, to be kept of the one party; and John Kingston, Clerk, Batchelor at Law, Commissary to the Bishop of London, of the other party, witnesseth, that Ro. Colman of Walton in the county of Essex, Labourer; Joan Winseley of Horfeley Magna in the said county, Spinster; Stephen Glover, of Rayley, in the county aforesaid, Glover; Richard Clerke of Much-Holland in the said county, Mariner; William Maunt of Much-Bentley in the said county, Husbandman; Thomas Winseley of Much-Horfeley in the said county, Sawyer; Margaret Field

Field of Ramsey in the said county, Spinster; Alice Munt of Much-Bentley, in the said county, Spinster; Agnes Whitlock of Dovercourt in the said county, Spinster; Rose Allin of the same town and county, Spinster; Richard Bongeor of Colchester in the said county, Currier: Richard Atkin of Halstead in the said county, Weaver; Robert Barcock of Wiston in the county of Suffolk, Carpenter; Richard George of Westbarhoul in the county of Essex, Labourer; Richard Jolley of Colchester in the said county, Marine; Thomas Feeresanne of the same town and county, Mercer; Robert Debnam late of Debham in the said county, Weaver; Cifely Warren of Cockfall in the said county, Spinster; Christian Pepper, Widow, of the same town and county: Allin Sampson, Elen Euring, Alice the wife of William Wallis of Colchester, Spinster; William Bongeor of Colchester in the said county, Glazier; being indicted of Heresy, are delivered to the said John Kingstone, Clerk, Ordinary to the Bishop of London, according to the statute in that case provided.

In witness whereof to the one part of this indenture remaining with the said Earl, Lord, and other the Justices, the said Ordinary hath set to his hand and seal; and to the other part remaining with the said Ordinary, the said Earl, Lord, and other the Justices have set to their several hands and seals, the day and years above written.

Oxenford.	William Bendelows,
Thomas Darcy.	Edmund Tyrel.
Henry Tyrel.	Richard Weston.
Anthony Brown,	Roger Appleton.

The twenty-two prisoners thus sent from Colchester to London, were brought at length to Bishop Bonner, who, on that account sent the following letter to Cardinal Pole.

A Letter of Bishop Bonner to Cardinal Pole.

MAY it please your grace, with my most humble obedience, reverence, and duty, to understand, that going to London upon Thursday last, and thinking to be troubled with Mr. Germain's matter only, and such other common matter as are accustomed, enough to weary a right strong body, I had the day following to comfort my stomach withal, letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the day following I should have sent thence twenty-two heretics, indicted before the commissioners, and indeed so I had, and compelled to bear their charges as I did of the others, a sum of money that I thought full evil bestowed. And these hereticks, notwithstanding they had honest Catholic keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and in all the way from Colchester to Stradford-Bow did go quietly and obediently, yet coming to Stratford they began to take heart of grace, and to do as pleased themselves, for they began to have their guard, which generally increased till they came to A.dgate, where they were lodged Friday-night.

And albeit I took order that the said hereticks should be with me early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me; yet it was between ten and eleven of the clock before they would come, and no way would they take but through

through Cheapſide, ſo that they were brought to my houſe with a thouſand perſons. Which thing I took very ſtrange, and ſpoke to Sir John Greſham then being with me, to tell the Mayor and the Sheriffs that this thing was not well ſuffered in the city. Theſe naughty hereticks all the way they came through Cheapſide, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort from the promiſcuous multitude; and being entered into my houſe, and talked withal, they ſhewed themſelves deſperate and very obſtinate; yet I uſed all the honeſt means I could, both of myſelf and others, to have won them, cauſing divers learned men to talk with them; and finding nothing in them but pride and wilfulneſs, I thought to have them all hitther to Fulham, and here to give ſentence againſt them. Nevertheleſs, perceiving by my laſt doing that your Grace was offended, I thought it my duty before I any farther proceeded herein, to advertiſe firſt your Grace hereof, and know your good pleaſure, which I beſeech your Grace I may do by this truſty bearer. And thus moſt humbly I take my leave of your good Grace, beſeeching Almighty God always to preſerve the ſame. At Fulham, Anno 1556.

Your Grace's moſt bounden

Beadſman and Servant,

EDMUND BONNER.

From the contents of this letter, we evidently learn the perſecuting ſpirit of the blood-thirſty Bonner, who was apparently deſirous of glutting himſelf with the maſſacre of theſe three and twenty innocent perſons.

N^o 9.

Cardinal Pool though a Papift was a man of moderation and humanity, as appears not only by his endeavour to mitigate the fury of Bonner, but alſo by ſeveral of his letters directed to Archbiſhop Cranmer, as well as many complaints alledged againſt him to the Pope for his lenity towards the heretics.

Nay, ſo incenſed was his Holineſs at his proceedings, that he ordered him up to Rome, and would have proceeded againſt him moſt rigorouſly had not Queen Mary interpoſed in his behalf, and warded off the danger that threatened him.

It was ſhrewdly ſuſpected that the cardinal a ſhort time before his coming from Rome to England, began to favour the opinion and doctrine of Luther.

But to return to the immediate account of our martyrs, who were thus brought from Colcheſter to London and would have been ſhortly executed together, had not the cruel ſentence been deferred by means of the cardinal.

It would exceed the compaſs of our deſign minutely, to relate the articles that were reſpectively propounded to them and their ſeveral answers to the ſame; we ſhall therefore confine ourſelves to that of the Lord's Supper, on account of which they chiefly ſuffered, ſome imprisonment and ſome death.

T t

Ge

General Confession of these Persons concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

WHEREAS Christ at his last Supper, took Bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, and said, *take eat, this is my body.* And likewise took the Cup and thanked, &c. We do understand it to be a figurative speech, as the common manner of his language was in parables and dark sentences, that they which were carnally minded should see with their eyes and not understand; signifying this, that as he did break the Bread among them, being but one loaf, and they all were partakers thereof, so we through his Body, in that it was broken and offered upon the Cross for us, are all partakers thereof, and his blood cleanseth us from our sins, and hath pacified God's wrath towards us, and made the atonement between God and us, if we walk henceforth in the light, even as he is in the true light.

And in that he said further, *Do this in remembrance of me*: it is a memorial and token of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ: and he commanded it for this cause, that the congregation of Christ should come together to shew his death, and to thank him for his benefits, and magnify his holy name, and so to break Bread, and drink the wine in remembrance that Christ had given his Body, and shed his Blood for us.

Thus you may well perceive, tho' Christ called the Bread his Body, and

the Wine his Blood, yet it followeth not, that the substance of his Body should be in the Bread and Wine, as divers places in scripture are spoken by the Apostles in like phrase of speech, as in *John xv. I am the true vine.* Also in *John x. I am the door.* And as it is written in the ninth Chapter to the *Hebrews*, and in *Exodus xxiv.* how *Moses* took the blood of the calves, and sprinkled both the book and all the people, saying, *This is the Blood of the Covenant or Testament.* And also in the fifth Chapter of *Ezekiel*, how the Lord said unto him concerning the third part of his hair, saying, *This is Jerusalem, &c.*

Thus we see how the scriptures speak in figures, and ought to be spiritually examined, and not as they would have us to say, that the bodily presence of Christ is in the bread, which is a blasphemous understanding of the word, and contrary to the holy scriptures.

Also, we see that great idolatry is sprung out of the understanding of the words of Christ, *This is my body*, and yet daily springeth to the great dishonour of God; so that men worship a piece of bread for God; yea, and hold that to be their Maker.

After this confession of their faith and doctrine was written and exhibited, they also drew up a letter in form of a short supplication, or rather an admonition to the judges and commissioners, requiring that justice and judgment, after the rule of God's word, might be administered unto them. The copy of which letter followeth.

A supplication of the Prisoners to the Judges.

TO the right honourable audience, before whom our writings, and the confession of our faith shall come; we poor prisoners being fast in bonds upon the trial of our faith which we offer to be tried by the scriptures, pray most heartily, that forasmuch as God hath given you power and strength over us as concerning our bodies, under whom we submit ourselves, as obedient subjects in all things, yet being officers and rulers of the people, may execute true judgment, keep the laws of righteousness, govern the people, and defend the cause of the poor and helpless.

God for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, give you the wisdom and understanding of Solomon, David, Hezekiah, Moses, with divers other most virtuous rulers, by whose wisdom and godly understanding, the people were justly ruled and governed in fear of God, all wickedness was by them overthrown and beaten down, and all godliness and virtue did flourish and spring. O God which art the Most High, the Creator and Maker of all things, and of all men both great and small, and carest for all alike, who dost try all mens works and imaginations, before whose judgment-seat shall come both high and low, rich and poor; we most humbly beseech thee to put into our rulers hearts the pure love and fear of thy name, that even as they themselves would be judged, and as they shall make answer before thee, so they may

hear our causes, judge with mercy, and read over these our requests and confessions of our faith, with deliberation and a godly judgment.

And if any thing here seemeth to you to be erroneous or disagreeing with the scripture, if it shall please your lordships to hear us patiently, which do offer ourselves to be tried by the scriptures, thereby to make answer, and, in so doing we poor subjects being in much captivity and bondage, are most bound to pray for your noble estate and long preservation.

The request of these men being so just, and their doctrine so sound, yet all this could not prevail with the bishop, and other judges, but that sentence should have proceeded against them immediately, had not the goodness of the Lord better provided for his servants, than the bishop had intended: for as they were now under the edge of the ax, ready to be condemned, it was thought otherwise by the Cardinal, and some other wiser heads; fearing, lest by the death of so many together, some disturbance might arise among the people; and so it was decreed among themselves, that they should rather make some submission or confession, such as they would themselves, and so be sent home again, as they were; howbeit divers of them were apprehended and put to death. Their submission which they made, was in the following form.

*The Submission or Confession of the afore-
said Prisoners.*

BEcause our Saviour at his last Supper took Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it; and gave it unto his disciples, and said, *Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me.* Therefore according to the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ we do believe in the Sacrament to be Christ's Body. And likewise he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to his Disciples, and said, *This is my Blood of the New Testament which is shed for many.*

Therefore likewise we do believe that it is the Blood of Christ, according as Christ's church doth administer the same. Unto which Catholick church of Christ we do in like as in all other matters submit ourselves, promising therein to live as it becometh good christian men, and here in this realm to behave ourselves as becometh faithful subjects unto our most gracious King and Queen, and to all other superiors both spiritual and temporal according to our bounden duties.

The Names of those who subscribed to this Submission were these,

John Atkyn,	Robert Bercock,
Alin Symphon,	Margaret Hide,
Richard George,	Elyn Euring,
Thomas Firefanne,	Christian Pepper,
William Munt,	Margaret Field,
Richard Joly,	Alice Munt,
Richard Gratwicke,	Joan Winsley,
Thomas Winsley,	Cicely Warren,

Richard Rothe,	Rose Alin,
Richard Clark,	Ann Whitlocke,
Stephen Glover,	George Barker,
Robert Colman,	John Saxby,
Thomas Merse,	Thomas Locker,
William Bongeor,	Alice Locker.

THOMAS LOSEBY, HENRY RAMSAY, THOMAS THYRTELL, MARGARET HYDE, and AGNES STANLEY, who suffered Martyrdom in West Smithfield.

TH E S E persons were apprehended in consequence of the information of some of their malicious Popish neighbours, and having been examined by several justices of the county of Essex in which they resided, were sent up to the bishop of London, and by him referred to the chancellor, who propounded to them the articles usual on the occasion in the diocese of London. Having been imprisoned by order of the chancellor near three months, the bishop summoned them before himself and objected to them the following extraordinary articles.

1. *That they thought, believed, and declared within some part of the city and diocese of London, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service here observed and kept, as it is in the realm of England, was not a true and laudable faith, religion and service, especially concerning the mass and the seven sacraments, nor were they agreeable to God's word; and that they could not without grudging and scruple receive and use*

use it, nor conform themselves unto it as other subjects of this realm customarily have done.

2. They had thought, &c. that the English service set forth in the time of King Edward VI. in this realm of England, was good, godly, and catholick in all points, and that it alone ought here in this realm, to be received, used, practised, and none other.

3. They had thought, &c. that they were not bound to their parish church, and there to be present at mattins, mass, even-song and other divine service.

4. They had thought, &c. that they were not bound to come to procession to the church, upon times appointed, and to go in the same, with others of the parish singing or saying, the accustomed prayers used in the church nor to bear a taper, or candle on Candlemas day, nor take ashes on Ash-Wednesday, nor bear palms on Palm-Sunday, nor to creep to the cross upon days accustomed, nor to receive holy water and holy bread, or to accept or allow the ceremonies and usages of the church, after the manner, in which they were then used in this realm.

5. That they had thought, &c. that they were not bound at any time to confess their sins to any priest, and to receive absolution at his hands as God's minister, nor to receive at any time the blessed Sacrament of the altar, especially as it is used in the church of England.

6. That they had thought, &c. that in matters of religion and faith, they were bound to follow and believe their own conscience only, and not credit the determination and common order of the Catholic Church and See of Rome, nor any member thereof.

7. That they had thought, &c. that

Nº 9.

the fashion and manner of christening infants is not agreeable to God's word, and that none can be effectually baptized, and therefore saved, except they are arrived to years of discretion to believe themselves, and willingly accept or refuse baptism at his pleasure.

8. That they had thought, &c. that prayers to saints, or prayers for the dead, were not available, nor allowable by God's word, and that souls departed this life do immediately go to Heaven or Hell, or else do sleep till the day of doom: so that there is no place of purgation at all.

9. That they had thought, &c. that all those, who in the time of King Henry VIII. or in the time of Queen Mary the present sovereign of England had been burned as heretics, were no heretics, but faithful sincere Christians; especially, Barnes, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Cranmer, Ridley, &c. and that they did allow and approve all their opinions, and disapproved their condemnations and burnings.

10. That they had thought, &c. that fasting and prayers used in the church of England, and the appointing a day for fasting and abstaining from flesh upon fasting days, especially in the time of Lent is not laudable nor allowable by God's word, and that men ought to have liberty at all times to eat all kind of meats.

11. That they had thought, &c. that the Sacrament of the Altar is an idol, and to reserve, keep and honour it, is idolatry and superstition, as was also the mass and elevation of the sacrament.

12. That they had thought, &c. that they were not bound to be convened

U u

be

before an ecclesiastical judge concerning matters of faith, nor to make answer at all, especially upon oath on a book.

The first, second, third, fourth, fifth, eighth, and ninth they granted in general, excepting that they denied the souls departed to sleep till the day of judgment as mentioned in the eighth article.

With respect to the sixth article objected to them, they thought themselves bound to believe the true Catholic Church, so far as it instructed them according to God's Holy word, but not to follow the determinations of the Babylonical Church of Rome.

Concerning the eighth and twelfth articles, they denied that they ever maintained any such absurd opinions, but granted that man of himself without the aid and assistance of God's spirit had no power to do any thing acceptable in the sight of God.

To the tenth article they answered, that true fasting and prayer used according to God's word was allowable and available in his sight, and that by the same word every faithful man may eat all meats at all times, with thanksgiving to God for the same.

Having given these answers, they were dismissed and conveyed to their respective places of confinement, where they remained till they were again brought before the bishop who made no other enquiry than whether they would abjure their heretical opinions, and on their refusal again dismissed them.

At length they were brought into the publick Consistory court at St. Paul's, and severally demanded what they had to alledge why he should not

pronounce sentence of condemnation against them.

Thomas Loseby being first questioned, thus replied, *God give me grace to withstand you, your sentence, and your law, which devours the flock of Christ, for I perceive death is my certain portion, unless I will consent to believe in that accursed idol the mass.*

Thomas Thyrtell being examined, said, *My Lord, if you make me an Heretic, you make Christ and the twelve Apostles all heretics, for I hold one and the same faith with them, and I will abide in that faith, assured that it will obtain for me everlasting life.*

Henry Ramsay being required to recant, answered, *My Lord, would you have me abjure the truth, and for fear of death, here forfeit eternal felicity hereafter?*

Margaret Hyde being questioned, replied, *My Lord, you have no cause to pronounce sentence against me; for I am in the true faith, nor will ever forsake it, and I wish I was more confirmed in it than I am.*

Agnes Stanley, the last examined, said, *My Lord I would suffer every hair of my head to be burned before I would renounce the faith of Christ and his holy gospel.*

The court now broke up, but was convened again in the afternoon, when the prisoners appeared, and were again severally examined.

Thomas Loseby being first called upon, his articles and answers were read, after which many attempts were made to bring him to a recantation, but he persisted in his faith, declairing that he hoped he had the spirit of truth, which

which had led him into all truth : his sentence of condemnation was therefore pronounced and he was delivered to the custody of the sheriff in order to execution.

Divers exhortations were made with Margaret Hyde to the same purpose, but she declared that she would not depart from what she had said upon any penalty, and added, that she would gladly hear his lordship instruct her from some part of God's word, and not talk to her concerning Holy-bread and Holy-water, which was no part of God's word.

The bishop finding her resolute, pronounced sentence on her and delivered her over to the Secular Power.

Agnes Stanley was also admonished to return to the communion of the Holy Mother church, but she continued stedfast in her faith, declaring that she was no heretic, and that those who were burned, as the Papists said for Heresy, were true martyrs in the sight of God.

She likewise received sentence and was committed to the care of the sheriff.

Thomas Thyrtell being demanded what he had to alledge, answered, *My Lord, I will not bold with those idolatrous opinions you would inculcate, for I say the mass is idolatry, and I will abide by the faith of Christ, as long as I live.*

He was then proceeded against in the same manner as the former.

Henry Ramsay who was last called, and asked whether he would stand by his answers as the rest had done, or recant and become a true member

of the church ; replied, I will never abjure my religion, in which I will live and in which I will die.

They were then all sent back to prison, where they continued till the 12th of April, 1557, when they were brought to Smithfield, and being fastened to two stakes, were all consumed to ashes, cheerfully ending their lives in testimony of the truth, and in full assurance of eternal life in the world to come.

WILLIAM MORANT, STEPHEN GRATWICK, and JOHN KING *who suffered Martyrdom, in St. George's-fields, in the County of Surry, and Diocese of Winchester.*

STEPHEN Gratwick after a long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, on account of his faith and his opposition to the Romish religion, was brought before Dr. White bishop of Winchester in St. George's church, in Southwark, who demanded of him, if he would revoke the heresies which he had maintained and defended within his diocese, and often in his presence, and that he had defended his errors in the face of the whole church.

The Bishop at the same time demanded of him as he had offended within the liberty of his diocese, to answer immediately to the articles he had to object to him.

The articles being read, Gratwick replied ; *My Lord, these articles are of your making and not of mine, nor have*

have I had any time to examine them, therefore I desire the liberty of lawful appeal to mine Ordinary, having no concern with you.

Before he was dismissed, arrived the Bishop of Rochester and Archdeacon of Canterbury, when, on a consultation about the present case, it was agreed to introduce a person to represent the Ordinary, which being done, Gratwick desired leave to depart, but the counterfeit Ordinary insisted on his being detained; that he was justly summoned before those Lords and him on trial of his faith, and that if he confessed the truth, he should be quietly dismissed and allowed full liberty.

Gratwick told him that he would turn his own argument upon him, for Christ came before the high priest, scribes, and pharisees, bringing the truth with him, being the very truth himself, yet both he and his truth were condemned, and had no avail with them; the apostles likewise, and all the martyrs that died since Christ, did the same.

The Bishop of Winchester then asked his opinion concerning the sacrament of the altar, to which he replied, *My lord, I do verily believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, truly administered in both kinds according to the institution of Christ, unto the worthy receiver, he eateth mystically by faith the body and blood of Christ.*

The other Bishop observed, that this definition of his was a meer evasion of the principal points, for that he separated the sacrament of the altar from the Supper of the Lord, intimating thereby, that the former was not the

true sacrament, and also condemned their method of administering it in one kind, as well as allowed not the unworthy receiver to eat and drink the body and blood of Christ, which if duly weighed were points of the highest importance, though he had craftily evaded them.

Having entered into closer examination concerning this matter, the counterfeit Ordinary ordered the articles to be read again, and Gratwick refusing to make any reply, was threatened with sentence of excommunication, and therefore thus addressed himself to his examiners.

Since you thirst for my blood before you are glutted with the same, permit me a word in my own cause. On Sunday my lord of Winchester, I was before you who took occasion to preach from these words of St. James. If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain. From these words my lord, by wrested inferences you slander us poor prisoners, upbraiding us with the title of Arians, Herodians, Sacramentaries and Pelagians. When we stood up to speak in vindication of ourselves, you threatened to cut out our tongues, and caused us to be dragged out of the church by violence; nevertheless, I will abide by the truth, to the end of my life.

The incensed prelate, after various endeavours, by threats and promises, to bring him to a recantation without any effect, pronounced sentence of condemnation upon him, delivered him over to the Secular Power, and he was sent to the Marshalsea prison, where he

he remained, till the latter end of May 1557, when he was burned in St. George's Fields together with Morant and King, of whom we can find no account upon record.

JOHN FISHCOCK, NICHOLAS WHITE,
NICHOLAS PARDUE, BARBARA
FINALL, MARY BRADBREGG,
ANN WILSON and ALICE BENDON,
who were burned at Canterbury.

ALICE BENDON was the wife of Edward Benden of the Parish of Staplehurst, in the county of Kent, and being brought before an officer of the peace, on information of heresy, was demanded why she absented herself from church; she replied, because there was much idolatry practised there against the honour and glory of God.

Being confined for that answer in Canterbury Castle, interest was made by her husband for her discharge, whereupon the Bishop of Dover applied to her and asked her if she would go home and go to church; though she made not a satisfactory answer, she was dismissed, and returned home accordingly.

Her husband, in consequence of this trouble, admonished her to go to church with him, but she absolutely refused, and was therefore apprehended and brought before Sir John Gifford, who committed her to her former prison, Canterbury Castle.

Application was again made by her husband to the Bishop of Dover for her discharge; but in this second effort he

Nº 9.

failed, the bishop telling him, she was a most obstinate irreclaimable heretic, and therefore he could not release her.

Her husband then informed his lordship, that if he could keep her brother Roger Hall from her, she would conform to the Mother Church, whereupon she was removed to another prison, and charge given, that if her brother came to visit her he should be apprehended.

She continued some time in this place without her brother's knowledge, though he sought diligently to find her at the peril of his life.

In process of time, he found her out accidentally, by hearing her voice as he passed by the prison-window, when she was repeating a psalm, and bemoaning herself; but fearing to go to her in a public manner, he found a method of conveying to her some money and sustenance, by means of a long stick which reached to the window.

In this vile prison, she continued nine weeks, without seeing any one but her keeper, lying in her cloathes upon straw, and having but three farthings a day in bread allowed for her subsistence, drinking water at the same time, nor could she procure any more provision for her money.

This hard usage brought upon her a complication of disorders, insomuch that she could not walk without the greatest pain.

On the 26th of March 1557, the bishop summoned her before him, and asked her if she would go to church, promising her great favours if she would

X x

be

be reformed, and return to the Holy Mother Church.

Alice Benden answered, I am verily persuaded by the great severity which you have used towards me, that ye are not of God, neither can your doings be godly, and I see that you seek my utter destruction.

She then shewed them how miserable and lame she was grown, by lying so long on the cold ground in that filthy prison, where she was deprived of the necessaries of life.

The bishop afterwards caused her to be removed from thence to the prison at the West-gate in Canterbury, where she had better usage, and continued till the latter end of April following, when she and the rest of the prisoners were brought before the Commissioners severally examined, and on persisting in those principles, which they deemed heresy, they received sentence of excommunication, were delivered to the Sheriffs, and sent back to prison, where they continued till the 19th of June, when they were all seven brought to the place of execution.

Alice Benden behaved remarkably courageous on the melancholy occasion, setting an example to her fellow martyrs, who kneeled down, joined together in prayer, and behaved with such zeal and affection, as excited the esteem of their very enemies.

Having finished their devotions, and mutual salutations, they were chained to several stakes, and being encompassed with the flames, quietly yielded up their souls to the Lord, in hopes of a joyful resurrection to life eternal.

RICHARD WOODMAN, GEORGE STEPHENS, WILLIAM MAYNARD, ALEXANDER HOSMAN, THOMASIN WOOD, MARGERY MORRIS, JAMES MORIS, DENNIS BONGESS, ANN ASHDON, and MARY GROVES, *who suffered Martyrdom at Lewes, in the County of Suffolk, and Diocese of Chichester.*

RICHARD WOODMAN, who lived in the parish of Warbleton, was an eminent merchant in iron, of considerable property, and great repute in the neighbourhood—The occasion of his trouble arose from the following incident.

There was one Fairbank, who for some time had been a married priest, and served the cure of Warbleton, where he often persuaded the people not to credit any other doctrine but that which he then preached, and which was then taught and set forth in the days of King Edward the VI. but in the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary, Fairbank deserted his reformed principles, and favoured the Romish tenets, upon which Woodman upbraided him with inconstancy, and cowardice, and reminded how differently he then preached from what he had formerly done.

From this open and frank behaviour, pretence was sought for apprehending and bringing him before several of the justices of peace, for the county of Sussex, who committed him to the King's Bench prison, where he re-

remained a considerable time, and was at several sessions in that county.

At length, on the very day of Philpot's execution in Smithfield, Richard Woodman and four other prisoners were brought before Dr. Bonner, Bishop of London, who required of them, that they should be honest men, and members of the true Catholic church, that was built upon the Apostles and Prophets, Christ being the head of the same; they all affirmed that they were members of the true Church, and determined by God's grace to continue in the same, whereupon they were all discharged.

Woodman had not long returned home before a report was spread that he had conformed to the church of Rome, but our martyr boldly vindicated himself from the aspersion in several companies so that he was complained of by some of his neighbours to Sir John Gage, and warrants issued out for his being apprehended.

As he was employed in his ordinary occupation, three men came to him from the Queen's chamberlain, arrested him in her Majesty's name, and told him he must go with them before their Lord.

The surprise of the action put him into a great consternation, and he desired to go home in order to put on a dress suitable to appear in before his superiors.

On his way homeward he reflected on the unreasonableness of his fear, as they could lay no evil to his charge, and if they killed him for well doing, he might think himself happy.

These reflections afforded him cou-

rage and comfort, and he found that his fear arose from the frailty of human nature, his attachment to his worldly possessions and his love to his wife and children.

But when on the most serious consideration he determined by the grace of God to die for the sake of Christ and his gospel, he regarded nothing in this world, praising God with the utmost courage and resolution.

When he came to his house he demanded of the men that arrested him to shew their warrant, that he might know the cause wherefore he was apprehended, and better prepared to answer for himself, when he should come before their master.

Having no warrant, the men were startled at this demand, and Woodman severely reprimanded them for offering to take him without.

I heard (says he) there were several warrants out against me, but they were called in as soon as I had satisfied the commissioners by letter, that I was not guilty of the things laid to my charge; therefore set your hearts at rest, for I will not go with you without a warrant, unless you force me, which do at your peril.

When they departed from his house, he called them back, and told them if they would produce a warrant he would go with them freely, and one of them said he would fetch one that was left at his house; but while he was gone, Woodman escaped, and absented himself from home three days, during which they searched his house several times, but did not obtain their end.

Find-

Finding his enemies thus resolute on his destruction, he prepared himself a convenient cottage in a wood, near his house, where he had pen and ink, bible and other necessary provision every day.

It was now reported that he had left the kingdom; his enemies therefore ceased to search for him, and he embraced this opportunity of visiting his friends and brethren, and afterwards went over to Flanders, but not approving of so remote a situation from his family, he returned to England in a few weeks.

As soon as it was known that he was come home, the priest that was curate of the parish, and other Popish emissaries procured warrants to apprehend him, often searched his house, but could not find him, for he had artfully contrived a secret place which they could not discover.

But at length through the treachery of his father, and one of his brothers, (whom he had told of his hiding place, and having great part of his substance, both land and money in their hands) his house was beset in the night, which as soon as he discovered, he ran out bare foot, but unhappily treading upon some stones, he fell down, was apprehended, and sent prisoner up to London.

Upon April the 14th 1557, Richard Woodman was brought before Dr. Christopherson bishop elect of Chichester, who to'd him he was sorry to see him on the present occasion, as he heard that he was a man greatly esteemed in the country where he lived for his probity and charity, and at the same time advised him seriously

to consider his present situation, not think himself wiser than all the realm, assuring him that he meant to do him much service.

Woodman told the Doctor, that so far from esteeming himself wiser than all the realm, he was disposed to learn of every man, that could teach him the truth, and that with respect to the general esteem in which he was held by his neighbours, he had ever endeavoured to maintain a conscience void of offence.

As for my wife and children (said he) they are all in God's hand, and I have them all as though I had them not, according to the words of St. Paul, but had I ten thousand pounds in gold, I would forego it all, rather than displease my God.

When the bishop informed him that the sheriff applied to him out of respect to his character; he replied that he thought proper to appeal to his ordinary; for they seek most unrighteously to shed my blood, and have laid many unjust things to my charge.

If you can prove from the word of God that any of my religious principles are false, I am willing to renounce the same, and stand here desirous of being reformed.

Several divines after this conversed with our martyr, on the sacrament of the altar, purgatory, and other Popish Topics, and Woodman confuted his opponents with great energy and propriety, asserting and proving from scripture that there were but two sacraments, ordained by Christ, and observed by him and his immediate Disciples and Apostles.

Being

Being required by the bishop of Chichester, to relate a plain and full account of his belief concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, he made this explicit confession; *I do believe that if I came to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, truly ministered, believing that Christ was born for me, and that he died on the cross for me, and that I shall be saved from my sins by his blood, and receive the sacrament in that remembrance, then I believe that I do receive the whole Christ, mystically by faith.*

Some time after, Woodman was privately examined by Lord Mountague's chaplain who made use of many arguments to bring him over to the Romish faith, but all his efforts were ineffectual, for Woodman would yield to nothing, that was not founded on the authority of sacred writ.

In process of time our martyr was again brought before the bishop of Winchester in St. George's church Southwark, where several gentlemen and clergy were present, and examined concerning the cause of his imprisonment: he replied, that it was for speaking to the curate of his parish in the pulpit, and not for heresy.

Being demanded what he had to alledge in vindication of himself from that charge, he cited the words of the statute:

Whoso doth interrupt any preacher or preachers lawfully authorized by the Queen's majesty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all such shall suffer three months imprisonment for so doing; and furthermore be brought to the Quarter Sessions, and being sorry for the same,
N^o 9.

be released upon his good behaviour for one whole year.

Woodman observed that he had not so offended against the statute, for the person to whom he spoke was not lawfully authorized, as he had not put away his wife, and consequently according to the law then in force, he had no right to preach.

On the 15th of June 1557, Woodman was again brought before the bishop of Winchester in St. Mary Overy's church in Southwark, in the presence of the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdall, and above three hundred people.

The bishop producing some of his own writings, he acknowledged the same; but refused to answer to the articles he might object to him, because he was not of his diocese though he was then in it, consequently he had nothing to do with him, who was not his ordinary.

After much dispute, the prelate peremptorily asked him if he would become an honest man, and conform to the Holy Mother Church; he replied, that no person could with justice object to his character, and that he was surprized he should charge him with heresy, as my lord of London had discharged him of all matters that were laid against him.

But Winchester observed, that when he was released perhaps those things were not laid to his charge, and that therefore they were now objected to him, because he was suspected of being an heretic.

Woodman at length consented, distinctly rehearsed the articles of his
Y y be-

belief, which he did in the following form.

I believe in one God, the Father Almighty Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, my Saviour, very God, and Man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, the Comforter of all God's chosen people, and that he is equal with the father and the son. I believe the true Catholic church, and all the sacraments that belong thereto.

Being further enquired concerning his belief in the sacrament of the altar, he told them he would answer no farther questions, because he perceived they sought to shed his blood.

The bishop of Chichester having not yet been consecrated, would not undertake judicially to examine Woodman, and therefore referred him to the bishop of Winchester, who after many questions and much discourse pronounced sentence of condemnation against him, and delivered him up to the Secular Power.

He was then conveyed to Lewes in Suffex, together with his fellow martyrs already mentioned, concerning whose examination there is nothing recorded, but that they were all condemned for heresy a few days after their apprehension.

When they came to the place of execution, they were chained to several stakes, and consumed together in one fire, July 22, 1557.

They died with becoming fortitude and resignation, committing their departing spirits to that redeemer, who was to be their final judge, and who they knew would usher them into the

Realms of bliss, with *Come ye blessed of my Father inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.*

JOHN HULLIER, Clerk.

MR. Hullier was educated at Eaton from whence he was elected to King's College Cambridge, according to the rules of the Foundation.

After he resided three years there, he was admitted to a fellowship, obtained a curacy at Babram three miles from Cambridge; whence he was sent to Lynn, where he had several debates with the Papists, who reporting his principles to Dr. Thurlby Bishop of the Diocese, he was by him sent prisoner to Cambridge Castle.

He was soon after cited to appear at St. Mary's Church in Cambridge on Palm Sunday, before several doctors, both of Law and Divinity, by whom he was reprimanded for opposing the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and maintaining and defending that set forth in the days of King Edward the VIth.

After examination, he was required to recant his erroneous opinions, and on his refusal, degraded, condemned and delivered over to the Secular power which conveyed him to prison and deprived him of all his books, writings and papers.

On Maunday Thursday, which is the Thursday before Easter, being then April 2d. 1557, he was brought to the stake, without the town to a place called Jesus Green near Jesus College, where

where having prepared for his execution he desired the spectators to pray for him, and to bear witness that he died in the faith of Christ, sealing the same with his blood.

He likewise assured them that he died in a good cause, for the Testimony of the truth, and that there was no other rock, but Jesus Christ to build upon, nor any hope of salvation, but through his death and sufferings.

One of the Proctors of the University and some of the fellows of Trinity College, were offended at his address to the people, and reproved the Mayor for giving him liberty to speak, but our martyr made no reply in vindication of himself, till he was chained to the stake, when he earnestly called upon God for his grace and support to endure the fiery trial.

When some of his friends perceived the fire to be ill-kindled, they caused some of the attendants to turn it and light it up in that place where the wind might blow it towards the sufferer.

This being done, a parcel of books were cast into the fire, and among the rest by chance a communion book fell into his hands, in which he joyfully read, till the flame and smoke prevented him from seeing, when he betook himself to prayer, holding up his hands, and the book between his arms, next his heart, praising God for sending it to him as a comforter in his last moments.

After the spectators thought he had been dead, he suddenly uttered, *Lord Jesus receive my spirit*, and quietly expired.

The people in general prayed for him, and many tears were shed on his account, having been a man of eminent piety, and exemplary virtue.

SIMON MILLER and ELIZABETH COOPER, *who were burnt in the City of Norwich.*

MILLER was an eminent merchant in the town of Lynn Regis, a godly man, zealous for the truth, and averse to the Popish Religion, that was revived in the days of Queen Mary.

His business calling him to Norwich, he was observed to enquire of some people coming out of church, from the Popish service, where he might go to receive the Communion, which being reported to Chancellor Dunning, he summoned him before him, asked him divers questions, to which he replied according to the dictates of his conscience, and was committed to custody in the bishop's palace.

Having been some time in confinement, he obtained permission to go home, in order to adjust his worldly concerns, and on his return being required to recant, and remaining inflexible in his faith and profession, he was condemned as an heretic, and delivered to the Secular Power, but the particulars of the process are not upon record.

Elizabeth Cooper was the wife of a tradesman in Norwich, and had formerly been prevailed upon to recant the Protestant and return to the Romish

re-

religion, but being troubled in her conscience, on a certain day at St. Andrew's Church, in the presence of a numerous audience, she stood up and publicly revoked her recantation, for which she was apprehended, carried before the Bishop, and in a short time for persisting in her faith, condemned as a relapse, and delivered to the Sheriff.

On the 13th of July, our martyrs were brought to the stake, at which the woman at first discovered some fear, but being encouraged by the advice and example of Miller, she remained fixed, and they died cheerfully together, for the truth of God's word.

JOHN HALLINGDALE, WILLIAM SPARROW and RICHARD GIBSON; who were burnt in Smithfield, London.

THESE three persons were brought before Bonner, Bishop of London, as being suspected of heresy, November the 5th, 1557, to whom he and his officers administered divers articles, requiring their respective answers thereunto.

He began with John Hallingdale, to whom the following articles were proposed:

1. *That the said John Hallingdale is of the Diocese of London, and so subject to the bishop of London's jurisdiction.*

2. *That the said John, before the time of the Reign of Edward the VIth, late King of England, was of the same faith and religion that was then observ-*

ed, believed, taught, and set forth here in this Realm of England.

3. *That during the Reign of the said Edward the VIth, late King of England, upon the occasion of the preaching of certain ministers in that time, he did not abide in his former faith and religion, but did depart from it, and so did and doth continue till this present day, and so determineth to do (as he saith) to his life's end.*

4. *That the said John Hallingdale hath thought, believed, and spoken, divers times, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service, received, observed and used now in this realm of England, is not good and laudable, but against God's commandment and word; especially, concerning the mass and the seven sacraments: And that the said John will in no wise conform himself to the same; but speak and think against it during his natural life.*

5. *That the said John absenteth himself continually from his own Parish-church of St. Leonard, neither hearing Mattins, Mass, nor Evensong; nor yet confessing his sins to the Priest, or receiving the sacrament of the Altar at his hands, or in using other ceremonies, as they are now used in the churches and realm of England: And, as he remembereth, he never came but once into the said Parish-church of St. Leonard, and careth not (as he saith) if he never come there any more, the service being as it is there at present, and so many abuses being there, as he saith there are, especially the Mass, the Sacraments, and the Ceremonies and service set forth in Latin.*

6. *That the said John, when his wife,*

wife, called Alice, was brought to bed of a man child, caused the said child to be christened in English, after the same manner and form in all points, as it was used in the time of the Reign of King Edward the VIth, aforesaid, and caused it to be called Joshua, and would not have the said child christened in Latin, after the form and manner now used in the church and Realm of England; nor will have it, by his will, (as he saith) confirmed by the bishop.

Unto all which articles John Hallingdale made answer, confessing them all and every part of them to be true: And saying, that he would not revoke his answers.

Farthermore, the bishop demanding of the said John Hallingdale, whether he did firmly believe, that in the said Sacrament commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, there is really and truly the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ or no? He made answer, that he neither, in the time of King Edward the VIth, nor at the present, did believe, that in the said Sacrament there is really the very Body and Blood of Christ: for, if he had so believed, he would (as others have done) have received the same, which he did not, because he had believed and then did believe that the very Body of Christ is only in Heaven, and no where else.

Moreover, he said, that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley and Hooper, and generally all that of late have been burned for hereticks, were no hereticks because they preached the Gospel.

Upon their preachings he grounded his faith and conscience, according to

N^o X.

the saying of St. John, in the 18th Chapter of his Revelation, that the Blood of the Prophets and of the Saints, and of all that were slain upon earth, was founded in the Babylonical Church: by which is understood, that church whereof the Pope is head.

After this examination, he was sent to prison again. And the next day being the 6th of November, called before the bishop again, to whom, persuading him to recant, he answered, because I will not come to your Babylonical church, therefore you go about to condemn me.

Then bishop Bonner demanded of him again, whether he would persevere and stand in his opinions or no? he replied, that he would continue and persist in them unto death; then the bishop read the sentence of condemnation against him, and delivered him to the secular power. At the Reading of the sentence, John affirmed openly, that (thanking God) he never came into the church since the abomination came into it, and was sent to prison again.

The Examination of William Sparrow, before the bishop of London, Nov. the 6th, 1557, upon the following articles.

I. *That thou, William Sparrow, wast, in times past, detected and presented lawfully unto thine ordinary the bishop of London, called Edmund, who also is now thine ordinary, and of the said diocese: and thou wast presented and detected unto him for heresy, errors, and unlawfull opinions,*

Z z

opinions, which thou didst believe, set forth, and hold.

2. *That thou, before thy said ordinary, didst openly and judicially confess the said heresies, errors, and unlawful opinions, as appeareth plainly in the acts of the court made before thine ordinary.*

3. *That thou, after the premises didst make thy submission in writing, and didst exhibit and deliver the same as thy deed to thy said ordinary, openly confessing and recognizing thy heresies, errors, and unlawful opinions, and thine offences and translations in that behalf.*

4. *That thou, after the premises, didst promise unto thy said ordinary, voluntarily, and of thine own accord, that always, after the said submission thou wouldest in all points conform thyself unto the common order of the Catholic church observed and kept here in this realm of England, and in no wise fall again into heresies, errors, or unlawful opinions.*

5. *That thou, since thy said submission, hast willingly fallen into certain heresies and errors, and hast holden and set forth divers unlawful opinions, to the very great hurt of thine own soul, and also to the great hindrance and loss of divers others: especially, against the sacraments of the Catholick Church.*

6. *That thou, since the said submission, hast willingly gone about divers places within the diocese of London, and sold divers heretical, erroneous, and blasphemous ballads, and wast apprehended and taken with the ballads about thee, and committed to prison.*

Unto all which articles William Sparrow answered in effect as followeth.

To the first, second, third, and fourth articles, he answered affirmatively: that he was presented and detected by bishop Bonner, unto whom he made his subjection, &c. as in the said articles.

To the fifth article he answered, that if he had spoke against the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. he had spoken but the truth.

To the sixth answered, that he granted it; adding, that he did sell the ballads then shewed and read before him, and that the same contained God's holy word.

After which answers he was sent back to prison.

The same day, in the afternoon, he was brought again before the bishop of London, and charged with his former submission, a year ago.

Unto this charge he answered, I am sorry that I ever made it, for it was the worst deed that ever I did.

Then the bishop said, that he went to church, and there was confessed, and heard mass.

William owned that he did. But said, that it was with a troubled conscience, as God knoweth. And added, that which you call the truth, I do believe to be heresy.

The bishop charged William again with the contents of the fifth article: to which he answered, that he had done as is contained in the article, and so he would again if he were at liberty.

Being farther demanded of the bishop, whether he would persist and continue in the same or no? he made answer, that he would not go from his

his opinions. And added, that which you call heresy, is good and godly; and if every hair of my head were a man, I would burn them all, rather than go from the truth.

After this, some other discourse of the like nature, passed between the bishop and William Sparrow; when finding him to be resolute and unchangeable in his faith and opinions, he proceeded to read the sentence of excommunication against him, and condemned him as an heretick; and delivered him into the hands of the Secular Power, by whom he was sent to prison again, in order to his execution.

The Examination of Richard Gibson, before Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London.

Richard Gibson was at first cast into the Poultry Compter in London, for suretyship in a matter of debt, where he had been prisoner about two years; and when he was about being released, some persons out of ill-will to him accused him to the bishop of London on suspicion of heresy, because he never confessed, nor received the Sacrament of the Altar while he was in prison, for which cause he was several times brought before the bishop and examined concerning his faith and religion.

And at first he seemed to make a certain submission, which was recorded in the bishop's register, but it seemed not satisfactory to the bishop, because he was still continued in prison. The articles objected to the a-

foresaid Richard Gibson, by the bishop of London were as follow.

1. *That the said Richard Gibson, prisoner in the Compter in the Poultry, in the diocese of London, hath, otherwise than became a faithful Christian, and a good subject in this realm of England, behaved himself in words and deeds, in divers conditions and points, contrary to the order, religion, and faith of Christ's Catholic Church, and contrary to the order of this realm, to the pernicious and evil example of the inhabitants of the city of London, and the prisoners of the prison of the said Compter in the Poultry, and greatly to the hurt and damage of his own soul; offending especially in the articles following: by reason whereof the said Richard Gibson was and is in the jurisdiction of the said bishop of London, and subject to the said jurisdiction, to make answer to his offences and transgressions, underwritten, according to the order of the law.*

2. *That the said Richard Gibson hath irreverently spoken against the Pope, and See, and Church of Rome, and likewise against the whole church of this realm of England, and against the seven sacraments of the Catholic and whole church of Christendom, and against the articles of the Christian Faith here observed in this realm of England, and against the commendable and laudable ceremonies of the catholic church.*

3. *That the said Richard Gibson hath commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, and also other heretics here in this realm of England, according to the ecclesiastical laws condemned for heretics; and also liked all their heretical erroneous, damnable*

damnable and wicked opinions, especially against the Sacrament of the Altar, and the authority of the Pope and See of Rome, with the whole religion thereof.

4. That the said Richard Gibson hath comforted, aided, assisted, and maintained, both by words and otherwise, hereticks and erroneous persons, or at least suspected and infamed of heresies and errors condemned by the Catholick Church, to continue in their heretical and erroneous opinions aforesaid, favouring and counselling the same unto his power.

5. That the said Gibson hath affirmed and said, that the religion and faith commonly observed and kept, and used now here in this Realm of England, is not good or laudable, nor in any wise agreeable unto God's Word and Commandment.

6. That the said Richard Gibson hath affirmed, that the English service, and the books commonly called the books of communion, or Common-Prayer, here set forth in this Realm of England, in the time of King Edward the VIth, were in all parts and points good and godly, and the same only, and no other, ought to be observed and kept in this Realm of England.

7. That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that if he may at once be out of prison and at liberty, he will not come to any Parish-Church, or ecclesiastical place, to hear the Mattens, Mass, or Evensong, or any Divine Service now used in this Realm of England, nor come to the Procession upon times and days accustomed, nor bear at any time any Taper or Candle, nor receive Pix, at Mass-time, nor to receive Holy Water, nor

Holy Bread, nor observe the ceremonies or usages of the Catholick Church, here observed and kept commonly in this Realm of England.

8. That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that he is not bound at any time, though he have liberty, and the presence of a priest, convenient and meet, to confess his sins to the said priest, nor to receive absolution at his hands, nor to receive of him the Sacrament, called the Sacrament of the Altar, after such form as is now used within the Realm of England.

9. That the said Richard Gibson hath affirmed, that Prayer unto Saints, or Prayers for the Dead, are not laudable, or profitable; and that no man is bound at any time, or in any place, to fast or pray, but only at his own will and pleasure; and that it is not lawful to reserve or keep the said Sacrament of the Altar.

The chief matter that Richard Gibson was charged with, was not coming to confession, being thereunto required, and not receiving the sacrament of the altar.

After these examinations, Gibson was kept in the Compter, prisoner from May to November following, and then he was brought to a final judiciary examination. But he would not swear to answer to their demands; and said, that the Bishop of London was not his Ordinary; his last appearing was at the Bishop's Consistory Court, where the bishop, after other discourse with him, asked if he knew any cause why sentence should not be pronounced against him? He answered, that the bishop had nothing

against him for which he might justly condemn him.

Then the bishop objected to him, that men said he was an evil man.

Gibson replied, yea; and so may I say of you also. Then sentence was read against him, at the end of which he said, blessed am I that am cursed at your hands; and so being committed to the secular power, he was sent to prison.

Upon the 18th of November, 1557, these three good men, John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Richard Gibson, were brought by the sheriffs into Smithfield in London, to their execution, where they made their prayers to God, and then were fastened to the stake with chains: The wood was set about them, and then the fire being put to, in the midst of the flames they freely and joyfully yielded up their souls into the hands of God, for the testimony of his truth.

JOHN ROUGH, *Minister*; MARGARET MARING, *who were burnt in Smithfield, London.*

JOHN Rough was born in Scotland, and being kept out by some of his kindred from the right of inheritance which he had to certain lands, out of discontent he entered himself into the order of the Black Fryars at Sterling in Scotland, at the age of seventeen years: where he continued for the space of sixteen years, until the Lord Hamilton, Earl of Arran, and governor of the realm of

N^o 10.

Scotland, taking a liking to him, made suit to the Archbishop of St. Andrews to have his professed order, that as a secular priest he might serve him as his Chaplain. At which request, the Archbishop caused the provincial of the house (having thereto authority) to dispense with him for his habit and order.

Rough being thus set at liberty from his monastery, continued Chaplain to the Earl for one year; in which time it pleased God to open his eyes and give him some knowledge of his truth.

The governor sent him to preach in the freedom of Ayre, where he continued four years.

After the death of the Cardinal of Scotland, he was sent for to St. Andrews, to officiate there, and had twenty pounds a year pension allowed him by King Henry VIII.

But when he considered his own danger, and also abhorring the idolatry and superstition of his own country, and hearing there was free profession of the gospel in the realm of England, since king Edward VIth's coming to the crown, he therefore, soon after the battle between the English and the Scots at Mistleburrow, came first to Carlisle; and from thence he went to the Duke of Summerfet, Protector to the young King of England. The Protector allowed him twenty pounds a year from the crown, and sent him to serve as a preacher at Carlisle, Berwick and Newcastle upon Tyne; then he married, and the Archbishop of York gave him a benefice near the town of Kingston upon Hull, in his diocese, where

3. A.

where he continued till the death of good King Edward.

In the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, when religion was altered, and persecution arose thereupon, Rough took his wife with him, and fled into Friesland, in the Low Countries, and at a place called Norden, maintained himself by knitting and selling of caps and hose, until the month of October before his death; at which time wanting yarn and other necessaries for his trade, he came into England to procure the same; and the 10th of November 1557, he arrived at London.

Hearing that there was a private congregation of religious people in that city he joined himself to them, and was elected their minister. In this office he continued for some time, until by means of Roger Serjeant, a hypocrite and false-brother, upon the 13th of December, both he and one Cutbert Simson, Deacon of the aforesaid congregation, were apprehended by the Vice Chamberlain of the Queen's house-hold, at the Saracen's Head in Islington, where the congregation had then purposed to have assembled to their usual worship of prayer and hearing God's word, and to avoid being suspected, it was given out that their meeting was for hearing a play.

The vice-chamberlain having taken Rough and Simson, carried them before the Queen's council, where they were charged for assembling to celebrate the Communion, or Lord's Supper.

After sundry examinations, Rough was sent prisoner to Newgate, in Lon-

don, with a letter signed by the council.

Upon the 18th of December, Bishop Bonner sent for Rough from Newgate to his palace in London, and ministered to him the following articles:

1. *That thou John Rough, didst directly speak against the seven Sacraments used commonly and reverently as things of estimation and great worthiness in the Catholic Church; and also didst reprove and condemn the substance of the Altar; affirming, that in the same is not really and truly the very body and blood of Christ; and that confession to the priest, and absolution given him (by the minister of Christ) for sins, is not necessary nor available in any wise.*

2. *Thou hast misliked and reprov'd the religion and ecclesiastical service, as it is now used in this realm: and hast allowed the religion and service, used in the latter years of king Edward VI; and so much as in thee lieth, hast by word, writing, and deed, set forward, taught, and preached the same openly; and in sundry places affirmed, that the said English service, and doctrine therein contained, is agreeable in all points to God's word, and to the truth, condemn utterly the Latin service now used in the Queen's reign, and inducing others by thine example to do the like.*

3. *Thou hast in sundry places within this realm, commended and approved the opinion and doctrine of Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar; affirming, that in the Sacrament there remained, after the words of consecration, material*

terial bread and material wine, without any transubstantiation.

4. Item. That thou hast in sundry places of this realm, since the Queen's reign, ministered and received the communion, as it was used in the late days of king Edward VI; and thou knowest, or credibly hast heard of divers, that yet do keep books of the said communion, and use the same in private houses, out of the church, and are of opinion against the Sacrament of the Altar.

5. Item. Thou dost know, and hast been conversant with all, or a great part of such Englishmen as have fled out of the realm; and hast consented and agreed with them in their opinions, and hast succoured, maintained, and holpen them; and hast been a conveyor of their seditious letters and books into this realm.

6. Item. That thou in sundry places of this realm hast spoken against the pope of Rome and his Apostolick See, and hast plainly contemned and despised the authority of the same; misliking and not allowing the faith and doctrine hereof, but directly speaking against it; and by thine example, hast induced others, the subjects of this realm, to speak and do the like.

7. That thou hast said that thou hast been at Rome, and tarried there about thirty days, or more, and that thou hast seen little good, or none, there, but very much evil. Amongst the which, thou sawest one great abomination, that is to say, a man (or the Pope) that should go on the ground, to be carried upon the shoulders of four men, as though he had been God, and no man. Also a cardinal to have his harlot riding openly behind

him. And thirdly, a pope's bull, that gave express licence to have and use their stews, and to keep open bawdry, by the Pope's approbation and authority.

8. Item. That thou, since thy last coming into England, from parts beyond sea, hast perniciously allured and comforted divers of the subjects of this realm, both young and old, men and women, to have and use the book of Communion set forth in this realm in the latter days of King Edward VI, and hast also thyself read and set forth the same, causing others to do the like, and to leave off their coming to their parish-churches, to hear the Latin service now used.

9. Item. That thou, the third Sunday of Advent, the 12th of December, 1557, wast apprehended at the Saracen's head at Islington, in the county of Middlesex, and diocese of London, by the Queen's vice-chamberlain, with one Cuthbert a Taylor, and Hugh a Hosier, and divers others there assembled, under the colour of hearing a play, to have read the communion-book, and to have used the accustomed fashion as was in the latter days of King Edward VI.

John Rough's answer to the aforesaid articles.

To the first, he said, That he had spoken against the number of the said Sacraments, being fully persuaded that there are only two Sacraments, to wit, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord; and as for the other five, he denied them to be Sacraments, and therefore had spoken against them.

As concerning the Sacrament of the Altar

Altar (which he had called the Supper of the Lord) he confessed that he had spoken and taught, that in the said Sacrament there is not really and substantially the very body and blood of Christ, but that the substance of bread and wine doth remain in that Sacrament, without any Transubstantiation at all.

As touching confession of sins to a priest, he answered, that he thought it necessary, if the offence was done unto the priest; but if the offence was done to any other, then the confession made to the priest is not necessary, but reconciliation to be made to the party so offended.

To the second he answered, that he did, and had before disliked the order of the Latin service then used; and also did allow the service used in the latter time of King Edward's reign, for that the Holy Scripture had taught the same; and therefore he granted, that he did teach and set forth the said English Service, as in the same article is objected.

The third he granted, that he had approved the doctrine of the parties articulate, as agreeable to God's word; and they were godly, learned men, and such as had perfect understanding, as in the contents of the same article.

To the fourth article he answered, That he did well like the communion used in King Edward's days; but said, that he had not ministered nor received the same in England since the Queen's reign; nor yet knew many that had the books thereof; but on the other side the sea he knew

many that had these books, and that there also he had received the communion in sundry places.

To the fifth he confessed. That he had been familiar with divers English men and women, being in Friesland, and agreeing with them in opinion: as Mr. Story, Thomas Young, George Roo, and others, to the number of one hundred persons, who fled thither for religion, using there the order set forth in the reign of King Edward; but otherwise he denied the contents of this article.

The contents of the sixth and seventh articles he granted to be true.

To the eighth article he answered, That since his last coming into England (which was about the tenth of November) he had in sundry places in the suburbs of London, prayed and read such prayers and service as are appointed in the book of Communion, and had desired others to do the like, both men and women, whom he knew by sight, but not by name.

However, he did neither cause any to withdraw themselves from the Latin service; but only said, that it were better to pray in a tongue they understood, than in an unknown tongue.

To the ninth article he confessed, that at the time and place articulate, he was present to hear and see a play, and there was apprehended by the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain, with one Cutbert a taylor, and one Hugh a hoffer, and divers others, both men and women, whose names he knew not; and by the said Vice-Chamberlain was brought

brought before the council, who sent him to Newgate, and from thence he was brought to the bishop of London; but otherwise he denied the contents of this article.

Upon these answers John Rough was dismissed and carried back to prison.

The next day (being the 19th of December) he was again brought before the bishop of London and others, who after their discoursing with him, and perceiving his constancy in his faith and opinion, determined the next day to bring him openly into the Consistory court at St. Paul's, there to judge and condemn him as an heretick; and he was again dismissed.

Accordingly on the 20th of December he was brought into court, where were present Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Dr. Fecknam, abbot of Westminster, and others.

After fair words used by the court to persuade him to recant, without any effect, Dr. Bonner read his articles and answers abovementioned, and also charged him with receiving the orders of the church, and therefore he might not marry; and that he had refused to consent to the Latin service then used in the church.

Rough answered, that their orders were nothing at all, and that his children that he had by his wife were legitimate. As for the Latin service then used he utterly detested it, and said, that if he should live as long as Methuselah, he would never come to church to hear the abominable mass.

N^o 10.

Upon this Declaration the bishop proceeded to the actual degradation of John Rough, exempting him from all the benefits and privileges of their church; and after condemning him as an heretick, delivered him to the Secular Power, who taking him into their charge, carried him back to Newgate in order to execution.

Account of Margaret Maring, fellow-sufferer with John Rough.

Margaret Maring was one of the private congregation in London, where Rough used to officiate, but both by him and others, suspected as if she were not sincere in her profession of religion; but the event shewed that she was therein much wronged.

The bishop of London having had some information of her principles, sent his sumner Cluny to her house near Mark-lane in London, where he apprehended her, and brought her before his Lordship, who sent her to prison for that time.

Upon the 18th of December she was brought before him, and had the accustomed articles objected to her, to which she answered as follows.

1st, That there is here on earth a catholic church, and there is the true faith of Christ observed and kept in the same church.

2dly, That there were only two sacraments in the church, namely the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism.

3dly, That she was baptized in the faith and belief of the said church, re-

3 B

nouncing

nouncing there, by her godfathers and godmothers, the devil and all his works.

4thly, That when she came to the age of fourteen years, she did not know what her true belief was, because she was not then of discretion to understand the same, neither yet was taught it.

5thly, That she had not gone from the catholic faith at any time; but she said that the mass was abominable in the sight of God and all true christian people, and that it is the plainest cup of fornication of the whore of Babylon.

As concerning the sacrament of the altar, she believed there was no such sacrament in the catholic church. That she utterly abhorred the authority of the bishop of Rome, with all the religion observed in the same antichristian church.

6thly, That she had refused to come to her parish church, because the true religion was not then used in the same. And that she had not come into the church for the space of one year and three quarters, neither did mean to come any more to the same in these idolatrous days.

7thly, She acknowledged that she was apprehended and brought before the bishop of Cluny.

These answers being registered by the bishop's officer, she was for the present dismissed, and brought before the bishop at his Consistory the 20th of December, where her articles and answers were read unto her again; and they demanded if she would stand to the same as they were registered?

She answered, That she would stand to them to her death; for the very angels in heaven, says she, laugh you to scorn, to see your abomination that you use in the church.

After this the bishop, having no hopes of his reclaiming her to his church, read the sentence of excommunication against her, and delivered her into the hands of the Secular power, who forthwith carried her, together with John Rough, to the prison of Newgate.

Two days after, being the 22d of December, 1557, the sheriffs brought John Rough and Margaret Maring into Smithfield, where being fastened to the stake, and fire put to them, they joyfully gave up their lives to God, for the profession of the gospel of Christ, dying in full assurance of faith.

CUTBERT SIMSON, HUGH FOX,
JOHN DAVENISH, *who were burnt
in Smithfield, London.*

TH E S E three persons were apprehended together at Islington, at the same time with the fore-mentioned John Rough, and brought before the council, and sent to prison.

CUTBERT SIMSON was deacon to the private congregation of Protestants in London as aforesaid, and sent prisoner to the Tower: He was thereby examined in presence of the constable of the Tower, by the Recorder of

of London, and one Mr. Cholmley, who commanded him to declare unto them what Persons he called upon, or summoned to come to the English service; but Cutbert answered, that he would declare nothing.

Then they commanded him to be put in the rack, where he continued stretched about three hours in great torture: while he was on the rack they asked him the same question as they had before, but he said he would declare nothing. Then he was loosed from the rack, and sent to his lodging in the Tower for that time.

On the Sunday following they brought Cutbert to the same place, where he had been racked, where were the recorder of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower, who examined him as they did before, but he refused to give them any other answer than formerly.

They tied two of his fore-fingers together, and put a small arrow between them, and drew it backward and forward so fast that the blood followed and the arrow brake: after which they racked him twice, and then sent him back to his lodging.

Ten days after this the lieutenant asked him again if he would not confess what before they had asked him, but Cutbert answered, he had said as much as he would say.

Being brought to the Bishop of London, he had the following articles ministered to him on the nineteenth of March.

1. *That thou Cutbert Simson art at this present abiding within the city and diocese of London, and not out of the*

jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.

2. *That thou within the city and diocese of London, hast uttered many times, and spoken deliberately, these words and sentences following, viz. That though thy parents, ancestors, kinsfolks and friends, yea, and also thyself, before the time of the late schism here in this realm of England, have thought, and thoughtest that the faith and religion observed in times past here in this realm of England, was a true faith, and the religion of Christ in all points and articles, though in the church it was set forth in the Latin tongue, and not in English: yet thou believest and sayest that the faith and religion now used commonly in this realm, and not in English, but in the Latin tongue is not the true faith and religion of Christ, but contrary and expressly against it.*

3. *Item. That thou, within the said city and diocese of London, hast willingly, wittingly, and contemptuously, done and spoken against the rites and ceremonies commonly used here through the whole realm, and observed generally in the church of England.*

4. *That thou hast thought and believed certainly, and so within the diocese of London hast affirmed and spoken deliberately, that there be not in the catholick Church seven Sacraments, nor of that virtue and efficacy as is commonly believed in the church of England they are.*

5. *That thou hast likewise thought and believed, yea, and hast so, within the city and diocese of London, spoken, and deliberately affirmed, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, there is not really, substantially, and truly, the very body*

body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

6th, That thou hast been, and to thy power art, at this present, a favourer of all those that either have been here in this realm heretofore called heretics, or else convented and condemned by the ecclesiastical judges for heretics.

7. That thou, contrary to the order of this realm of England, and contrary to the usage of the holy church of this realm of England, hast at sundry times and places, within the city and diocese of London, being at assemblies and conventicles, where there was a multitude of people gathered together to hear the English service said, which was set forth in the late years of King Edward VI; and also to hear and have Communion both read, and the Communion ministered both to the said multitude, and also to thyself; and thou hast thought, and so thinkest, and hast spoken, that the said English service and Communion-book, and all things contained in either of them, was good and laudable; and for such thou didst and dost allow and approve either of them at this present.

Unto these articles he answered thus :

To the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, he confessed them to be true in every part.

To the seventh article he said, he was not bound to answer thereunto, as he believed.

With the aforesaid Cubert Simson were also apprehended Hugh Fox and John Davenish, who were both examined by the Bishop of London and his Officer the 19th of March, 1558, upon the usual articles administered to

others suspected of heresy in the diocese of London; to which they answered as follows.

To the first article concerning the Catholick Church, they answered affirmatively, that there is such a church. But John Davenish added, That the true church is grounded on the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head corner-stone; and in that church there is the true faith and religion of Christ.

To the second article they all confessed and believed that in Christ's Catholick Church there are but two Sacraments, that is Baptism and the Lord's Supper; otherwise they do not believe the said article to be true.

To the third article they answered affirmatively, that they were baptized in the faith of the Catholick Church.

To the fourth they answered affirmatively, that they continued in the said faith until the age of fourteen years without misliking thereof.

To the fifth article they all answered affirmatively they do believe, and have and will speak against the sacrifice of the mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and likewise against the authority of the See of Rome, are not sorry for the same, but will do it while they live.

To the sixth article they answered, that they denied to acknowledge the authority of the See of Rome to be lawful and good, neither yet his religion.

To the seventh article they answered affirmatively, that they have and do mislike the mass and Sacrament of the Altar, and thereupon refused to come to their parish-church, and they will still

still do so while they live. John Davenish added, that the Sacrament of the Altar, as now used, is no Sacrament.

To the eighth article they confessed and believed all things above by them acknowledged, and declared to be true, and that they are of the diocese of London, and jurisdiction of the same.

These their answers were written, and read unto them, and they persisting and continuing stedfast in their faith and opinions, the bishop of London, read the definitive sentence against them all three, viz. Cutbert Simson, Hugh Fox, and John Davenish, and delivered them to the secular power. in order to their execution.

It is observable, that while Cutbert Simson was in the Consistory Court, Bishop Bonner took notice of him, and said to the people, *Ye see this man, what a personable man he is; and I tell you, that if he were not an heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience that ever came before me. He hath been thrice racked in one day in the Tower, and also in my house he hath felt much sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken.*

Upon the 28th of March, 1558, the three prisoners above-named were, by the sheriff, brought into Smithfield, where they all patiently suffered death together in one fire, for the truth of the gospel, to the glory of God, and confirmation of the faith of all true believers in Christ.

WILLIAM BONGEOR, THOMAS BENTHOTE, WILLIAM PURCHASE, AGNES SILVERSIDE, HELLEN EWING, ELIZABETH FOLK, WILLIAM MUNT, JOHN JOHNSON, ALICE MUNT, and ROSE ALLEN, *who suffered Martyrdom at Colchester in Essex.*

UPON the 7th of March 1557, at two o'clock in the morning, Edmund Tyrrell, who was of the family of the Tyrrell's, that murdered King Edward V. in the Tower of London) took with him the bailiff of the hundred, two constables, and a great company and beset the house of William Munt, Farmer at Much-Bently in Essex, informing the farmer and his wife that they must go with them to Colchester-Castle.

Mrs. Munt being at that time indisposed, desired that her daughter might be permitted to fetch her some drink, before she went, which being granted, Tyrrel took an opportunity of advising the daughter, as she passed by him, to give her father and mother better council, and admonish them to behave more like good Catholic people.

The daughter replied, that they had the Holy Ghost for their instructor and therefore needed no other; upon which Tyrrel grew angry, began to use harsh methods, assuring her that he was now convinced of the absolute necessity of calling such heretics to immediate account.

From the most abusive language, that monster of inhumanity proceeded to the most cruel behaviour, and in order to try if she would stand burning, took the girl by the wrist, and held the lighted candle under her hand, burning it across the back till the sinews cracked, frequently exclaiming during the barbarous operation, *Why, thou whore, will thou not cry?* This she endured with the utmost patience, told the villain, if he thought proper, he might then begin at her feet and proceed to the head, for that he that prompted him to the work, would one day pay him his wages.

William Munt, Alice his wife, and Rose Allen her daughter, whom Tyrrell had cruelly tortured, together with John Johnson of Thorpe, were brought to Colchester castle, while the other six were sent prisoners to Mote Hill.

They were all severally examined before divers justices of the peace, priests and officers, amongst whom were Kingston the Commissary, Boswell the bishop of London's Secretary, (who reported the proceedings to the bishop) and divers other commissioners.

William Bongeor was first called, and being examined concerning his faith in the Sacrament, replied that what they termed the Sacrament of the Altar, was bread, is bread, and remaineth bread, and was not in the least holier for the consecration. This he affirmed and protested against all the Popish doctrines in general, upon which they immediately passed sentence of condemnation upon him.

Thomas Benhote also denied the Sacrament of the Altar, and abjured errors of the Romish church.

William Purchase declared, that when he received the Sacrament of the Altar, he received bread in an holy use, and both bread and wine as such, but in remembrance of Christ's death and passion.

Agnes Silverfide said she approved not the Popish consecration, nor any of the pageant absurdities and superstitions of the church of Rome, which was the church of Anti-christ.

Hellen Ewring renounced all the doctrines and practices set forth by the Pope with all her heart.

Elizabeth Folk being asked, Whether she believed the presence of Christ's Body to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, really and substantially, replied, She believed it was a substantial and a real lie.

The commissioners being incensed at so abrupt a reply, demanded of her, whether after consecration, there remained not the body of Christ in the Sacrament? She answered, that before consecration, and after it was bread, and that what man blessed without God's word, was accursed and deemed abominable by that word.

They then examined her of confession to a priest, of going to church to hear mass, of the authority of the bishop of Rome, &c. Unto all which she answered, that she would neither use, nor frequent any of them, by the grace of God, but did utterly detest them from her immortal Soul.

Sentence of condemnation having been pronounced, Elizabeth Folk kneeled

kneeled down, lifted her hands and eyes to heaven, and in an audible voice praised God, that she was deemed worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ, praying at the same time for those by whom she was to die.

William Munt being asked his opinion concerning the Sacrament of the Altar? said, it was a most abominable idol; and that if he should observe any part of the popish superstitions, he should displease God, and bring a curse upon himself, and therefore for fear of the divine vengeance, he would not bow down to an idol.

John Johnson answered to the same effect with Munt, and added, that in receiving the Sacrament according to Christ's institution, he received the body of Christ spiritually.

Alice, the wife of John Munt, renounced all Popish error and superstition, and continued steadfast in the profession of the true faith of Jesus Christ.

Rose Allen who was last called, being examined concerning auricular confession, hearing mass, and the seven sacraments? answered, that they were an abomination in the eyes of the Lord, and that she would therefore forever reject them.

She likewise told them that she was no member of their church, for they were the members of Antichrist, and would have the reward of Antichrist if they repented not.

Sentence was then read against her, and she and the rest were delivered over to the Secular Power, and sent to the prisons from whence they came.

They continued under confinement with much joy and comfort, frequently reading the word of God, and exercising themselves in fervent prayer, impatiently waiting their happy dissolution.

Bishop Bonner having an account transmitted to him for the condemnation of these ten innocent persons, for the alledged crime of heresy, sent down a warrant for their being burned, which was determined to be put in execution on the 2d of August following.

As the prisoners were confined in different places, it was resolved by the officers, that part of them should be executed in the former, and the rest in the latter part of that day. Accordingly William Bongeor, William Purchase, Thomas Benhote, Agnes Silver-side, Hellen Ewring, and Elizabeth Folk, were brought to a plat of ground within the Tower-wall, where every thing was prepared for the bloody catastrophe.

When our martyrs arrived at the spot, they kneeled and humbly addressed themselves to Almighty God, tho' they were interrupted by their Popish enemies.

They then arose and were fastened to the stakes, clapping their hands for joy, and all died with amazing fortitude and resignation, triumphing in the midst of the flames, and exulting in the future glory that awaited their departure from a world of Sin and sorrow.

In like manner, in the afternoon of the same day, William and Alice Munt, Rose Allen, and John Johnson

son were brought into the Castle-yard, and after they had devoutly prayed to almighty God, chearfully submitted to be fastened to the stakes, earnestly calling upon their Father in heaven, and exhorting the people to beware of idolatry, and with their latest breath confessing the faith of Christ crucified, whom to know was eternal Life, for whom to die was the glory of all his chosen people.

RICHARD CRASHFIELD.

RICHARD CRASHFIELD of Wymoundham in the county of Norfolk, was brought before Chancellor Dunning on a suspicion of heresy, and by him examined concerning the ceremonies of the church, whether he believed them to be good and godly?

Our martyr replied, that he believed as many of them as were founded on the word of God, and authorized by the practice and example of Christ and his apostles.

When the Chancellor examined him particularly concerning the corporal presence in the eucharist, Crashfield said, He believed that Christ's body was broken for him upon the cross, and his blood shed for his redemption, of which, the bread and wine are a perpetual remembrance, the pledge of God's mercy and the seal of his promises to the faithful to the end of the world:

He was then dismissed and sent back to prison, and the following day brought

again before the Chancellor, who enquired if he persisted in his heretical opinions.

On his replying in the affirmative, and confirming the same by his answers to other questions and articles proposed to him, Dunning stood up and in form required him to turn from his wicked errors and damnable heresies, and not be an example of impiety and obstinacy, adding, that thro' his presumptuous reading, he persuaded silly women to embrace his errors at the hazard of their souls, and promising him mercy on his compliance with these terms.

Crashfield boldly maintained his faith in the pure doctrines, and uncorrupted ceremonies of the church of Christ, telling the arrogant chancellor, that it was of God, whom he had offended, that he craved mercy, and not of him who was a sinner like himself, and therefore incapable of dispensing pardon or shewing any essential mercy to his soul.

Dunning at length finding him inflexibly attached to his opinions and principles, to seek pretence of condemnation, enquired of him, when he was last at his parish church, and on his answering, that it was two years past, told him that he stood excommunicated and consequently condemned as an heretic.

Accordingly he was condemned, and delivered to the sheriffs of the county, who, in a few days brought him to the stake, where in the presence of numerous spectators, with much patience and constancy he yielded up his soul to God in hopes of eternal life, through

through the merits of Jesus Christ, with whom as he had suffered, he had good hope through grace, he should be gloried.

JOYCE, *Wife of Thomas Lewis of Manchester, who suffered Martyrdom at Litchfield.*

OUR female martyr in the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary went to church, and heard mass, was confessed, and attended to all the ceremonies of the Romish church, till it pleased God, by the preaching of a Protestant minister, to convince her of her errors, and convert her to the true faith of the everlasting gospel.

The circumstances which in a great measure tended to her conversion, was the burning of a faithful servant of God at Coventry.

When she enquired into the cause of the same, she was told it was because he would not receive the mass, she began to entertain doubts concerning the truth of the religion she professed, and accordingly applied for satisfaction to one Mr. Glover, who had suffered much himself for his steadfast attachment to the truth of Christ's gospel.

This good man pointed out to her the errors of the Romish church proving them to be antisciptural and antichristian, and advising her to make the word of God her constant study, and regulate her faith and practice by that alone.

Upon this godly advice Mrs. Lewis

Nº 10.

gave herself much to prayer and acts of devotion, determining by the grace of God, both to do and believe, what she was enjoined by the word of God.

Being compelled one day by her husband to go to Church, when the holy water was cast about, she turned her back upon it, and shewed herself displeased at it, upon which she was accused to the Bishop of Litchfield, for despising the Sacrament of the church.

The bishop sent an officer to summon her before him; and when the summons was delivered to her husband, he threatened the officer, unless he would return with it from whence he came.

In consequence of this treatment, Thomas Lewis and his wife were commanded to appear before the bishop, who dismissed the husband on his begging pardon for the offence, and offered forgiveness to her, upon the same terms.

But she courageously told his lordship, that by refusing Holy water she had not offended God, nor any of his laws.

The bishop though he was much offended with her, as she was a person of considerable repute, did not proceed immediately against her, but gave her the space of a month to consider of it, binding her husband in a hundred pound bond to bring her again to him at the expiration of a month and then dismissed them both.

When the fixed time of her appearance approached, many of their friends advised her husband by all means not to deliver her up, but to convey her to some convenient retirement, intimating,

mating, that he had better sustain the loss of an hundred pounds than to be instrumental in casting his wife into the fire :

But Lewis, like an unnatural husband, repiled, that he would not forfeit his bond for her sake, and accordingly when the time was expired, he delivered her unto the bishop, who finding her resolute, committed her to a loathsome prison.

The bishop examined her several times, and as he reasoned with her on her not coming to mass, receiving the Sacrament, and Sacramentals of the Holy Church, she replied, that she found not these things in God's word which he so much urged and magnified as necessary to salvation, adding, that if those things were founded on God's word, she would receive them with all her heart.

His Lordship told her, that if she would believe no more than is in scripture, she was a damnable heretick ; and after much discourse with her pronounced sentence against her as an irreclaimable heretick.

After her condemnation she remained a whole year in confinement, when at length the writ for her execution arriving, she sent for several of her friends to advise her how to behave herself, that her death might redound to the glory of God, and the establishment of his people ; declaring at the same time, that she feared not death, when she thought on her Saviour Christ.

The night before she suffered, two priests came to hear her confession, but she rejected their offer.

In the morning she was brought to the place of execution by two sheriffs and a strong guard. When she came to the stake, she prayed three times, earnestly desiring God to abolish the idolatrous mass, and deliver the kingdom from Popery, to which many of the people, and one of the sheriffs cried Amen.

When she was chained to the stake she wore a pleasing countenance and was very patient.

The fire being kindled, she moved not in the least, but lifted up her hands to heaven, resigning up her soul to God, and then expired, September, 10, 1557.

RALPH ALLERTON, JAMES AWSTOO, MARGERY AWSTOO, and RICHARD ROTH, *who were burned at Islington.*

RALPH Allerton, a year before his condemnation, was apprehended and brought before lord Darcy, where he was accused not only of absenting himself from church, but also that by preaching he had persuaded others to follow his example.

Being examined thereupon, he confessed that coming to his parish church of Bently, and finding the people sitting there, some gazing about, and others talking upon unprofitable subjects, he exhorted them to pray and meditate on God's word, and not sit idle, to which they willingly consented, and after prayer, he read them a chapter out of the New Testament.

In

In this exercise he continued for some time, till he was informed that his proceedings were contrary to law, as he was neither priest nor minister, upon which he desisted.

He likewise confessed that he was taken up for reading in the parish of Welly; but when those that apprehended him understood that he had read but once, and that it was an exhortation to obedience, they let him go; and after that, being afraid, he kept in woods, barns, and solitary places, till he was taken.

After this examination, the lord Darcy sent him to London to the Queen's commissioners, by whom he was referred to bishop Bonner, who persuaded him publicly to recant his profession at St. Paul's church, and then dismissed him; whereupon he returned into the country.

He was greatly troubled in his conscience for what he had done, earnestly repented of the same, and openly professed the faith he had shamefully revoked, till Thomas Tye, priest of the parish (who had been a professor of the truth, but was now a persecutor of) caused him to be apprehended and again brought up to the bishop of London.

When Allerton came before his Lordship, he asked him the cause of the same, telling him, he believed he was wrongfully accused, unless he had dissembled.

Allerton told his Lordship that he was not guilty of what was laid to his charge, desired to know his accusers, and the particulars of his accusation in order that he might be able to defend himself.

But the bishop, in answer to his request, reminded him, that if he had not dissembled, he needed not to be afraid or ashamed, and urged him to tell him if he dissembled in his former recantation.

Allerton replied, "If my accusers are not produced before your Lordship, my conscience will constrain me to accuse myself; for I confess I have most grievously offended God by my dissimulation, when I was last before your Lordship, for which I am now heartily concerned." When the bishop enquired the cause of his dissembling, he replied, *My lord if your lordship remembers, I set my hand to a certain writing, the contents of which were, that I did believe in all things as the Catholic Church teacheth, &c. in which I did not disclose my mind, but most shamefully dissembled, as I made no distinction between the true church and the false one.*

Being called upon to declare what he thought to be the true church, he would not allow the church of Rome to be it, but said that on the contrary those Christians that were persecuted by the Romish Church were members of the true Catholic Church of Christ, upon which the bishop called him heretic, and sent him to the little-cage prison at Guild-hall in London.

Having confined him there a whole day, the bishop sent for him again, and in the presence of the Dean of St. Paul's and the Chancellor of the diocese, produced some writings and challenged him with them.

He acknowledged the writings, and

being asked whether he had been at mass since he was last before the bishop, answered in the negative, declaring that he had neither been at mass, or mattens, nor any other strange worshipping of God.

Thomas Tye, the priest of Bentley appeared against him before the court, affirming that he was a seditious person, and had stirred up much strife in his parish.

This, with other complaints being alledged against him, he was sent to prison again, and in a short time brought before the Queen's council, who demanded of him whether he believed that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remained no Bread, but the very Body of our Saviour, Jesus Christ God and Man, and no other substance under the form of Bread.

When Allerton demanded scripture proof for this doctrine of transubstantiation, the bishop asked him if Christ did not say, *This is my Body*, adding wilt thou deny these words of our Saviour Christ, or was he a dissembler? "No, my lord, replied our martyr, Christ is true and all men are liars: yet I must refuse to understand the words of our Saviour so fantastically as you teach or take them, for then we should agree with the heretics called Nestorians, who denied that Christ had a true, natural body.

This methinks you do my lord, if you affirm his body to be there, because you then affirm his body to be fantastical, not natural, and therefore look well to it for God's sake. Observe likewise the words that go before,

Take ye and eat ye, without which words, the rest art not sufficient.

But when the worthy receivers take and eat, even then are fulfilled the words of our Saviour to those who in that manner receive.

Upon the 15th of May 1557, Ralph Allerton was brought to the Bishop's palace at London, where the following articles were administered to him.

1. *That he was of the parish of Much-Bentley in Essex, and of the diocese of London.*

2. *That on the 10th of January last past, Mr. John Mordant preaching at St. Paul's, London, the said Ralph Allerton did there openly submit himself to the Church of Rome, with the rites and ceremonies thereof.*

3. *That he did consent and subscribe as well unto the submission, as also to one other bill, in the which he granted, that if he should at any time turn again unto his former opinions, it should be then lawful for the bishop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as an heretic.*

4. *That he had subscribed to a bill wherein he affirmed, that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, there remaineth still material bread and material wine; and that he believed that the bread is the bread of thanksgiving, and the memorial of Christ's death; and that when he received it, he received the body of Christ spiritually in his soul, but material bread in substance.*

5. *That he had openly affirmed, and also advisedly spoken that which is contained in the said former fourth article last before specified.*

6. *That he had spoken against the b*
sh

shop of Rome, with the See and Church of the same, and also against the seven sacraments, and other ceremonies and ordinances of the same church, used then within this realm.

7. That he had allowed and commended the opinions and faith of Mr. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and others, of late, burnt within this realm, and believed their opinions to be good and godly.

8. That he had divers times affirmed, that the religion used within this realm, at the time of his apprehension, was neither good nor agreeable to God's word, and that he could not conform himself thereunto.

9. That he had affirmed that the book of Common Prayer, set forth in the reign of King Edward VI, was in all parts good and godly: and that the said Ralph and his company, being prisoners, did daily use among themselves, in prison, some part of the same book.

10. That he had affirmed, That if he were cut of prison he would not come to mass, mattens, nor even-song, nor bear taper, candle, nor palm, nor go in procession, nor would receive holy water, holy bread, ashes, or pix, nor any other ceremony then used within this realm.

11. That he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty he would not confess his sins to any priest, to receive absolution of him, nor yet would receive the Sacrament of the Altar, as it was then used.

12. That he had affirmed, that praying to saints, and prayers for the dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to fast and pray, but at his own will and pleasure; neither

N^o XI.

that it is lawful to reserve the sacrament nor to worship it.

13. That the said Ralph Allerton hath according to these affirmations, abstained and refused to come unto his parish-church ever since the 10th of January last, or to use, receive, or allow, any ceremonies, sacraments, or other rites then used in the church.

To these articles our martyr in general answered in the affirmative, objecting only to that clause in the 12th, that a man is not bound to fast and pray, but at his own will and pleasure, and confessed at the same time that he had neither fasted nor prayed so frequently as it has been his duty to have done.

To these articles he subscribed his name, affirming them to be true, till they could be confuted by holy writ.

Various efforts were made afterwards by Dr. Darbyshire the Bishop's chancellor and others to bring him to a recantation, but all proving ineffectual, he was sent back again to prison, from whence Bishop Bonner sent for him and the others abovementioned, to his palace at Fulham, where in his private chapel he judicially propounded to them divers articles, the particulars of which were addressed to Ralph Allerton in the following form:

Thou Ralph Allerton canst not deny but that the information given against thee, and remaining now in the acts of this court of thine ordinary Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, was, and is a true information.

The substance of the information was this:

That one Laurence Edwards had a
3 E child

child unchristened, and Mr. Tye the curate asked him, Why his child was not baptized? Edwards replied, it should be baptized when he could find one of his own religion.

When the curate told him, that he had imbibed those notions from some busy people, who go about to spread heresy. Edwards acknowledged that he had, telling him at the same time, if his doctrine was better he would receive it; he then produced Allerton, whom the curate asked if he had instructed Edwards, that it was against God's commandments to enter into the church: Allerton then thus addressed the people who were present: *O good people, now is fulfilled the saying of the priest and prophet Esdras, viz. The fire of a multitude is kindled against a few, they have taken away their houses and spoiled their goods. Which of you have not seen this day? who is here among you that seeth not all these things done upon us this day. The church unto which they call us, is the church of Antichrist, a persecuting church, and the church malignant.*

This was the cause of his being apprehended and sent up to the bishop of London.

He was also charged with writing several letters and other things which were found with him in prison: he confessed, when they were produced, that he had written them, and that they were intended to be sent to some that were in prison for the sake of the gospel, at Colchester, where they were afterwards burnt.

Allerton was then dismissed, and the examination, deferred to the afternoon,

when several other articles were objected to him, but these being mostly false, he refused to answer, he granted indeed that he disappointed the mass and other ceremonies, that were contrary to the express word of God.

When the decree of Pope Innocent III. concerning the Sacrament of the altar, was read to him by the bishop, he declared he regarded it not, nor was it necessary that any man should believe it.

When Bonner asked him what he had to alledge why sentence of condemnation should not be passed upon him, he briefly answered, *My Lord, you ought not to condemn me as an heretic, for I am a good Christian: but do as you have determined, for I perceive that right and truth are suppressed and cannot now appear upon earth.*

Then the bishop pronounced sentence against him, and delivered him over to the Secular Power.

James Astoo and Margery his wife, were also examined before bishop Bonner, who among other things asked the former, If he had been confessed in Lent, and where he had received the sacrament at Easter?

He replied, he had been confessed of the curate of Allhallows Barking, near the Tower of London; but that he had not received the sacrament of the altar, because he detested it as an abominable idol.

His Lordship then enquired of Margery his wife, if she approved of the religion then used in the church of England? She replied in the negative, affirming it to be corrupt and antisciptural, and that those who conformed



Engraved
for England's
Bloody Tribunal.



The Martyrdom of Ralph Allerton, James Austoo
Margery Austoo, & Richard Roth at Tyburn.

formed to it, were influenced rather by fear than a conviction that it was founded on the word of God.

Being required to go to Church, hear mass, and pray for the prosperity of the king then abroad on special affairs; she declared her defiance of the mass, and that she would not come into any church where there were idols.

After this they had each of them divers articles objected to them, unto all which they made such answers as were agreeable to the truth of the gospel of Christ.

They were examined several times afterwards, and on persisting in their faith and profession, and renouncing all Popish doctrines and practices, the bishop having persuaded them to recant without any effect, pronounced against them severally sentence of condemnation, and delivered them into the hands of the sheriff then present, who kept them in custody, in order to be executed with the rest that received sentence.

RICHARD ROTH, was examined before the same persecuting prelate, who endeavoured to gain his belief in the seven sacraments, and also bring him to acknowledge the corporal presence in the eucharist.

Roth briefly told him, that if those doctrines were taught in the holy scriptures, he would believe them, if otherwise, he must reject them.

Being examined more particularly concerning the sacrament of the altar, and other points, he plainly declared, that in that ceremony, there was not

the very body and blood of Christ, but that it was a dead god, and the mass was abominable, and contrary to God's holy word and will, from which faith and opinion he was determined thro' the strength of divine grace never to depart.

It was afterwards objected to him, that he was a comforter and encourager of heretics, and had written divers letters to that effect to certain persons that were burnt at Colchester, which letters he confessed to have written.

Being asked his opinion of Ralph Allerton, he answered, that he esteemed him as a sincere servant of God, and that if hereafter at any time he should be put to death for his faith and religion, he believed he would die a martyr to the cause of Christ and the truth of his gospel.

When it was demanded of him, If he approved of the order and rites of the church then used in England? he declared his utter abhorrence of them, and was thereupon condemned and delivered to the custody of the sheriff.

On the 17th of September, 1557, Ralph Allerton, James and Margery Awstoo, and Richard Roth, were conveyed by the sheriff to Islington, where they were fastened to two stakes, and consumed together in one fire, giving up their lives for the testimony of the truth as it is in Jesus.



The Martyrdom of Ralph Allerton, James Austoo
Margery Austoo, & Richard Roth at Islington.

formed to it, were influenced rather by fear than a conviction that it was founded on the word of God.

Being required to go to Church, hear mass, and pray for the prosperity of the king then abroad on special affairs; she declared her defiance of the mass, and that she would not come into any church where there were idols.

After this they had each of them divers articles objected to them, unto all which they made such answers as were agreeable to the truth of the gospel of Christ.

They were examined several times afterwards, and on persisting in their faith and profession, and renouncing all Popish doctrines and practices, the bishop having persuaded them to recant without any effect, pronounced against them severally sentence of condemnation, and delivered them into the hands of the sheriff then present, who kept them in custody, in order to be executed with the rest that received sentence.

RICHARD ROTH, was examined before the same persecuting prelate, who endeavoured to gain his belief in the seven sacraments, and also bring him to acknowledge the corporal presence in the eucharist.

Roth briefly told him, that if those doctrines were taught in the holy scriptures, he would believe them, if otherwise, he must reject them.

Being examined more particularly concerning the sacrament of the altar, and other points, he plainly declared, that in that ceremony, there was not

the very body and blood of Christ, but that it was a dead god, and the mass was abominable, and contrary to God's holy word and will, from which faith and opinion he was determined thro' the strength of divine grace never to depart.

It was afterwards objected to him, that he was a comforter and encourager of heretics, and had written divers letters to that effect to certain persons that were burnt at Colchester, which letters he confessed to have written.

Being asked his opinion of Ralph Allerton, he answered, that he esteemed him as a sincere servant of God, and that if hereafter at any time he should be put to death for his faith and religion, he believed he would die a martyr to the cause of Christ and the truth of his gospel.

When it was demanded of him, If he approved of the order and rites of the church then used in England? he declared his utter abhorrence of them, and was thereupon condemned and delivered to the custody of the sheriff.

On the 17th of September, 1557, Ralph Allerton, James and Margery Awstoo, and Richard Roth, were conveyed by the sheriff to Islington, where they were fastened to two stakes, and consumed together in one fire, giving up their lives for the testimony of the truth as it is in Jesus.

WILLIAM FLOWER, *who for striking a Priest had his hand cut off, and was afterwards martyred for his steadfast adherence to the Truth.*

WILLIAM Flower was born at Snow-hill in the county of Cambridge, educated in the Roman Catholic Church admitted into holy orders, and became a professed monk in the Abbey of Ely.

Having resided some time in the monastery, he threw off the monkish habit, became a secular priest, returned to the place of his nativity, and officiated a considerable time in a clerical capacity.

In process of time, on a serious review of the sacred scriptures, and candid comparisons of them with the doctrines and practices of the Romish Church; he began to doubt of the authenticity of the latter, and on a further inspection finding them wholly repugnant to the word of God, and founded on the meer inventions of men, rejected and abjured them most cordially, embracing the doctrines of the reformation.

Having thus departed from the Romish Church, he removed from Essex the last place of his residence to Lambeth, where he married, and taught school for his livelihood.

Crossing the water from Lambeth, he went into St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, where they were celebrating mass.

As he refused to kneel when the

Host was lifted up, he was severely reprimanded by the priest, whereupon Flower struck him upon the head, while he had at the same time in his hand a chalice containing certain consecrated wafers.

As his behaviour on this occasion was rather frantic than justifiable, proceeding rather from rash zeal than well grounded knowledge, he submitted himself to the award of Bishop Bonner, willing to endure whatever punishment he should be pleased to inflict.

The bishop would have mitigated his punishment if he would have subscribed to the Popish faith, but that he would not consent to do on any terms, therefore he was committed to the Gatehouse.

Having remained in prison a considerable time, he was again brought before the bishop his ordinary, who administered to him on oath certain articles.

As he did not answer satisfactorily thereto, he was committed to the Fleet Prison, where he was brought before the warden and found guilty of abusing a priest in the duty of his office, and also of maintaining damnable heresies.

Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced, and he was delivered over to the secular power, and pursuant to sentence burnt in St. Margaret's Church yard, having his hand first cut off, which was held gushing with blood to the general view of numerous spectators.



WILLIAM FLOWER, *who for striking a Priest had his hand cut off, and was afterwards martyred for his steadfast adherence to the Truth.*

William Flower was born at Snowhill in the county of Cambridge, educated in the Roman Catholic Church admitted into holy orders, and became a professed monk in the Abbey of Ely.

Having resided some time in the monastery, he threw off the monkish habit, became a secular priest, returned to the place of his nativity, and officiated a considerable time in a clerical capacity.

In process of time, on a serious review of the sacred scriptures, and candid comparisons of them with the doctrines and practices of the Romish Church; he began to doubt of the authenticity of the latter, and on a further inspection finding them wholly repugnant to the word of God, and founded on the meer inventions of men, rejected and abjured them most cordially, embracing the doctrines of the reformation.

Having thus departed from the Romish Church, he removed from Essex the last place of his residence to Lambeth, where he married, and taught school for his livelihood.

Crossing the water from Lambeth, he went into St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, where they were celebrating mass.

As he refused to kneel when the

Host was lifted up, he was severely reprimanded by the priest, whereupon Flower struck him upon the head, while he had at the same time in his hand a chalice containing certain consecrated wafers.

As his behaviour on this occasion was rather frantic than justifiable, proceeding rather from rash zeal than well grounded knowledge, he submitted himself to the award of Bishop Bonner, willing to endure whatever punishment he should be pleased to inflict.

The bishop would have mitigated his punishment if he would have subscribed to the Popish faith, but that he would not consent to do on any terms, therefore he was committed to the Gatehouse.

Having remained in prison a considerable time, he was again brought before the bishop his ordinary, who administered to him on oath certain articles.

As he did not answer satisfactorily thereto, he was committed to the Fleet Prison, where he was brought before the warden and found guilty of abusing a priest in the duty of his office, and also of maintaining damnable heresies.

Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced, and he was delivered over to the secular power, and pursuant to sentence burnt in St. Margaret's Churchyard, having his hand first cut off, which was held gushing with blood to the general view of numerous spectators.



The Martyrdom of W.^m Flower in St. Margaret's Church Yard.



LAURENCE SAUNDERS, *who was burnt at Coventry.*

ON Saturday, October 14, as Mr. Saunders was coming nigh to the City of London, Sir John Mordant, a counsellor to Queen Mary, overtook him, and asked him whither he went. I have, said Saunders, a cure in London, and now I am going to instruct my people according to my duty. If you will follow my counsel, said Mordant, let them alone, and come not to them. Saunders answered, how shall I then be discharged before God, if any be sick, and desire consolation, if any want good counsel and need instruction? Or if any should slip into errors, and receive false doctrine? Did you not, said Mordant, preach such a day in Breadstreet in London? Yes, verily, said Saunders, and to-morrow you may hear me again in that same place, where I will confirm by the authority of God's word, all that I said then, and whatsoever before that time I taught them. I would counsel you, replied the other, not to preach there. If you can and will forbid me by lawful authority, then must I obey, said Saunders; and thus entered they both the city, and departed from each other. Mordant, a man of an uncharitable mind went to give warning to Bonner bishop of London, that Saunders would preach in his cure the next day; which he accordingly did in the forenoon, from 2 Cor. xi. and in the afternoon he pur-

Nº 11.

posed to do the like, but the bishop of London interrupted him by sending an officer for him. The bishop on his appearance before him charged him with heresy and sedition, and much talk concerning this matter, desired him to write what he believed of transubstantiation, which Mr. Saunders having done, the bishop sent him to the Lord Chancellor, by whom he was examined as to his preaching. Saunders owned that he did preach; and affirmed to his lordship that it was his indispensable duty to exhort his flock and parishioners to persevere and stand stedfastly in the doctrine which they learned.

After this he continued in prison a whole year and three months; at the end of which he was brought again before the chancellor, and being examined, the officers took him again to prison; some time after which he was burnt at Coventry, where amidst the flames he was often heard to say, *O welcome life.*

ROBERT MILLS, STEPHEN COTTON, ROBERT DINES, STEPHEN WIGHT, JOHN SLADE, and WILLIAM PIKES, *who suffered Martyrdom at Brentford in Middlesex, in the Diocese of London.*

THESE six men were apprehended in a close near Islington (with several others before mentioned) sent to prison: and, at sundry times, brought before Dr. Thomas Darbyshire,

byshire, the bishop of London's Chancellor, to be examined.

ROBERT MILLS on the 20th of June, 1558, Stephen Wight the 21st of the same month, Stephen Cotton and John Slade the 22d day, Robert Dines and William Pikes the day following; unto whom were ministered, by the chancellor and officer, the same articles which were before ministered to others.

The first article they all granted, and added thereto for going to church, that Robert Mills and Stephen Wight came not to church for three quarters of a year before, John Slade and William Pikes not since the Queen's reign, Stephen Cotton not for a twelve month before, and Robert Dines for two years before.

To the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth articles they all answered in effect as other Protestants had done, saving they added, that as their rites, ceremonies, and customs, are against the word of God, so will they observe and keep no part of the same. Stephen Wight added farther that he had not received their Sacrament of the Altar for two years before, nor John Slade nor William Pikes since Queen Mary's reign, nor Stephen Cotton for a twelve-month before, nor Robert Dines for three years before.

The seventh article they all granted in every part, saving Robert Dines added that it was no part of his belief.

The eighth article they all granted in every part; but Robert Mills added that he would not come to the church, nor allow their religion, so long as the

cross is crept to and worshipped, and images are in the church.

John Slade affirmed, in effect, as Robert Mills did, adding farther, that there are not seven sacraments, but two sacraments, which are Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

Stephen Cotton would no farther allow the Popish religion than it agreed with God's word, and Robert Dines affirmed, in effect, the same with Stephen Cotton.

To the ninth and tenth articles Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton, answered, that they do not allow the Popish service then set forth, because it is against the truth, and in a strange language which the common people understand not.

Robert Dines and William Pikes will neither allow nor disallow the Latin service, because they understand it not.

And Stephen Wight would make no answer to these articles at all, neither to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth articles, nor are any of Stephen Wight's answers recorded; but the rest of his fellow prisoners answered to them as follows.

To the eleventh article Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton answered, that concerning the books, faith, and religion, specified in this article, they do allow them so far forth as they agree with God's word.

Robert Dines would make no answer thereto, because he thought himself unable to judge thereof; and William Pikes did not remember that he had misliked the service, faith and religion, set forth in King Edward the VIth's time.

The twelfth article they granted, that if they might receive the sacrament as they did in King Edward the VIth's days, they would, with all their hearts.

The thirteenth and fourteenth articles they granted to be true in every part.

After these their answers to the articles aforesaid, the prisoners were returned back to prison, and commanded to appear the 11th of July, at the Consistory in St. Paul's, which accordingly they did; and then it was demanded of them, by the Chancellor and the Court, whether they would turn from their opinions to the Holy Mother Church, and if not, whether there were any cause to the contrary, but that they might proceed with the sentence of condemnation? whereunto they all answered, that they would not go from the truth, nor any part of the same while they lived.

The Chancellor charged them to appear before him again the next day in the afternoon, to hear the definitive sentence read against them according to the ecclesiastical law then in force; and at the time appointed the six prisoners above-mentioned were brought into Court, the Chancellor sitting in judgment, with whom were Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis.

The Chancellor talked with the prisoners, but could by no means move them from their faith and opinions, and therefore read the sentence of condemnation against them all, and committed them into the hands of the Secular

Power, who sent them to prison till the time of their execution.

Having condemned these six innocent persons, he sent a certificate of their condemnation into the Lord Chancellor's office, from whence there was issued out, the next day, a writ for their burning in the town of Brentford in Middlesex, seven miles from London; and upon the 14th of July, 1558, they were all conveyed, by the Sheriffs officers, to the town of Brentford; and when they came to the place of execution, humbly made their prayers to God, and then undressing themselves went joyfully to the stakes; where being bound, and the fire flaming about them, they yielded both their bodies and souls in the hands of the omnipotent Lord, for whose cause they suffered.

JOHN CLARK, DUNSTAN CLUTTEN-
DEN, WILLIAM FOSTER, ALICE
POTKINS and JOHN ARCHER, *who*
were famished in Canterbury Castle.

NICHOLAS HARPSFIELD Archdeacon of Canterbury was a most bigotted Papist and cruel persecutor of the faithful servants of Christ.

Many pious persons were at his instigation most inhumanly treated in the diocese of Canterbury, particularly the five persons above written, two of whom were not then condemned, and the others were sentenced to be burned, had not its execution been prevented by their pining away with famine.

They

They were apprehended and committed to prison for denying the seven sacraments, the doctrine of transubstantiation, the supremacy of the Holy See of Rome, images and all the superstitious ceremonies of Popery.

William Foster being first called upon and examined concerning his general faith, said, that he believed in all the articles of the creed; but that to believe there were more sacraments than two, to pray to saints to profit us, to pray for souls in purgatory to profit them, and in fine to allow the Popish ceremonies then used in the church of England, was contrary to the express word of God, and positive command and example of Christ himself.

Moreover he said, that he might as well carry a dung-fork as Candle on Candlemas-day, and that it would be as expedient to carry the gallows about if his father was hanged, as the cross: for these declarations he was sentenced to be burned, and to that purpose delivered up to the secular power.

Alice Potkins received the same sentence, because she was not, nor would be confessed to a priest, receive the sacrament, pray to saints nor creep to the cross, &c.

Being asked her age, she answered, that with respect to her natural birth, she was forty nine, but with regard to the new birth which was of God in Christ Jesus, she was only one year old, since which she had been committed to prison.

The answer of John Archer was to the same purport, and although some

of them differed in points less essential, they all agreed in the main and important doctrines of the Gospel, and in rejecting the absurd tenets of the Romish Church.

The cruel manner in which their Popish enemies used them, will best appear from their own accounts handed down in the following extraordinary letter, which we have transcribed from the original copy.

A letter written and cast out of the Castle of Canterbury by the Prisoners there in Bonds for God's word, declaring how the Papists went about to famish them to death; of which company five were already most cruelly famished among them.

BE it known unto all men that shall read or hear read these our letters, that we the poor prisoners of the castle of Canterbury for God's truth, are kept and lie in cold irons, and our keepers will not suffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheese, or any other food, the said keeper will charge them that so bring us any thing, except money or raiment, to carry it them again; or else if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himself, and he and his servants do spend it, so that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us: insomuch that there are four of us prisoners here, for God's truth, famished already, and thus is it his mind to famish us all: and we think he is appointed thereunto by the bishops

shops and priests, and also of the justices, so to famish us, and not only us of the said castle, but also all other prisoners in other prisons for the like cause to be also famished; notwithstanding we write not these our letters, to that intent we might not afford to be famished for the Lord Jesus' sake; but for this cause and intent, that they having no law to famish us in prison, should not do it privily, but that the murderers hearts should be openly known to all the world that all men may learn of what church they are, and who is their father.

CICELY ORMES, *who suffered Martyrdom at Norwich.*

THIS person was apprehended at the burning of Simon Miller, and Elizabeth Cooper beforementioned, for saying she would pledge them of the cup of which they drank, viz. success to the true cause of Christ, and destruction to the usurpation of Papists.

When she was brought before a justice of the peace, and enquired concerning the corporal presence in the Eucharist, she denied the same for want of authority in the Book of God, which she received as her infallible guide in all matters relative to her eternal salvation.

Being afterwards brought before Chancellor Dunning, he told her, that he had shewn more favour to her than he had done to any, and that he was unwilling to condemn her as she was

Nº 11.

a poor illiterate woman, but she honestly told him, that he could not be so desirous of taking her life as she was of surrendering it in so good a cause; upon which the chancellor being greatly enraged, rose up, read the bloody sentence of condemnation, and delivered her up to the sheriffs of the county.

Cicely Ormes had formerly been apprehended and had recanted, but she enjoyed not a moment's peace of conscience till she abjured the abominable errors she professed.

When she came to the stake on the twenty-third of September, she knelt down, and having made her fervent prayers to God, thus addressed the spectators.

Good people, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost: this I do not nor will recant; but I renounce from the bottom of my heart the principles and practices set forth by the Church of Rome, and never will have to do with them, by the grace of God, to my life's end.

I would not have you think, good people, that I believe to be saved, because I offer myself here unto death for the truth's sake; no, I trust for acceptance with God, justification in his sight, and eternal redemption on the merits and passion of Jesus Christ alone.

She afterwards laid her hand upon the stake, and said, *Welcome the cross of Christ.*

When the fire was kindled she said, *My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my Spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour, and having thus said, yielded up her life as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, or as one feeling no pain, so wonderfully*

derfully did the Lord support her under her fiery trial.

WILLIAM SEAMAN, THOMAS CARMAN, *and* THOMAS HUDSON.

WILLIAM Seaman was an husbandman, and betrayed into the hands of his Popish emissaries by the perfidy of a neighbour, and carried before Sir John Tyrrel of Norfolk, who demanded of him why he would not go to mass, receive the Sacrament, and conform himself to other ceremonies of the church: Seaman replied, that the Sacrament then used was an idol, that the mass was abominable, and that the ceremonies of the Romish church was superstitious and full of absurdities, and that therefore he would not conform to the same.

He was sent to Dr. Hopton, Bishop of the diocese, and after some examination, sentence of condemnation was pronounced against him, and he was kept in prison till the day of his martyrdom.

Thomas Carman being prisoner in Norwich, was also brought before the Bishop, and asserted the cause of Christ, with no less warmth than the former, and was therefore consigned to the same merciless punishment.

Thomas Hudson was a poor, labouring man, and though destitute of any education in his younger years, by his diligence and love to the gospel, as preached in the days of King Edward, he had learned to read, became well versed in the sacred book of

God, and founded in the faith once delivered unto the saints.

Disapproving the doctrines and practices set forth under the reign of Queen Mary, he absented himself from his native place, went into Suffolk, and there continued travelling from one part to another as occasion offered.

At length desirous of seeing his wife and children, he returned home, but finding his continuance there would be dangerous, he devised a scheme with his wife, to make him a hiding-place among his faggots, whither he resorted for a long space of time, praying continually, his wife at the same time, carefully ministering to all his necessities.

During his retirement, the vicar of the town, who was one of the Bishop's Commissaries, enquired of his wife concerning her husband, and on her denying that she knew any thing of him, threatened to burn her because she would not discover the retreat of a heretic.

When Hudson found their great desire to apprehend him, his zeal for the glory of God, and the honour of the Redeemer, increased daily, and he continued reading and singing psalms, while the people resorted to him, to hear his exhortations, and join with him in prayer, to their common God and Father.

At length he walked about the town, exclaiming against the mass and all its superstitions and follies, and when he arrived at his own house, he read and sung psalms incessantly for the space of three days and nights, to the astonishment of many.

In-

Information having been given of the same, by one of his neighbours, two constables were sent to take him at break of day, and when he saw them enter, he said without dismay: *Now mine hour is come; welcome friend's, welcome, you be they that shall lead me to life in Christ. I thank God for it, and beg that the Lord would prepare me for the glorious work for his mercies sake.*

The constables then led him to Ferry the commissary, who being vicar of the town, asked him various questions concerning his religious tenets; but finding that all he could say or do, could not stagger his faith in a single point, he sent him bound like a thief to the bishop then in Norwich, whither he went with the utmost cheerfulness.

He was committed to prison, where he spent his time in reading and calling upon the name of the Lord.

These three servants of God, William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson, having been condemned, were carried from the prison to the place appointed for their execution; where being arrived, they severally offered up their prayers at the throne of grace.

They then arose and went to the stake, and standing with their chains about them: Thomas Hudson came from under the chain, to the great surprize of all the spectators; some fearing lest he should recant, others imagining he wanted a reprieve for further conference, and some that it were to crave the blessing of his parents.

In the midst of this confusion, his two companions at the stake did their utmost to comfort and encourage him, exhorting him in the bowels of Christ to be of good cheer, &c.

But alas! he felt more in his conscience than they could conceive; for he was encompassed with great grief of mind, not for fear of death, but for want of inward experience of the love of his Saviour; and therefore being very anxious, he fell on his knees, and earnestly prayed to God, who at length according to his tender mercies, sent him comfort; and then he arose in an extasy of joy, as a man changed from death to life, saying, "Now I thank God I am strong, and care not what man can do unto me."

Returning to his companions at the stake, they all suffered death together most joyfully, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of the faithful, and the glory of God.

WILLIAM FETTY, a lad of eight years old, who was scourged to death in bishop Bonner's palace in London.

IF dying innocently in the cause of Christ and his religion constitutes the character of a martyr, no one can be more entitled to a place in our catalogue than this youth, who was unmercifully scourged to death, at the instigation of the relentless bishop Bonner.

Among those that were persecuted
and

and imprisoned for the profession of Christ's gospel, and yet delivered by the providence of God, was the father of the lad now under consideration.

He had been accused by his own wife to the minister of the parish, with absenting himself from church, the sacrament of the altar, confession and other ceremonies, for neglect of which, he was apprehended by one of the officers employed for that purpose.

Immediately on his apprehension, his wife was stricken mad; infomuch, that though they were regardless of him, pity towards that ungrateful woman, wrought upon them so sensibly, that for the sake of the preservation and support of her and her children, for that time, they would not trouble him, but suffered him to continue in his own house.

Notwithstanding the ingratitude of his wife, he cherished and provided for her in such a manner, that within the space of three weeks, by the blessing of God, she had in some measure recovered her senses.

But such was the influence of Satan over the mind of this wicked woman, that notwithstanding this instance of his conjugal affections, she laid a second information against him; upon which he was apprehended, and carried before Sir John Mordaunt, one of the Queen's commissioners, by whom, after examination, he was sent unto Lollard's Tower, where he was put into the painful stocks, and had a dish of water set by him with a stone in it, to point out to him, that he should expect very little other sustenance.

After John Fetty had lain in prison for the space of fifteen days, hanging in the stocks, some times by one leg and one arm, and sometimes by both; it happened that one of his children, (a boy about eight years old) came to the bishop's palace, in order to obtain leave to speak with his father.

On his approach, one of the bishop's chaplains met him, and asked his business. When the child told him, the chaplain asked, Who was his father? On which he pointed towards Lollard's Tower, intimating thereby, that his father was confined therein.

When the chaplain upbraided him with the appellation of heretic; the boy, who was of a bold and forward spirit, and had been instructed by the father in the reformed religion, answered, "My father is no heretic; but you have Balaam's mark."

The incensed priest upon this, took the child by the hand, and carried him into the bishop's palace, and there cruelly scourged him till he lay in a gore of blood, and then caused one of his servants to carry him in his shirt to his father, the blood running down to his heels.

When he approached his parent, he fell on his knees and craved his blessing. The poor man beholding his child in so dreadful a plight, sorrowfully exclaimed, Alas, son, who hath thus cruelly treated you? The boy replied, that seeking to find you out, a priest with Balaam's mark took me into the bishop's house, where I was thus treated.

The servant then violently plucked the

the child out of his father's hands, and carried him back to the bishop's palace, where they kept him three days; at the expiration of which, Bonner, to atone for such vile abuse and appease the poor man, determined to release him, and therefore ordered him early in the morning to be brought out of Lollard's Tower into his bed-chamber.

On his approach to the bishop's chamber, Fetty said, *God be here and peace* — “God be here and peace,” replied the bishop, *That is neither God speed, nor good-morrow.*

One of the bishop's chaplains standing by reviled him for what he had said; while Fetty looking about, and spying first a bundle of black beads, and afterwards a little crucifix, he said, As Christ is here handled, so you deal with Christ's chosen people.

The bishop then in great rage said, Thou art a vile heretic, and I will burn thee, or I will spend all that I possess. However, his passion cooled in time, and thinking of the consequences that might arise from scourging the child, he ordered him to be discharged.

Accordingly he returned home with the boy, who was a spectacle of horror, and died in fourteen days after he had been scourged, thro' an extraordinary effusion of blood, and a mortification, which unhappily ensued.

ALEXANDER GOUCH and ALICE DRIVER, who suffered Martyrdom at Ipswich in the County of Suffolk and Diocese of Norwich.

THESE two persons suspected of heresy, were apprehended by Mr. Noon, a justice of peace for the county, and sent to Melton Goal; afterwards brought before Dr. Spence, Chancellor of the diocese of Norwich, to be examined.

The chancellor asked Driver, what she said to the Sacrament of the Altar, whether she believed it to be very flesh and blood, after the words of consecration be spoken?

She answered, she found no such sacrament in the word of God, but granted she read there of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and desired them to tell her what a sacrament was.

The chancellor, and another doctor, told her, it was a sign of an holy thing.

She granted it so to be, but replied, that if it be a sign, then it could not be the thing signified also.

They said, the Almighty Power of God was able to make it his body.

She denied not the Almighty Power of God to perform whatever he promised; but he hath made no promise to make bread his body. But *he took Bread and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying, take, eat, this is my Body. Do this in remembrance of me.* And if the disciples had eaten up Christ's body over-night, he must have

had two bodies, for his body was crucified the next day.

There was much said about this matter, both at her first and second examination; but she utterly denied the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and for so doing was at length condemned as an heretick, and delivered to the secular power, in order to be executed.

ALEXANDER GOUCH, of Woodbridge in Suffolk, was examined at the same time and by the same persons, about the Sacrament of the Altar and other ceremonies of the Church of Rome.

He said, that his belief was, that Christ was ascended into Heaven, and there remained; and that the Sacrament was the remembrance of his death and passion.

He also rejected the mass, and denied the Pope to be the supreme head of Christ's Church on earth; and for his steadfast continuance in this his faith and opinion, he had sentence of condemnation given against him as an heretick, and was also delivered to the Secular Power to be put to death.

Upon the 4th of November 1558, Alexander Gouch and Alice Driver, were brought from Melton jail to Ipswich, which is about six miles, by seven o'clock in the morning. (Sir Henry Dodwell being High Sheriff.)

When they came to the stake, they sung psalms together, and then prayed, at which the sheriff was displeased, and bid the bailiffs of Ipswich speak to them to make an end.

Gouch then rose from his knees,

and said, pray, Mr. Sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here. But the bailiffs were bidden to have them to the fire.

Without farther delay, they were fastened to the stake; many took them by the hands, notwithstanding the sheriff's threatening, and fire being put to them, they joyfully resigned their souls to God in the midst of the flames.

There were also about the same time, and for the same cause, three men burned in the town of St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk, viz. Philip Humphry, John David, Henry David, his brother; but the particular account of their examination is not recorded.

There was a poor woman, the wife of one Priest, who dwelt near the town of Launceston, in the county of Cornwall, in the diocese of Exeter: she was about fifty-four years of age: her husband, and three children, were very zealous Papists, and she was wont to rebuke them for their superstition; yet they forced her sometimes to go to church, to follow in procession, and conform to their ceremonies, sorely against her will. Being troubled by her husband to act against her mind, she prayed to God for his assistance, took courage and left her husband for a time, and went about from place to place, getting her living by labour, and spinning: in a little time she returned back to her husband, and then was accused by some of her neighbours of heresy, and sent to Exeter to the bishop, whose name was Dr. Troubleville. The chief thing that was laid to her charge, was her speaking against the Sacrament of the Altar

Altar, and against images in churches, calling them idols.

When she came before the bishop, he reproved her for speaking against the sacrament of the Altar, which was a matter too high for her to meddle with, and that she had called it an idol.

She answered, there was never such an idol as your Sacrament is made of by your priests, and commanded to be worshipped by all men; whereas Christ commanded it to be eaten and drunk in remembrance of his most blessed passion, for our redemption.

Then the bishop said, hast thou not heard that Christ did say over the bread, *This is my body*, and over the cup, *This is my blood*?

The woman answered, Yes, he said so; but he meant that it is his body and blood not carnally, but sacramentally.

On the Bishop's telling her that she had heard this from some new preacher, or learned it from some ill book, and that she was deceived; the poor woman replied, no, my lord, what I have learned was from godly preachers, and godly books, and if you will give me leave, I will declare the reason why I will not worship the Sacrament; but you must bear with me, a poor woman.

Having obtained leave, she said, I will demand of you, whether you can deny your creed, which saith, that Christ sitteth at the right hand of his father, both body and soul, untill he come again to judgment? or, whether he be not there in Heaven, and makes intercession for us to God the Father?

If it be so, Christ is not here on Earth in a piece of bread. If he be not here and if he doth not dwell in temples made with hands, but in Heaven, why then do we seek him? if he did offer his body once for all, why make you a new offering? if Christ, with once offering himself, made all perfect, why do we with a false offering, make all imperfect? if he be to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, why do ye worship a piece of bread? if he be eaten and drunk in faith and truth, if his flesh be not profitable to be among us, why do ye say you make his body and flesh, and say it is profitable for body and soul? Alas! I am but a poor woman, but rather than I would do as ye do, I would live no longer.

Then she was delivered to the sheriff, and was led by the officers to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, called Sothenkey: and a great company of people went along with her. She was bound to the stake, and, with the flames of fire, in a little time consumed.

The agents and emissaries of the Church of Rome having thus filled the realm of England with blood and massacre, and spread the contagion of their pernicious doctrines and practices, at the expence of the lives of the true servants of the living God; who dared not to bow down to idols, nor would acknowledge any supremacy in matters of religion, but that of Christ Jesus the Lord, as we have shewn at large in the course of this work: we presume it will neither be unentertaining, nor unprofitable to our Christian readers, to shew them the manner in which they thought to extirpate Protestants, viz. by a Visitation to the Universities and ejection of all who professed or favoured the reformed religion.—This resolution was formed by Cardinal Poole, in consequence of a remonstrance from the See of Rome, of his too great lenity and remissness towards heretics, as they termed them, in this realm, where he was the Pope's Legate, and represented his Holiness: the parade of the ceremony will afford a very striking display of Popish pride and usurpation, and shew how far the genius of that religion differs from the known character of the meek, humble, and benevolent Jesus, whom we profess to be the author of our faith and captain of our salvation.

The order and manner of Cardinal Pool's Visitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking up, and burning the bones and books of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, January 7, 1559.

CARDINAL POOL, three years after his return into England, having somewhat withdrawn his mind from other affairs of the realm, and in all points established the Romish religion, began to have an eye to the University of Cambridge, which place, among others, seemed to need a speedy reformation.

To perform this charge were chosen Cutbert Scot, not long before consecrated bishop of Chester, Nicholas Ormanet an Italian, arch-priest of the people of Bodolon, in the diocese of Vernon, professed in both the laws, and bearing the name of the Pope's datary, Thomas Watson elected bishop of Lincoln, Christopherson elected bishop of Chichester, and Henry Cole provost of the college of Eton.

There was good cause why the matter was committed to these persons: for as touching Ormanet, it is well known that he was a man of much estimation with Julius the third, at that time bishop of Rome, and was appointed to come into England with Cardinal Poole, because without his knowledge (as in whom he put his chief trust and confidence) the bishop would have nothing done that was of any importance or weight.

These persons thus appointed (in the mean while as the visitors were addressing

dreſſing themſelves to their journey) ſent their letters with the cardinal's citation before to Dr. Andrew Perne then vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other commiſſioners aſſociate, commanding him to warn all the graduates of the univerſity, in their name to be in readineſs againſt the 11th day of January, betwixt eight and ten of the clock, in the church of St. Mary the Virgin: willing him eſpecially to be there himſelf in preſence, and alſo to ſet forward all the reſidue, to whoſe charge it belonged, that they ſhould ſearch out all ſtatutes, books, privileges, and monuments appertaining to the univerſity, or to any of the colleges, or finally to any of themſelves, and to preſent the ſame before them at the day appointed, and every man to appear there perſonally; for they would not fail being there at the ſame time, to lay before them ſuch things as ſhould ſeem moſt for the profit of the ſame, together with ſuch things as were to be done on their part, according as ſhould ſeem moſt agreeable to the degrees of the canon law.

This citation of the cardinal being brought to Cambridge by Mr. Bullock, was firſt exhibited in the convocation-houſe of regents, and there openly read by the orator of the univerſity the 11th of December.

After this, upon the 24th of December, which was Chriſtmas Eve, the vice-chancellor with the heads of the houſes, meeting together in the ſchools, it was there concluded, that the viſitors charges ſhould be born by the univerſity and colleges (which then coſt the univerſity an hundred pounds)

N^o II.

and alſo that no maſter of any college ſhould ſuffer any of the fellows, ſcholars, or miniſters, to go out of the town, but, on promiſe, to return before the viſitation.

On Friday the eighth of January, the queen's commiſſioners, Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, Dr. Sedgewicke, Dr. Harvey, Mr. Frank, Kuſt, and alſo Sir James Dyer the recorder, Mr. Chapman, and Evered ſitting together in the hall, ſome were there called by the appointment of L. Hawes, and charge given what ſhould be done.

Fiſt the commiſſion was read, then were all the high conſtables called to bring in their precepts, and ſworn.

Alſo two of every pariſh of ten or twelve hundreds, were ſworn to enquire of hereſy, lollardy, conſpiracy, ſeditious words, tales, and rumours againſt the king and queen.

Alſo heretical and ſeditious books, for negligences and miſdemeanors in the church, for obſervation of ceremonies, for ornaments, and ſtock of the church.

We ſaid at the firſt, that the cardinal thought the univerſity needed reformation. The reaſon was either becauſe the ſame of long continuance had caſt off the Biſhop of Rome, and cleaved to the wholeſome doctrine of the goſpel; or elſe, by reaſon that both for the late ſchiſm, not yet worn out of memory, and for the doctrine of Martin Bucer, who not long before openly in the ſaid univerſity interpreted holy ſcripture, they ſaw many corrupted with this infection, that (even as when fire is ſpread in a town) unleſs a ſpeedy remedy were applied, it were not

3 I.

poſ-

possible, in their opinion, to quench it may years after.

They also feared (if it were not looked to in time) lest this mischief should take root, and by little and little infect all the members which yet were found in the Catholic faith.

This was in the year 1556. To remedy therefore this evil, the inquisitors came to Cambridge the ninth day of January.

As they were on their journey, and far from the town, divers of the masters and presidents of the colleges met them, and waited on them, first into the town, and afterwards to their lodgings.

They were entertained in Trinity college by Mr. John Christopherson, master of the said house, and a little before elected bishop of Chichester.

Notwithstanding they were invited, some to one place, and some to another: Dr. Cole to the King's college, and Dr. Watson to St. John's; but whether it were for the acquaintance of Christopherson, or for the largeness of the house, which seemed most convenient for their purpose, they all took up their lodgings in the said college with him.

At their coming thither an oration was made by a fellow of the house, who in the name of all the rest, declared that they were most heartily welcome thither, and that he and his fellows gave them great thanks, that it had pleased their lordships to have so good opinion of them, as to choose their house especially to lodge in, whereby they had both encouraged them to

stand in hope of some further benevolence, and also done great honour to their college.

To this oration Dr. Watson made answer, that this forward and earnest good-will of theirs, in doing them such courtesy, was thankfully received, exhorting them to continue stedfastly in the same, and to proceed also when need should require: for it was so far from any of their thoughts, to stop them in this their race, that they would rather haste them forward, being not without good cause persuaded of their benevolence towards them, in as much as they would do for them, whatsoever might turn to their profit and advantage.

This day, nothing else was done; the next, being the tenth of January, they bestowed in refreshing themselves after their journey, and in setting other things in order.

Nevertheless, to the intent the same should not escape altogether without doing somewhat, they interdicted the two churches, namely, St. Mary's, where Mr. Bucer, and St. Michael's, where Paulus Phagius lay buried.

These men were dead a good while before, Paulus Phagius had scarce yet shewed proof of his learning, when he departed to God 1549.

Bucer lived but a little after; during which time somewhat by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly (wherein the old man, being painful in the word of God, never spared himself nor regarded his health) he brought all men into such admiration of him, that neither his friends could sufficiently praise him, nor his enemies in any

any point find fault with his singular life and sincere doctrine. A most certain token whereof may be his sumptuous burial, solemnized by the degrees of the university.

The whole manner and order of which, being written by Mr. Nicholas Carre, a learned man, in a little treatise to Sir John Cheeke knight, with an epistle full of consolation, as concerning his departure added thereunto, was sent afterward unto Peter Martyr, then residing at Oxford.

From the burial of Bucer and Phagius, unto the coming of these visitors, three or four years were passed.

And from the decease of king Edward the sixth unto that day, the priests celebrated their masses, and other kind of ceremonies in those places, and that without scruple of conscience, as far as men could perceive.

But after the time that these commissioners came hither, those things that before were accounted for sacred and holy, began to be denounced for prophane and unholy. For they commanded that all those assemblies that should hereafter be made for the executing of holy ceremonies, should be removed to the King's Chapel, which is a place far more stately than all the other.

Now arrived the 11th day, in which the vice-chancellor of the university, with the masters and presidents of colleges, and all the other graduates of every house, were commanded to appear before the said commissioners in their habits. It was commanded, that the scholars also should come in their

surplices, but that was not done.

They assembled in great numbers to Trinity college, having the university cross born before them, and in the Gatehouse a form was set and covered, with cushions and carpet on the ground for the visitors.

Where the vice-chancellor, having on a tissue cope, sprinkled holy-water on them, and purposed to incense them, but they refused it there, which notwithstanding afterward in the Queen's college, and elsewhere, they refused not.

Here Mr. John Stokes, common orator of the university, made a Latin oration in the name of all the rest: a copy whereof, now rendered into English here follows:

*Mr. Stokes's Oration to Queen Mary's
Visitors at Cambridge, January.
11, 1557.*

THIS university, most reverend fathers, has been a long time solicitous about your coming, now greatly pleased freely beholds your honours; and as a testimony of her willingness, pours out herself and all her treasures. Assembled here see all the Cambridge scholars, all orders present, who I assure your lordships upon my own knowledge, one and all congratulate your much wished arrival. For we are all persuaded, that the business of this day, through God's assistance, and your excellencies, will prove auspicious to the common benefit of this university; nor, in a matter so necessary to the common good, will your help be wanting.

And

And by many things I am confirmed in this opinion, but I shall mention only those that so nearly relate to the business in hand, that they cannot possibly be omitted; and these truly in number are certain and finite, but in their virtue and power so immense, that no faculty of speech is able to express; because, as I said before, the joy this university received from your coming was very great, I beseech you, while briefly I relate the manner, to grant a favourable ear.

The most reverend father in Christ, Cardinal Poole, Legate, who had restored oppressed religion, supported the ruins of his country, brought back from exile our laws, he, I say, that English Poole, and our true Moses, was the author of your visitation, from whose excellent virtue many blessings have redounded to all parts of his country.

Yet there was a stricter and nearer cause than the bond of necessity, seeing we were part of that republick, which he had separately taken the government on himself. For the year before he most kindly took on himself the government of this university, which he managed with so much prudence, that he not only removed what might impede our studies, but also added such ornaments, as greatly increased the glory of our university: these things confirmed our former hopes, and now brings so fresh to our minds, that we cannot chuse but think all his kindness to be collected in this visitation, from which we expect all those things which the remarkable love of our great chancellor, who looked on

our university as his proper pupil, promised.

And I wish truly that he himself, was it not detrimental to the publick, could have been here at this time; that he with his rays might have illuminated his university, involved in darkness and a profound night, with the glory of the true religion. But this our desire is repugnant to the public good, and the interest of the most holy apostolic see: the legate therefore has appointed you his substitutes, whose persons for worth, and whose minds for knowledge, he judged most fit for this employment: I can therefore assure you truly, we all esteem you, as men whose religion we love, virtue we honour, and on whose good will, belief and counsel for the public good we depend on.

For after by the singular and extraordinary virtue of the legate, Cardinal Pool, from the darkness and night of former times, we began to review the light in public, together with a clearer sight of our former unhappiness, to the greatness of which our ignorance of it contributed not a little; for, in my opinion, we ought to be accounted so much the more miserable, who labouring under so damnable an heresy, yet saw not the danger we were in.

This was the disease of our university which however sharp-sighted other ways, in this case of religion, the head of the church being hurt, (whence springs all the power of judging) became stupid, lethargick, and as it were without any sense; till about three years ago, the divine compassion
of

of the most holy father Julius, to us English almost dead, again incorporated us in his most holy church, again restored health to our bodies, and peace to our minds.

How easy was it then for Britannia to see how near she had approached the jaws of Hell, this university especially plainly discerned, how one nation was miserably afflicted with this desolation and schism of religion.

There is no need here to repeat the dissolution of the monasteries, the robbing the church, the staying the priests, the murdering the nobles, the riots and tumults of the people, the impoverishing the whole kingdom, these things might possibly happened and we blameless, but here the judgment was so remarkable, that we must needs look on it as a punishment for our sins and wickednesses.

But granting these things only the sport of chance, we suffered worse in our religion and conscience. Piety towards God was vanished, the chastity of the priests was turned into open prostitution, the soul lay as it were asleep, no religious ceremonies to awaken it; the mind by the variety of opinions so distracted, so differing from itself, that it embraced an infinity of errors, among which there were two principal fountains, of the streams of which this university drinking a little too much, we confess became intoxicated.

The first owed its birth from the unnatural separation from the unity of the Catholic church, not unlike what of old Menenius Agrippa mentions of the members and the belly.

N^o XII.

The second arose from Wickliffe's mud and mire, which made the celebration of the sacrament of the altar an abomination.

For the truth of which let any man consult himself: for we imitating philosophers, and those none of the best, have borrowed a light to the scriptures from the school of the Epicureans. For whereas Christ (in the truth of whose words is placed the foundation of our faith) affirms every where, distinctly, and without exception, the true and perpetual presence of his body, yet we are truly to interpret these expressions as if they were imperfect, or had another meaning, unless we had recourse to the atomes of Epicurus, and that the true body and blood of Christ was only as it were the body and blood.

But this is not a time to make particular mention of all the things that have past, no, I rather wish they could be eternally forgot, that no remembrance of them might be handed down to our posterity. Yet I thought myself obliged to say something in the general, as a confession of our past errors: still remembering, that as this university received her wounds from her former visitors, so from you here present she may be restored to her former health. And here she promises both for herself and hers, by her unwearied preaching of repentance, to bring back to the true religion all her erring children, and make them so diligent in the present, as to redeem the time past. For they that are first in this race, contend so earnestly, as makes it plainly appear they voluntarily entered

3 K

it;

it ; and they that came in last, and as it were at the eleventh hour, shew such zeal for their religion, as well witnesses they left it rashly, and not on mature judgment and deliberation ; our university thus restored, the desired religion seems more to please, than had her precepts been constantly obeyed, and her glory never obscured.

Wherefore this university suppliant and prostrate, first begs pardon and peace of the eternal God, and that he will preserve the right faith of her and hers, and cause this university once more to flourish and abound. Then for her and hers, all and singular she offers this petition to your highnesses, that the industry of her present sons may make amends for the errors and offences of her former. For the rest she submits wholly to the sentence your great wisdom and singular love shall pronounce, hoping your justice will find her cause good, or your mercy make it so : Either will be an equal benefit, whether you judge this university innocent from the justice of her cause, or whether you make her so by the abundance of your love.

Now to return you thanks, we again promise you, the greatest regard to things sacred, unwearied diligence in searching the scriptures and fathers, a perpetual love of the true religion, and an eternal remembrance of your favours.

When he made an end of speaking, the bishop of Chester answered thereunto :

That they took in right good part, that the mother university had made so open a declaration of her good will to-

wards them ; for which he gave most hearty thanks, desiring her to perform in deed, the things that she had so largely promised of herself in words.

As concerning their good wills, there was no cause to mistrust, for their coming thither was not to deal roughly with such as were willing to amend, but both the cardinal himself, and they also, were fully minded to shew favour, devising how to bring all things to peace and tranquility, desiring nothing more earnestly, than that they which have erred and gone astray, should return into the right path.

The right reverend father, the lord cardinal, whom he wished to have been present, wished the same thing also, desiring nothing so much as with his own hands to sustain and hold up, now ready to fall, or rather to raise up already fallen to the ground, the university of his ward ; for he gladly taketh upon him the name and duty of her guardian, whom it greatly grieved, that the infections of the time past had spread abroad so grievous diseases, that even the university itself was touched with the contagious air thereof.

He would more gladly have come hither to visit and salute it, than to correct it, if the weighty affairs of the realm would have permitted : but now seeing he could not so do, he had appointed this commission, in which he had assigned them to be his deputies, which (because they knew him to regard the university) should extend the more favour to it, and (because they themselves had been there brought up) would the more earnestly embrace it.

The chief matter that they came for,

for, tended to this end, that such as had erred should confess their faults, and return into the right way. For they were in good forwardness of returning, that acknowledged themselves to have offended; and therefore it was wisely propounded on his part, that he would not altogether excuse the faults of the university, nor of other men, but confess and acknowledge the crime, as that there were many things had need to be corrected.

The cause why they were sent thither, was to raise up them that were fallen, and to receive into favour such as were sorry and would amend, wherein, if (contrary to their expectation) they should not be able to do so much with some men as they would, yet notwithstanding, according to their duty, they would shew themselves so diligent for their part, as that no defect might be found in them: for it was more openly known, than that it could be denied, that many men did divers things of a forward wilfulness, wherewith as they were greatly moved and grieved, so they coveted to remedy the mischief; against such, if any thing should seem hereafter to be streightly determined, it was to be imputed to their own deserts, and not to their desire.

Neither ought such as are whole and sound, to be moved at the chastisement of others, forsomuch as it pertained not only to the wiping out of the foul blot which now branded the university, but also to the health of many others which had taken much hurt by the infection of them. For their own

parts, they more inclined unto mercy than rigour.

Howbeit, considering that so great diseases could not by gentle medicines be healed, they were driven of necessity to use stronger. And yet if they would be contented to be brought again to their right minds, which thing they chiefly coveted (for they wished that all should amend and be led by wholesome counsel) and would yet at length wax weary of their errors, and instead of them frequent again the ancient customs of themselves, and of their forefathers, they might boldly look for all kind of humanity and gentleness at their hands, in all this their business of reformation, which they had now entered and begun, requesting no more of the university but to do as became them; which being performed, he promised that their benevolence, neither in any publick nor private person's case, should in any wise be wanting.

These things being finished, they were brought in procession to the King's college, by all the graduates of the university, where was sung a mass of the Holy Ghost with great solemnity, nothing being wanting in that behalf that might make to the setting forth of the same.

In this place it was marked, that Nicholas Ormanet, commonly firnamed Datary (who albeit he was inferior in estate unto Chester being a bishop, yet was superior to them all in authority) while the mass was celebrating, sometimes standing, anon sitting, and afterwards kneeling on his knees,

knees, observed certain ceremonies, which afterwards were required to be observed of all others, as in process hereof was to be seen.

From thence they all attended upon the legates to St. Mary's church, which we declared before to have been interdicted. In which place, forasmuch as it was suspended, although no mass might be sung, yet there was a sermon publickly preached by Mr. Peacock in the Latin tongue, preaching against heresies and hereticks, as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, &c. Which being ended, they immediately proceeded to the visitation: where first Dr. Harvy did, in the cardinal's name, exhibit the mission to the bishop of Chester with a few words in Latin; which being accepted, and by Master Clerk openly read to the end, then the vice-chancellor with an oration did exhibit the certificate under his seal of office with the cardinal's citation annexed, containing every man's name in the university and colleges, with the officers and all the masters of houses; among whom was also Robert Brassey, master of the King's college, a worthy old man, both for his wisdom and his hoary hairs: Who hearing his own name recited next after the vice-chancellor's, said, He was there present as all the others were; nevertheless, forasmuch as the reformation of his house was wholly reserved to the discretion of the bishop of Lincoln, not only by the king's letters patent, but also by grant of confirmation from the bishop of Rome himself, under a penalty if he should suffer any strangers to intermeddle, he openly protested, in dis-

charge of his duty, that unless their commission gave them authority and jurisdiction over the college, either by express words, or manifest sense, he utterly exempted himself from being present.

This his exception they all took in great displeasure; alledging that they were fully authorized for the order of the matter by the cardinal, out of whose jurisdiction no place nor persons was exempted; wherefore he had done evil to call into question their authority, so well known to all men.

The bishop of Chester seemed to be more moved with the matter than all the others; and that was because Brassey had a little before obtained the respect of that room, even utterly against his will, he doing the worst he could against him.

After this formal solemnity, the commission being read, and the citation exhibited, all the masters of houses being openly cited, every man for a while departed home to his own house, with command to be at the common schools of the said university, at one of the clock the same day.

When the degrees of the university, commonly called regents and non-regents, were assembled thither, they spent the rest of the day in reading over the charters granted to the university by kings and princes, in searching out of bulls and pardons from the Pope, and in perusing of other monuments pertaining to the university.

The next day, being the 12th of January, they resorted to the King's college to make inquisition, either because the same was chief, or else be-
cause

cause that house especially before all others, had been accounted, time out of mind, never to be without an heretick (as they termed them) or more; and at that present time, albeit that many now of late had withdrawn themselves from thence, yet they judged there were some still remaining.

The order and manner in which they would be received by every college, when they should come to make inquisition, they themselves appointed to be as follows.

They commanded the master of every house, together with the residue, as well fellows as scholars, apparelled in priest-like garments (which they call habits) to meet them at the farthest gate of their house towards the town. The master himself to be dressed in like apparel as the priest when he dresseth himself to celebrate mass, saying that he should put on uppermost his habit, as the rest did.

The order of their procession they appointed to be in this manner: The master of the house to go foremost; next unto him every man in his order, as he was of degree, seniority, or of years. Before the master should be carried a cross and holy water to sprinkle the commissioners withal, and then after that the said commissioners to be censured. And so after this meeting, and mumbling a few devotions, they determined with this pomp and solemnity to be brought to the chapel.

Many thought they took more honour upon them than belonged to the state of man. Others (forasmuch as at that time they not only pretended the jurisdiction of the cardinal, but also

N^o 12.

represented the power and authority of the bishop of Rome himself, who was accounted to be more than a mortal man) said: It was far less than of duty appertained to his holiness, in that the honour that was done to his legates, was not done to them, but to his holiness.

Now was the hour come, at which they appointed to meet: and being entered the King's-college gate, where they looked for the master and fellows of the house, seeing no man came to meet them, they proceeded to the church door, where they stayed. There perceiving how the master and the rest of the house were dressing themselves as fast as they could, in such order as was appointed before, they came in suddenly upon them, before they had set a foot out of their places.

The master first excused himself, that he was ready no sooner, acknowledging that it had been his duty to have been in readiness. He said he was very glad of their coming, promising first in his own name, and after in the name of all the rest, as much reverence as might be, in all matters concerning their common utility, which he doubted not but should be performed at their hands, according to his expectation. But, like as he had done the other day in St. Mary's church, the same exception he made to them now: which he besought them not to be offended withal. For seeing he did it only for the discharge of his duty, he had juster cause to be excused.

He had scarcely yet finished his apology, when the bishop of Chester with a frowning look, and angry countenance,

nance, interrupted him; and said, he needed not to repeat the things he had protested before, nor they to make answer any more to those things wherein they had sufficiently informed him before. He rather feared, that their quarrel was not good, that they made such ado about it, and sought such vain pretences; for so were diseased persons oftentimes wont to do, when for the pain and grief they are not able to abide a strong medicine: as though any man were able to grant so strong a privilege, as to withstand the Pope's authority. As for the Pope's letters, he said, they must needs make on his side, and with such as were with him, and could not in any wise be alledged against him: therefore he admonished him to desist from his unprofitable altercation, and to conform himself, and his, to such things as then were doing.

After this they went to mass, which finished, with great solemnity; first they went to the high altar of the church, and having there saluted their God, and searched whether all were well about them, they walked through all the inner chapels of the church. The church goods, the crosses, the chalices, the mass-books, the vestments, and whatsoever ornaments were besides, were commanded to be brought out to them.

When they had sufficiently viewed all things, and had called forth by name every fellow and scholar of the house, they went to the master's lodging, where first and foremost swearing them upon a book, to answer to all such interrogatories as should be pro-

pounded unto them (as far as they knew) they examined first the master himself, and afterward all the residue, every man in his turn. But there were some that refused to take this oath, because they had given their faith to the college before, and also because they thought it again all right and reason to swear against themselves: For it was contrary to all law, that a man should be compelled to bewray himself, and not be suffered to keep his conscience free, when there is no manifest proof to be laid to his charge; but much more unjust it is, that a man should be constrained perforce to accuse himself.

Nevertheless these persons also, after such altercation, at length (conditionally, that their faith given before to the college were not impeached thereby) were contented to be sworn.

Three days lasted the inquisition there. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the case of Martin Bucer and Phagius, was delayed longer than needed; for they expected to have had much wrangling and dissention about the matter.

Now forasmuch as the present state of the case required good deliberation and advice, the vice-chancellor and the masters of the colleges assembled at the common schools, where every man gave his verdict what he thought meet to be done in this matter of Bucer: after much debate, they agreed all together in this determination.

That forasmuch as Martin Bucer, while he lived, had not only sowed pernicious and erroneous doctrine among

mong them, but also had himself been a sectary and famous heretick, erring from the Catholic church, and giving others occasion to fall from the same likewise; a supplication should be made to the lords commissioners, in the name of the whole university, that his dead carcase might forthwith be digged up (for it was needful to be done) to the intent that inquisition might be made as touching his doctrine, which being brought in examination, if it were not found to be good and wholesome, the law might proceed against him: For it was against the rule of the holy canons, that his body should be buried in Christian burial. Yea, and besides that it was to the open derogation of God's honour, and the violating of his holy laws, with the great peril of mens souls, and the offence of the faithful, especially in so difficult and contagious a time as that was.

Wherefore it was not to be suffered, that they which utterly dissented from all other men in the manner of their living, laws, and customs, should have any part with them in the honour of burial: and therefore the glory of God, first and before all things, ought to be defended, the infamy (which through this thing riseth on them) with all speed put away, no room at all left unto those persons to rest in, who even in the same places where they lay, were injurious and noisome to the very element; but the place ought to be purged, and all things so ordered as might be to the satisfying the consciences of the weak. In executing whereof so notable an ex-

ample ought to be given to all men, that no man hereafter should be so bold to attempt the like.

They gave the same verdict by common consent against Phagius also.

Unto this writing they annexed another, by which they lawfully authorized Andrew Perne the vice-chancellor, to be the common censor for the university.

He was a man fittest for the purpose, both for the office that he bare, and also because that by the testimony of Mr. Christopherson, he was judged to be the most Catholic of all others.

This supplication, confirmed by the consent of all the degrees of the university, and signed with their common seal, the next day, which was the 13th day of January, the vice-chancellor put up to the commissioners.

Here may be observed, what a feat of conveyance this was, to suborn the university under a colourable pretence, to desire this thing of them by way of petition.

But this gloss was soon found out; for the commissioners had given the vice-chancellor instructions in writing before; but now they thought by this to remove the envy of this act from themselves.

Thus the vice-chancellor came to the commissioners, according to the appointment made the day before, about seven of the clock in the morning.

He had scarce declared the cause of his coming, before he informed them that he had not only obtained his suit, but also at the very same time received sentence of condemnation, for taking
up

up Bucer and Phagius, fairly copied out by Ormanet himself.

This was to be confirmed by the consent of the degrees of the university; whereupon a solemn convocation, called Congregatio Regentium & non Regentium, for the same purpose was appointed to be held at nine of the clock; where the graduates being assembled together, the demand was propounded concerning the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, and the grace asked, which was this:

Pleaseth it you that Martin Bucer, for the heresies now recited, and many others by him written, preached and taught, wherein he died without repentance, and was buried in Christian burial, may be taken up again, &c.

Immediately after this grace was granted the sentence of condemnation being drawn, was openly read, and another grace asked, that the same might be signed with the common seal; which request was very easily obtained.

After the death of king Edward, when the realm was governed by Queen Mary, all such persons were driven away as had rejected the Romish religion, and such a sort of men were put in their room, that all places now filled with unlearned chaplains; whom nothing afforded greater pleasure, than to cause all men to speak reproachfully of Bucer.

There were divers yet left among them to speak against their demands. But they (because as it commonly comes to pass, that they might overcome right) could nothing avail. For this is a common custom in all such matters and ordinances, that what the

greater number decreeth, is published in the name of all: and that which the better part disalloweth, seem as though no man at all disallowed it.

The next day being the 14th of January, all the visitors (Mr. Christopher only excepted) came to the King's-college: where first going into the church, and there making their prayers, they proceeded into the stalls, there sitting all the mass time, the company standing in their order, and singing a solemn respond in honour of the visitors.

The respond done, the provost made them his protestation, unto whom the bishop of Chester answered in Latin, declaring that he could not perceive to what purpose his protestation was, notwithstanding they would accept it.

Then went they to mass, which ended, the Catholic visitors approached to the altar, took down the sacrament, and searched the Pyx, but first the two bishops censured the sacrament.

Then they went to the vestry, and opened the chalices, viewed all the utensils: and so returning into the provost's chamber, divided themselves in examination of the provost, vice-provost, and the rest of the company.

The same day Dr. Bacon master of Gonvil-hall, invited the vice-chancellor, Dr. Young, Dr. Harvey, Swineborn, Maptide, with others, home to dinner.

These immediately after dinner caused the common seal of the university to be put to the aforesaid instrument of condemnation, according as was determined the day before by the general consent of the graduates of the univer-

university; and afterwards they carried the same to the commissioners to their lodging.

When they had received and carefully perused the same it pleased them not in all points, and therefore they raised out some things, some they interlined, others they changed; so that in fine, they were fain to take the pains to ingross it again.

To the signing whereof a congregation was immediately called of the graduates of the university against the next day, which being read over, a new grace again was asked and granted for setting the seal. The graduates were then dismissed, with command to resort forthwith to St. Mary's church, whither the commissioners repaired.

When they had taken their places, Dr. Harvey presented to them before all the company, a new commission to make inquest upon heresy then newly sent from the cardinal, which was immediately read by Ormanet's clerk. This done, Dr. Perne, who was Censor for the university, exhibited to the commissioners in the name of the university, the sentence of the aforesaid condemnation.

This condemnation being openly read, Dr. Perne desired to send out process to cite Bucer and Phagius to appear, or any other that would take upon them to plead their cause, and to stand to the order of the court against the next Monday: to the intent that when they had appeared, the court might the better determine what ought to be done to them by order of law.

The commissioners condescended to
N^o 12.

his request, and the next day process was issued to cite the offenders. This citation Vincent of Noally their common notary, having first read it over before certain witnesses appointed for the same purpose, caused it to be fixed up in convenient places, viz. upon St. Mary's church door, the door of the common schools, and the cross in the market-place of the same town. In this was specified, that whosoever would maintain, should at the eighteenth day of the month stand forth before the lords commissioners in St. Mary's church, which was the appointed place of judgment, and there every man should be sufficiently heard.

Shortly after the matter drew toward judgment; therefore the day before the limited time, which was the 17th of January, the vice chancellor called to Dr. Young, Dr. Sedgwick, and with them Bullock, Taylor, Parker, Redman, Whitlock, Mitch, and certain others. These men laid their heads together how they might bear witness against Bucer and Phagius, to convince them of heresy; for seeing the matter was brought into open court, and because it might so come to pass that some patrons of their cause would come out, they thought it needful to have witnesses to depose of their doctrine.

The eighteenth day the vice chancellor going to the inquisitors sitting at the King's college, put them in remembrance, that that was the day in which by their process sent forth the 16th, they had commanded to appear in St. Mary's church, such as would take upon them to defend Bucer and
3 M Phagius

Phagius by the law. They soon consented, and when the vice-chancellor had brought them thither, he exhibited to them the process of the citation which he had received of them to publish a little before, saying, that he had diligently executed whatsoever the contents of the same required. After that they had taken their places, and no man offering to answer for the offenders, the judges called aside Dr. Young, Sedgwick, Bullock, Taylor, Maptide, Hunter, Parker, Redman, above-mentioned. Also Brown, Gogman, Rud, Johnson, Mitch, Raven, and Carre, who had before written out the burial of Bucer, with a singular commendation of him, and sent it to Sir John Cheek, knight. These men taking first their oath upon a book, were commanded to bear witness against the heresies and doctrines of Bucer and Phagius. The twenty-second day of the same month was limited to this jury to bring in their verdict.

In the mean while, Ormanet and Dr. Watson abode at home to take the deposition. The bishop of Chester, and Dr. Cole, this day visited Katherine-hall, where, as far as could be learned, nothing was done worthy of notice.

As Ormanet was sitting at Trinity-college, John Dale, one of the Queen's college, came to him, whom he had commanded before to bring with him the pix, wherein the bishop of Rome's God of bread is wont to be inclosed. Ormanet told them he had a precious jewel; the same was a linen clout that the Pope had consecrated with his

own hands, which he promised to bestow upon them for a gift; but Dale misunderstanding Ormanet, instead of the pix brought a chalice and a singing cake, called the host, which he had wrapped up and put in his bosom.

When he was come, Ormanet demanded if he had brought him the thing he sent him for; he answered, he had. Then give it me, said he. Dale pulled out the chalice, and the singing-cake; when Ormanet saw that he stepped somewhat back, as it had been in a wonder, calling him block-head, and little better than a madman, demanding what he meant by those things? saying, he desired him to bring none of that trumpery, and that he was unworthy to enjoy so high a benefit: yet notwithstanding as he had promised before to give it them, he would perform his promise; whereupon with great reverence and ceremony he pulled out the linen cloth and laid it in the chalice, and the bread with it, commanding them both for the holiness of the thing, and also for the author of it, to keep it among them with such due reverence as belonged to so holy a relick.

About the same time the commissioners had commanded the masters of the colleges, that every man should set down in writing what books he had, with the authors names. And to the intent that every man should execute it without deceit, they took an oath. This command some executed exactly and diligently; others, as they deemed it unjust, executed it negligently.

When

When the day of judgment came, neither Bucer nor Phagius would appear at their call in the court, yet the courteous commissioners would not proceed to judgment; which nevertheless for their contumacy in absenting themselves, they might have done, considering how that day was peremptorily fixed upon. But these men, being bent altogether to equity and mercy, had rather shew some favour, than to do the uttermost they might by law. Whereupon Vincent published the second process, and set it up in the same places: the meaning thereof varied not much from the first, but that it put off the judgment day unto the 26th of the same month; upon which day the vice-chancellor was sent for to their lodging, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publishing the sentence. But because there should want no solemnity in the matter, they commanded him further to warn the mayor of the town to be there at the day appointed with all his burgeses, which the vice-chancellor did speed with all readiness.

This was the 26th of January, which being now arrived, first all degrees of the mother university were assembled; and to fill up this pageant, thither came also the mayor and his townsmen, and all met together in St. Mary's church, to behold what there should be determined upon these men. After long attendance, the commissioners came forth, and went up to a scaffold that was somewhat higher than the residue prepared for the same purpose. When they had taken their places, Dr. Perne the vice-

chancellor, with great gravity, reached to them the process that was lately published to cite them in these words; I bring forth again to you, right reverend father, and commissioners of the most reverend my lord cardinal Poole, this citation executed according to the purport and effect of the same; omitting nothing for his part that might make to the commendation of this matter.

When he had thus finished his tale, the bishop of Chester, after he had viewed the people a little, began in the following manner.

The Oration of Dr. Scot Bishop of Chester, before the Condemnation of Bucer and Phagius.

YE see how sore the university presseth upon us, how earnest intercession it maketh unto us, not only to denounce Bucer and Phagius, which these certain years past have spread most pernicious doctrine among you, to be hereticks, as they be indeed; but also that we will command their dead carcasses, which unto this day have obtained honourable burial among you, to be digged up; and as it is excellently ordained by the canon law, to be cast into the fire, or whatsoever is more grievous than fire, if any can be. For the degrees of the university deal not slightly nor slackly with us in this case, but do so press upon us, and follow the suit so earnestly, that they scarce give us any respite of delay. And I assure you, albeit this case of itself be such, as that even the unworthiness of those persons, though they were

were no further cause, ought to induce us to the doing thereof, much the rather moved with these so wholesome petitions, it is meet and convenient we should grant it. For howsoever we of ourselves are inclined to mercy in our hearts (than which we protest there is nothing under the sun to us more dear and acceptable) yet notwithstanding the very law riseth up to revenge: so that the common salvation of you all, which the law provideth for, must be preferred before the private charity of our minds. Neither ought any such negligence to overtake us for our parts, that we, being scarce yet escaped out of the shipwreck of our former calamity, should now suffer this unexpiable mischief to disquiet any longer the consciences of the weak.

Moreover, it is but reason that we should do somewhat at so earnest intreaty and suit of the university. I need not to speak much of ourselves. For if we had been desirous to enterprize this matter, it had been lawful after the first citation, to have proceeded to judgment: but because we were willing that their defenders should be heard, and that the matter should be denounced and tried by law, we sent out the second process.

If we had desired revenge, we might have shewed cruelty upon them that are alive; of which (alas the more the pity) there are too many that embrace this doctrine. If we thirsted for blood, it was not so to be fought in withered carcasses and dry bones. Therefore ye may well perceive, it was no part of our wills that we now

came hither; but partly induced at the intreaty of the university, partly moved with the unworthiness of the case itself, but especially for the care and regard we have of your health and salvation, which we covet by all means to preserve.

For you yourselves are the cause of this business; you gave occasion of this confession, among whom this day ought to be a notable example, to remain as a memorial to them that shall come after, as in that which we may learn not only to shake off the filth which we have taken of those persons, but also to beware hereafter that ye fall no more so shameful as ye have done. But I trust, God will defend you, and give you minds to keep yourselves from it.

As concerning the parties themselves whose cause now hangeth in law, they bear about the name of the gospel, whereas indeed they wrought nothing else than thievery and deceit. And so much the more wicked were they, in that they sought to cover so shameful acts, with the cloak of so fair and holy a name. Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that God will punish this despite, of itself wicked, to you pernicious, but the authors thereof shameful and abominable.

But if God, as he is slow to wrath and vengeance, will wink at it for a time, yet notwithstanding if we, upon whom the charge of the Lord's flock leaneth, should permit so execrable crimes to escape unpunished, we should not live in quiet one hour.

When he had thus spoken, he recited the sentence out of a scroll, and condemned

condemned Bucer and Phagius of heresy; the form and tenor of which sentence, now rendered into English, here followeth.

The Sentence of Condemnation against Martin Bucer and Phagius.

WE Cutbert, by the grace of God and the apostolic see, bishop of Chester, Nicholas Ormanet archbishop of Vercna, within the diocese underwritten, auditor of the reverend lord cardinal and legate; Thomas Watson dean of Durham; and Henry Cole, provost of Eton college; visitors to the university and town of Cambridge, within the diocese of Ely, also to all persons dwelling in the said town and places adjacent, for certain motions, causes and reasons thereunto moving, we are to enquire, and in what manner we think fit to proceed against those, who have run into vile heresies, and condemn their memory; we are empowered by letter from the most illustrious and reverend father in Christ, Riginald Pool, cardinal and priest of the most holy Roman church, legate de Latere from our most holy lord the Pope, and the apostolic see, to the most serene Philip and Mary, king and queen of England, and to the whole kingdom, to depute commissioners of delegates, sufficiently instructed in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, and having the fear of God before their eyes, to constitute a court, and by this our definitive sentence, which we give according to the opinion of the most learned divines and lawyers, herein contained, to condemn those sons of iniquity, Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, by nation Germans, but both

N^o 12.

of old living and dying in this own, whom we here declare, pronounce, judge and condemn as notorious hereticks, whilst they lived; for truly Martin Bucer contrary to the rules and precepts of the holy fathers, as also to the traditions of the apostolick Roman church and holy councils, and of the Christian religion, those rites and processions (which are every year on the day of the supper of our Lord celebrated and read by the Roman priests, in which among others the Wickliffians and Lutherans, and all other hereticks are condemned and anathematized) of the sacraments having continued in the church hitherto, he especially taught and preached about the number of them, contrary to what our holy mother the church had preached and observed: and he denied and openly condemned the authority of the holy apostolic see, and the supremacy of our great high-priest, and he especially held this article.

“That the church may err in faith and worship.”

This he particularly defended in the public assemblies, and there maintained and determined it to be true, and many others as well by John Wickliffe, Martin Luther, and other chief heretics invented and condemned by the church, especially that,

“That all things were governed by fate and an absolute necessity.”

As by himself first broached, believing and following false and heretical principles, and moreover also writing

3 N.

books

books, and causing them to be printed, and publishing them being printed, and in reading these writings publickly, and defending them in publick disputations, as also by an obstinate living and dying in this manner, not only as a notorious heretick, but as a founder of heresy.

Also Paul Phagius, who among other things which favour of heresy, scattered up and down in his writings, printed and commonly read, not only approves, but gives the highest encomiums to the impious memory of John Oecolampade, the aforesaid Martin Bucer, Philip Melancthon, John Brent and their doctrines; which manifestly shews, he not only favoured hereticks, but assented, believed and approved their false principles, and endeavoured to induce others to believe and approve the same: thus he lived a common, notorious heretick, and died impenitent. We therefore pronounce the said Martin Bucer and Paul Phagius excommunicated and anathematized, as well by the common law, as by letters process, and that their memory be condemned; we also condemn their bodies and bones (which in that most wicked time of schism, and other heresies flourishing in this kingdom, were rashly buried in holy ground) to be dug up, and cast far from the church, that they may be known from the bodies and bones of the faithful according to the holy canons, and we command that they and their writings, if any be there found, be publickly burnt; and we interdict all persons whatsoever of this university, town or places adjacent, who shall read or conceal their heretical books, as well by the common law, as by our letters of process.

The sentence thus read, the bishop commanded their bodies to be digged out of their graves, and being degraded from holy orders, delivered them into the hands of the secular power. For it was not lawful for such innocent persons as they were, abhorring all bloodshed, and detesting all desire of murder, to put any man to death.

The Effect of Dr. Perne's Sermon against Martin Bucer.

Besides this oration and sentence of Dr. Scot, came in also Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, with his sermon tending to the same effect, to the disgrace of Mr. Bucer, taking for his text the place of the 133d psalm, *Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is, &c.*

Beginning with the commendation of concord, and of the mutual consent of minds, he alledged, that it was not possible to hold together, unless the concord were derived from the head, which he made to be the bishop of Rome, and that it also rested in the same.

After he had made a long protestation hereof, he passed forth to Bucer, upon whom he shamefully railed, saying, that his doctrine gave occasion of division in the common-wealth, and that there was not so grievous a mischief, which by his means had not been brought into the realm.

Although all men might perceive by the books he had compiled, what manner of doctrine it was; notwithstanding

ing said he, he knew it more perfectly himself than any, and that he had learned it apart at the author's hand himself :

For at such time as they had communication secretly among themselves, Bucer (said he) would oftentimes wish he might be called by some other name, than by the name he had ; for this purpose, as though knowing himself guilty of so grievous a crime, he might by this means escape unknown unto the world.

Among other things, he told how Bucer believed (which thing he should confess to himself) that God was the author, not only of good, but also of evil ; which doctrine he held to be sincere ; howbeit, for offending divers mens consciences, he durst not put it forth.

Many other things he patched together of like purport, as of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, of the marriage of priests, of divorcements and shameful usury, as tho' he had deemed the same lawful to be used among Christian people, with divers others of the like sort.

In all his allegations, considering how scandalously, without all shame, he belied Bucer (as his writings evidently declare) he did not so much hurt his name, as gain himself disgrace, by forging shameful lies upon so worthy a man.

But what needeth witness to prove him a liar ? his own conscience shall make as much against him, as a number of men.

It was reported for a truth, and tes-

tified by his own familiar friends, that the said Dr. Perne himself, either immediately after his sermon or else somewhat before, striking himself on the breast, wished in his own house, with all his heart, that God would grant his soul might even then presently depart and remain with Bucer's. For he knew well enough that his life was such, that if any man's soul was worthy of heaven, he thought his especially to be most worthy.

While he was thus talking to the people, the leaves of the church doors were covered over with verses, in which the young men blazed Bucer's name most reproachfully.

These things being dispatched, Dr. Perne (as tho' he had succeeded marvellously well) was invited to dinner to Trinity-college by the commissioners.

After table was taken up, they caused the sentence of condemnation to be copied out with all speed : which being signed with the bishop of Chester's seal, the next day was sent to London, with divers of those verses and slanderous libels.

Besides this, they sent their own letters, wherein they both acquainted the cardinal how far they had proceeded in that matter, and also desired his grace, that he would cause to be sent out of hand to Smith, the mayor of the town, the commandment called a writ, for the burning of heretic : for unless he had the queen's warrant to save him harmless, he would not have to do in the matter ; and that which remained to be done in that case, could not be dispatched till that warrant came.

While

While this pursuivant went on his journey, they ordered to be brought to them the books that they commanded before to be searched out; for they determined to throw them into the fire with Bucer and Phagius.

About the same time Dr. Watson taking occasion upon the day, because it was a high feast, in which was wont to be celebrated the memorial of the purification of the blessed virgin, made a sermon to the people upon that psalm, *We have received thy mercy, O Lord, in the midst of thy temple, &c.* In which sermon he spake reproachfully of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine.

He said, that these men, and all hereticks of the same opinion (which for the most part budded out of Germany) among other things which they had perniciously put in mens heads, taught to cast away all ceremonies; whereas notwithstanding the apostle himself commanded all things to be done in due order.

And upon that deed of the blessed Virgin and Joseph, which was done by them as upon that day, it was manifestly apparent, that they with our Saviour, being then a little babe, observed these rites and ceremonies for catholick men to teach; for he said, that they came to the temple the same time with wax candles in their hands, after the manner of procession (as they term it) in good order with much reverence and devotion, and yet we are not ashamed to laugh and mock at these things with the hereticks and schismatics.

As he was speaking of Christ, Mary

and Joseph, one of them that heard him, turning himself to him that stood next him, and if it be true, said he, that this man preacheth, which of them I pray you (if a man might ask him a question) bare the cross before them? for that might not be missing in such solemn ceremonies. Not only this man jested at the preacher's folly, but divers others also laughed at his manifest unshamefacedness, in preaching these so vain and foolish superstitions.

While he was thus addressing his audience, John Christopheron elected bishop of Chichester, being stricken with a sudden sickness, fell down in a sudden swoon among the press.

Some thought it came upon this occasion, because he had been greatly accused before the commissioners for mispending the goods of the college, and therefore was grieved with the matter, knowing that they had been offended with him, by reason Ormanet had cancelled before his face a lease of his, by which he had let to farm to his brother-in-law a certain manor of that college, because the covenants seemed unreasonable.

By this time the pursuivant was returned again, who (as we said before) was sent to London with the commissioners letters, and brought with him a warrant for the burning of these men.

Upon receipt whereof, they appointed the sixth day of February for the accomplishment of the matter; for it had been in hand a great while already.

When the day was come, the commissioners

millioners sent for the vice-chancellor, demanding of him in what case things stood, whether all things were in a readiness for the accomplishment of this business. Understanding by him that all things were ready, they commanded the matter to be broached out of hand.

The vice-chancellor therefore taking with him Marshal the common notary, went first to St. Michael's church where Phagius was buried. Then he called Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, of the same parish, and bound them with an oath to dig up the bones of Phagius, and to bring them to the place of execution. Marshal took their oaths, receiving the like of Roger Smith and William Hasell the two serjeants, and of John Caper, warden of the same church, for doing the like with Bucer. Smith the mayor of the town, who should be their executioner (for it was not lawful for them to intermeddle in cases of blood) commanded certain of his towns-men to wait upon him, by whom the dead bodies were guarded; and being bound with ropes, and laid upon mens shoulders (for they were inclosed in chests, Bucer in the same that he was buried, and Phagius in a new one) they were carried into the midst of the market-place, with a great train of people following them.

When they came thither, the chests were set up on end with the dead bodies in them, fastened on both sides with stakes, and bound to the post with a long iron chain, as if they had been alive. Fire being forthwith put to them, as soon as it began to flame

N^o 12.

a great many books that were condemned with them were cast into the same.

There was that day gathered into the town a great multitude of country folks (for it was market-day) who seeing men borne to execution, and learning by enquiry that they were dead before, partly detested and abhorred the extream cruelty of the commissioners, towards the rotten carcases, and partly laughed at their folly in making such preparatives, For what needeth any weapon, said they? As though they were afraid that the dead bodies, which felt them not, would do them some harm. Or to what purpose serveth that chain wherewith they are tied, since they might be burnt loose without peril; for it was not to be feared that they would run away?

While they were roasting in the fire, Dr. Watson went into the pulpit in St. Mary's church, and there railed against their doctrine, as wicked and erroneous, saying, that it was the ground of all mischief that had happened of a long time in the commonwealth. For behold (said he) as well the prosperity as the adversity of these years that ensued, and ye shall find that all things have happened unluckily to them that have followed this new-found faith; as contrarily, all things have happened fortunately to them that have eschewed it. What robbing (said he) have we seen in this realm, as long as religion was defaced with sects; the common treasure (gathered for the maintenance of the whole publick weal) and the goods of the realm

3 O

shame-

shamefully spent in waste for the maintenance of a few peoples lusts, all good order broken, all discipline cast aside, holydays appointed to the solemnizing of ceremonies neglected; and what is more, the places themselves beaten down, flesh and other kind of prohibited sustenance eaten every where upon days forbidden, without remorse of conscience, the mass railed upon, the priests had in derision, no honour done to the sacraments of the church; all estates and degrees given to such a licentious liberty, without check, that all things may seem to draw to their utter ruin and decay.

And yet in the mean time the name of the gospel was pretended outwardly, as though that for it men ought of duty give credit to their erroneous opinions; whereas indeed there is nothing more different or more to the slander of God's word than the same. For what other thing taught they to remain in that most blessed and mystical sacrament of the body of our Lord, than bare unleavened bread? and what else do the rest of them teach unto this day? whereas Christ by express words doth assure it to be his very body. How perilous a doctrine is that which concerneth the fatal and absolute necessity of predestination? and yet they set it out in such wise, that they have left no choice at all in things. As who should say, it signified not what a man purposed of any matter, since he had not the power to determine otherwise than the matter should come to pass. Which was the peculiar opinion of them, that made God the

author of evil, bringing men through this persuasion into such a careless security of the everlasting state, that, it made no matter either toward salvation, or damnation, what a man did in this life. These errors (which were not even among the heathen men) were defended by them with great obstinacy.

These and many other such things are slanderously and falsely alledged against Bucer, whose doctrine (in such sort as he himself taught it) either he would not understand, or else he was determined to slander. Yet he was not ignorant, that Bucer taught no other things than the very same whereunto both he and Scot, in the reign of king Edward the VIth. had willingly assented, by subscribing thereto with their own hands: While he talked in this wise before the people, many of them that had written verses before, now set up others, in which they vended their venomous malice against Bucer and Phagius. This was the last act of this farce, and yet there remained a few things to be done, among which was the reconciling two churches, of our Lady, and of St. Michael, which we declared to have been interdicted before.

This was done the day following by the bishop of Chester, with as much ceremonial solemnity as the law required. But that deified Cardinal, whom Bucer's carcase had chased from thence, was not yet turned thither again: neither was it lawful for him to come there any more, unless he was brought thither with great solemnity: during the time of his absence, he was entertained

tained by the commissioners at Trinity college, and there continued as a sojourner. For thither repaired all the graduates of the university, the eighth of February, with gentleness and courtesy, to bring him again. Amongst this number, the bishop of Chester (worthy for his estate to come nearest to him, because he was a bishop) took and carried him, clad in a long rocket, and a large tippet of scarlet about his neck, wherein he wrapped his idol also. Ormanet had given the same a little before to the university, for that and such like purposes.

When this idol returned home, he went not out the straightest and nearest way as other folks are wont to go, but fetched a compass about most part of the town, and roamed through so many of the streets, that it was an hour or more ere he could find the way into the church again. I believe the ancient Romans observed a custom not much unlike this in their processions, when they made supplications at the shrines of all their gods. The order of which procession was this: the masters regents went before, singing with a loud voice, *Salve festa dies*, &c. Next them followed the bishop of Chester, about him when Ormanet and his fellow-commissioners, with the masters of the colleges, bearing every man a long taper lighted in his hand. After whom, a little space off, followed other degrees of the university. Lastly came the mayor and his townsmen. Before them all went the bea-
dles, crying to such as they met, that they should bow themselves humbly before the host, if any refused so to

do, they threatened to send them forthwith to the Tolbooth. Their God being led with this pomp, and pacified with the great sacrificed hosts of Bucer and Phagius, at length settled himself again in his accustomed room.

Dr. Scot bishop of Chester prayed earnestly, that that day might be lucky and fortunate to himself, and to all that were present, and that from that day forward (now that God's wrath was appeased, and all other things set in good order) all men should make themselves conformable to peace and quietness, in matters pertaining to religion.

After this they bestowed a few days in punishing and fining such as they thought had deserved it. Some they suspended from giving voices either to their own preferment, or to the preferment of any other.

Some they forbade to have the charge of pupils, lest they should infect the tender youth (being pliable to take what opinions soever should be laid upon them) with corrupt doctrine and heresy; others, they chastised wrongfully without any desert, and many they punished, contrary to all right and reason.

Last of all they set forth certain statutes, by which they would have the university hereafter ordered: wherein they enacted many things, as concerning the election of the university, of keeping and administering the goods of the university, and of many other things. But especially they handled the matter very circumspectly for religion; concerning which they were so scrupulous, that they replenished all
things

things either with open blasphemy or with ridiculous superstition; for they prescribed at how many masses every man should be day by day, and how many Pater Nosters and Ave's every man should say when he should enter into the church; and in his entrance, after what sort he should bow himself to the altar, and how to the master of the house, what he should do there, and how long he should tarry, how many, and what prayers he should say, what, and how he should sing, what meditations others should use while the priest is in his Memento, mumbling secretly to himself, what time of the mass a man should stand, and when he should sit down, when he should make courtesy, when exclusively, when inclusively, and many other superstitious fopperies they decreed, as were tedious now to recite them.

Moreover these masters of good order, for fashion sake, ordained that every man should put on a surplice, not torn nor worn, but clean, forbidding them in any wise to wipe their noses thereon.

These things thus regulated, when the commissioners were ready to go their ways, the university for so great benefits (which she should not suffer to fall out of remembrance many years after) coveting to shew some token of courtesy towards them again, dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of doctorship; for all the rest, saving Christopherson, who now, by reason he was elected bishop, preventing that degree, had received that order before. Thus at length were sent away these peace-makers, that came

to pacify strifes and quarrels, who through provoking every man to accuse one another, left such animosities in mens hearts at their departure, that to this day they could never be united together again.

The commissioners, before they departed from the university, commanded, that the masters of every house should copy their statutes, which besides common ordinances, contained in them certain rules of private order for every house particularly.

Swinborn master of Clare-hall being demanded whether he would have those things ingrossed in parchment or in paper, answered, that it was no matter in what they were written; for the paper, or slighter thing that were of less continuance than paper, would serve the turn well enough: because, a slenderer thing than that would last a great deal longer than those decrees should stand in force. Nor was he deceived in his conjecture: for within two years after, God beholding us with mercy, called queen Mary out of this life the 17th of November 1558, after whom her sister Elizabeth succeeding to the throne of this kingdom, revived the true religion. Whereupon, as the church of Christ began by little and little to flourish, so the memory of Bucer and Phagius (although their bones were burnt by cardinal Poole) was restored again by this godly queen, who gave then in commission to Matthew Parker then archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal then bishop of London, Mr. Walter Haddon and others; for the performance of which commission, the

the said reverend bishops address'd their letters to the vice-chancellor, &c.

Having thus laid before our readers, the parade and ceremony of Popish bigots, in attempting to dishonour and vilify, even after death, two eminent servants of Jesus Christ; it consequently behoves us to shew the form and manner, in which honour was done to their memory on the accession of good queen Elizabeth; not from any superstitious or bigotted principle, but to give her subjects a striking display of the high esteem in which she held the reformed religion, as founded on the word of God.

The Oration of Mr. Ackworth, Orator of the University, at the Restitution of Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius: In the stile and manner in which it was then delivered.

I Am in doubt, whether I may treat of the praise and commendation of so great a clerk (for the celebrating whereof, this assembly and concourse of yours is made this day) or of the vices and calamities, out of which we be newly delivered, or of them both, considering the one cannot be mentioned without the other. In which times ye felt so much anguish and sorrow, my right dear brethren, that if I should repeat them, and bring them to remembrance again, I fear, I should not so much work a just hatred in us towards them, for the injuries received in them, as renew our old sorrow and heaviness.

Again, men must needs account me

N^o XIII.

unadvised and foolish in my doing, if I should think myself able to make him who hath lived before our eyes in praise and estimation, more famous and notable by my oration, which he by his living and conversation hath oftentimes polished.

But the wickedness of the times, which endeavoured to wipe clean out of remembrance of men, the name that was so famous and renowned in every man's mouth, did much profit him. Inasmuch, that both in his lifetime all things redounded to his continual renown, and especially after his decease, nothing could be devised more honourable, than with so solemn furniture and ceremonies, to have gone about to hurt the memory of such a worthy man, and yet could not bring to pass the thing that was so sore coveted; but rather brought that thing to pass, which was chiefly sought to be avoided. For the desire that men have of the dead, hath purchased to many men everlasting fame, and hath not taken away immortality, but rather amplified and increased the same.

By means whereof it cometh to pass, that he that will intreat of those things that pertain to the praise of Bucer after his death, cannot chuse but speak of the crabbedness of the times past, upon which riseth a great increase and augmentation of his praise. But his life is so excellently set forth, not only by the writings of the clerks, Cheeke and Carre, and by the lively voice of the right famous Dr. Haddon, uttered in this place to the great admiration of all the hearers, when his body should be laid into his grave to be

3. P.

be burial, by the godly and most holy preachings of the right reverend father in Christ the archbishop of Canterbury that now is, and of Dr. Redman, which for the worthiness and excellency of them, ought to stick longer in our minds unwritten, than many things that are pened and put in print; but also by the great assembly of all the degrees of the university the same day, in bringing him to his grave, and the next day after by the industry of every man that was indued with any knowledge in the Greek or Latin tongues; of which there was no man but set up some verses, as witness of his just and unfeigned sorrow, upon the walls of the church: that neither at that time any reverence or duty which is due to the dead departing out of this life, was then over-slipped, or now remaineth undone, that may seem to pertain either to the celebrating of the memorial of so holy or famous a person, or to the consecrating of him to everlasting memory.

We at that time saw with our eyes this university flourishing by his institutions, the love of sincere religion not only ingendred, but also confirmed and strengthened through his continual and daily preaching. Inasmuch, that at such time as he was suddenly taken from us, there was scarce any man that for sorrow could find in his heart to bear with the present of this life, but that either he wished with all his heart to depart out of this life with Bucer into another, and by dying to follow him into immortality; or else endeavoured himself with weeping and sighing to call him again, dispatched

of all troubles, into the prison of this body, of which he is escaped, lest he should leave out us as it were standing in battle without a captain, and he himself cashiered, depart with his wages, as one discharged out of the camp, withdraw himself to the everlasting quietness and tranquility of his soul.

Therefore all men evidently declared at that time, both how sore they took his death to heart, and also how hardly they could away with the loss of such a man.

As long as the ardent love of his religion (wherewith we were inflamed) flourished, it wrought in our hearts an incredible desire of his presence among us. But after the time that the godly man ceased to be any more in our sight, and in our eyes, that ardent and burning love of religion, by little and little, waxed cold in our minds; and according to the times that came after (which were both miserable, and to our utter undoing) it began not by little and little to be darkened, but it altogether vanished away, and turned into nothing. For we fell again into the troublesomeness of the Popish doctrine; the old rites and customs of the Romish church were restored again, not to the adorning and beautifying of the christian religion (as they furnished) but to the utter defacing, and violating of the same.

Death was set before the eyes of such as persevered in the christian doctrine that they had learned before. They were banished the realm that would not apply themselves to the times, and do as other men did: such

as remained, were forced either to diſſemble, or to hide themſelves, and creep into corners, or elſe as it were by drinking of the charmed cup of Circe, to be turned and altered, not only from the nature of man into the nature of brute beaſts, but (that far worſe and much more monſtrous is) from the likenefs of God and his angels, into the likenefs of devils. And all England was infected with this malady.

But I would to God the corruption of thoſe times, which overwhealmed all the whole realm, had not at leaſt wiſe yet pierced every part and member thereof. Of which there was not one, but that (beſides the grief that it felt, with the reſidue of the body, by reaſon of the ſickneſs and contagion ſpread into the whole) had ſome ſorrow and calamity peculiarly by itſelf. And to omit the reſt (of which to in-treat, this place is not appointed, nor the time requireth ought to be ſpoken) this dwelling place of the muſes (which we call the univerſity) may be a ſufficient witneſs what we may judge of all the reſt of the body. For certainly, my brethren, the thing is not to be diſſembled, that cannot be hidden.

We, applying ourſelves to thoſe moſt filthy times, have moſt ſhamefully yielded, like faint-hearted cowards, who had not the ſtomachs to ſuſtain the adverſities of poverty, baniſhment and death. Which in our living and converſation kept neither the conſtancy taught us by philoſophy, nor yet the patience taught us by holy ſcripture, which have done all things

by the commandment of others. And therefore that which the poet, altho' in another ſenſe, hath aptly ſpoken, may well be thought to have been truly propheſied upon us :

*The times and ſeaſons changed be :
And changed in the ſame are we.*

Divers of them that were of a pure and ſincere judgment as concerning religion, being driven from hence and troubled, the reſt that remained taſted and felt of the inhumanity of them in whoſe hands the authority of doing things here conſiſted : although to ſay the truth, I have uſed a gentler term than behoved. For it is not to be accounted inhumanity, but rather immanity and beaſtly cruelty : who when they had ſpent all kinds of torments and puniſhments upon the quick ; when they had cruelly taken from ſuch as conſtantly perſevered, life ; from others riches, honours, and all hope of promotion ; yet they could not be ſo ſatisfied, but that incenſed and ſtirred with a greater fury, it began to outrage even againſt the dead. Therefore whereas in every ſingular place was executed a ſingular kind of cruelty, inſomuch that there was no kind of cruelty that could be deviſed, but it was put in practice in one place or other, this was proper or peculiar to Cambridge, to exerciſe the cruelty upon the dead, which in other places was extended but to the quick.

Oxford burnt up the right reverend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, the noble witneſſes of the clear light of the goſpel.

Moreover,

Moreover, at London perished these two lanterns of light, Rogers and Bradford: in whom it is hard to say, whether there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holiness of life and conversation. Many others, both here and in other places, were consumed to ashes for bearing record to the truth. For what city is there that hath not flamed, I say not with burning houses and buildings, but with burning of holy bodies? but Cambridge, after there were no more left alive upon whom they might spue out their bitter poison, played the mad Bedlam against the dead.

The dead men, whose living no man was able to find fault with, whose doctrine no man was able to reprove, where by false slanderous accusers indicted, contrary to the laws of God and man, sued in the law, condemned, their sepulchres violated and broken up, their carcasses pulled out and burnt with fire. A thing surely incredible, if we had not seen it with our eyes, and a thing that had not lightly been heard of. But the heinousness of this wicked act was spread abroad as a common talk in every man's mouth, and was blown and dispersed through all Christendom.

Bucer, by the excellency of his wit and doctrine known to all men, of our countrymen in manner craved, of many others intreated and sent for, to the intent he might instruct our Cambridge-men in the sincere doctrine of the Christian religion, being spent with age, and his strength utterly decayed, forsook his own country, refused not

the tediousness of that long journey, was not afraid to adventure himself upon the sea, but had more regard of the dilating and amplifying of the church of Christ, than of all other things.

So in conclusion he came, every man received and welcomed him: afterward he lived in such wise, as it might appear he came not hither for his own sake, but for ours. For he sought not to drive away the sickness that he had taken by troublesome travel of his long journey: and albeit his strength were weakened, yet he regarded not the recovery of his health, but put himself to immoderate labour and intolerable pain, only to teach and instruct us.

And yet toward this so noble and worthy a person, while he lived were shewed all the tokens of humanity and gentleness, reverence and courtesy that could be; and when he was dead the most horrible cruelty and spite that might be imagined. For what can be so commendable, as to grant unto the living, house and abiding place, and to the dead burial? or what is he that will find in his heart to give entertainment, and to cherish that person in his house with all kind of gentleness that he can devise, upon whom he could not bestow burial when he is dead? again, what an inconsistency is it, with much advancement and commendation of his virtues to bury a man honourably, and anon after to break up his tomb, and pull him out spitefully, and wrongfully to slander him being dead, who during his life-time always deserved praise? all these things have happened

pened unto Bucer, who whilst he lived had free access into the most gorgeous buildings and stately palaces of the greatest princes; and when he was dead, could not be suffered to enjoy so much as his poor grave. Who being laid in the ground nobly to his eternal fame, was afterwards spitefully taken up and burned. Which things, albeit they did no harm to the dead, for the dead carcases feel not pain, neither doth the fame of godly persons depend upon the report of vulgar people, and the light rumours of men, but upon the rightful censure and just judgment of God) yet it reproveth the extream cruelty and insatiable desire of revenge in them which offer such utter wrong unto the dead.

These persons therefore whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I believe (if they had been alive) they would have cast out of house and home, they would have driven out of all mens company, and in the end with most cruel torments have torn them in pieces, being nevertheless aliens, being strangers, and being also fetched hither by us out of such a country, where they needed not to fear any punishment, but contrarywise were always had in much reputation, as well among the noble and honourable, as also among the vulgar and common people. But yet how much more gentle than these men was bishop Gardiner, otherwise an earnest defender of the Popish doctrine? who against his own countrymen, let pass no cruelty whereby he might extinguish with fire and sword the light of the gospel: and yet spared fo-

Nº 13.

reigners, because the right of them is so holy, that there was never nation so barbarous, that would violate the same.

For when he had in his power the renowned clerk Peter Martyr, then teaching at Oxford, he would not keep him to punish him, but (as I have heard reported) when he should go his way, he gave him wherewith to bear his charges. So that the thing which he thought he might of right do to his countrymen, he judged unlawful to do to strangers.

And whom the law of God could not withhold from the wicked murdering of his own countrymen, him did the law of man bridle from killing of strangers, which hath ever appeased all barbarous beastliness, and mitigated all cruelty.

For it is a point of humanity for man and man to meet together, and one to come to another, though they be never so far seperated and set asunder, both by sea and by land, without which access there can be no intercourse of merchandise, there can be no conference of wits, which first of all ingendered learning, nor any commodity of society long to continue. To repulse them that come to us, and to prohibit them our countries, is a point of inhumanity. Now to entertain them evil, that by our sufferance dwell among us, and have increase of household and household-stuff, it is a point of wickedness.

Wherefore this cruelty hath far surmounted the cruelty of all others, which, to satisfy the unsatiable greediness thereof, drew to execution not only strangers, brought hither at our

in-

3 Q

intreaty and sending for, but even the withered and rotten carcasses digged out of their graves; to the intent that the unmeasurable thirst which could not be quenched with shedding the blood of them that were alive, might at the least be satisfied in burning of dead mens bones.

These, my brethren, these, I say, are the just causes which have so provoked the wrath of God against us; because that in doing extream injury to the dead we have been prone and ready; but in putting the same away we have been slow and slack. For verily I believe (if I may have liberty to say freely what I think ye shall bear with me, if I chance to cast forth any thing unadvisedly in the heat and hasty discourse of my oration) that even this place, in which we have so oftentimes assembled, being defiled with that new kind of wickedness, such as man never heard of before, is a lett and hindrance unto us, when we call for the help of God, by means whereof our prayers are not accepted, which we make to appease the Godhead, and to win him to be favourable unto us again.

The blood of Abel shed by Cain, calleth and crieth from the earth that sucked it up: likewise, the undeserved burning of these bodies, calleth upon Almighty God to punish us, and crieth, that not only the authors of so great a wickedness, but also the ministers thereof are unpure, the places defiled, in which these things were perpetrated, the air infected which we take into our bodies, to the intent that by sundry diseases and sicknesses we

may receive punishment for so execrable wickedness. Look well about ye (my dear brethren) and consider with yourselves the evils that are past; and ye shall see how they took their beginning at Bucer's death, following one on the neck of another even to this day.

First and foremost, when we were even in the chiefest of our mourning, and scarcely yet comforted of our sorrow for his death, the sweating sickness lighted upon us, which passed swiftly thorough all England, and as it were in haste dispatched an innumerable company of men. Secondly, the untimely death of our most noble sovereign king Edward VI. (whose life in virtue surmounted the opinion of all men, and seemed worthy of immortality) happened contrary to men's expectation in that age, in which unless violence be used, few do die.

The conversion of religion, or rather the eversion and turning thereof into Popery: the incursion and domination of strangers, under whose yoke our necks were almost subdued: the importunate cruelty of the bishops against the Christians, which executed that wickedness, for making satisfaction whereof we are gathered together this day. These are the things that ensued after his death; but after his burning ensued yet more grievous things; namely, new kinds of plagues, and contagious diseases unknown to the very physicians, whereby either man's health was impaired, or else they were brought to their graves, or else very hardly recovered. Bloody battles without victory, whereof the profit

profit redounded to the enemy, and to us the slaughter with great loss.

Which things do evidently declare, that God is turned from us, and angry with us, and that he giveth no ear to our prayers, and that he is not moved with our cries and sighs, but that he looketh that this our meeting and assembly should be to this end, that forasmuch as we have violated their corps, we should do them right again; so that the memorial of these most holy men may be commended unto posterity unhurt and defamed.

Wherefore amend yet at length (my brethren) which hitherto, by reason of the variableness and unconstancy of the times, have been wavering and unsteadfast in your hearts: shew yourselves chearful and forward in making satisfaction for the injury you have done to the dead, whom with so great wickedness of late ye indamaged and defiled; not censuring them with the perfumes of those odours and spices now worn out of use, and put to flight, but with a true and unfeigned repentance of the heart, and with prayer, to the intent that the heavenly Godhead, provoked by our doings to be our enemy, may by our humble submission be intreated to be favourable and agreeable to all our other requests.

When Mr. Ackworth had made an end of his oration, Mr. James Pilkington the queen's reader of the divinity lecture, going up into the pulpit made a sermon upon the 112th Psalm, the beginning whereof, "*Blessed is the Man feareth the Lord*"

Intending to prove, that the remembrance of the just man shall not perish,

that Bucer is blessed, and that the ungodly shall fret at the sight thereof, but yet that all their attempts shall be to no purpose, (to the intent this saying may be verified, I will curse your blessings, and bless your cursings) he took his first remark from his own experience; that albeit he was both ready and willing to take the matter in hand, partly for the worthiness of the cause itself, and especially for certain singular virtues of those persons, for whom that congregation was called, yet notwithstanding, he was not fit to take that charge upon him.

For it were more reasonable that he who before had done Bucer wrong, should now make him amends for the injury. As for his own part, he was so far from working any evil against Bucer, either by word or deed; that or their singular knowledge almost in all kind of learning, he embraced both him and Phagius with all his heart: But yet he somewhat more favoured Bucer, as with him he had more familiarity and acquaintance. In consideration whereof, although that it was scarce convenient that he at that time should speak, yet notwithstanding he was contented for friendship and courtesy sake not to fail them in their business.

Having made this introduction, he entered into the design of the matter, wherein he blamed greatly the barbarous cruelty of the court of Rome, so fiercely extended against the dead. He said it was a more heinous matter than was to be borne with, to have shewed such extream cruelty to them that were alive; but for any man to misbehave

misbehave himself in such wise towards the dead, was such a thing as had not lightly been heard of: saying that he affirmed this custom of excommunicating and cursing of dead bodies to have come first from Rome: for Evagrius reported in his writings, that Eutychius was of the same opinion, induced by the example of Josias, who slew the priests of Baal, and burnt up the bones of them that were dead, even upon the altars. Whereas before the time of Eutychius this kind of punishment was well near unknown, neither afterward usurped by any man (that ever he heard of) till nine hundred years after Christ.

In the latter times (which how much the further they were from the golden age of the apostles, so much the more they were corrupted) this kind of cruelty began to creep further. For it is manifestly known, that Stephen the sixth, Pope of Rome digged up Formosus, his last predecessor in that see, and depriving him of his apparel, buried him again in a layman's apparel (as they call it) having first cut off and thrown into the Tyber his two fingers, with which according to their accustomed manner, he was wont to bless and consecrate.

Within six years after Sergius the third increased this tyrannical behaviour against the same Formosus: For taking up his dead body, and setting it in a Pope's chair, he caused his head to be smitten off, and his other three fingers to be cut from his hand, and his body to be cast into the river of Tyber, abrogating and disannulling all his decrees, which thing was never done by

any man before. The cause why so great cruelty was exercised (by the report of Nauclerus) was this; because that Formosus had been an adversary to Stephen and Sergius when they sued to be made bishops.

This kind of cruelty, unheard of before, the Popes awhile exercised one against another. But now, before they had sufficiently felt the smart thereof themselves, they had turned the same upon their necks. Wherefore it was to be wished, that seeing it began among them, it might have remained still with the authors thereof, and not have been spread over thence unto us. But such is the nature of all evil, that it quickly passeth into example; for about the year of the Lord 1400, John Wickliff was in like manner digg'd up, burnt to ashes, and thrown into a brook that runneth by the town where he was buried.

In like manner they treated William Tracy of Gloucester, because he had written in his last will, that he should be saved only by faith in Jesus Christ, and that there needed not the help of any man thereto, whether he were in Heaven or in Earth; and therefore bequeathed no legacy to that purpose, as all other men were accustomed to do. This deed was done since we may remember, about the twenty-second year of the reign of king Henry the eighth, in the year of our Lord 1530.

Now seeing they extended such cruelty to the dead, he said it was an easy matter to conjecture what they would do to the living: whereof we have had sufficient trial by the examples of our own people, these few years past.
And

And if we would take the pains to peruse things done somewhat longer ago, we might find dreadful instances in our own chronicles.

Howbeit, it was sufficient for the manifest demonstration of that matter, to declare the butchery of the French king, executed upon the Waldenses at Cabrier, and the places near thereabout, by his captain Miner, about the year of our Lord 1545, than which a more cruel act was never done, no not even by the barbarous Pagans.

And yet, when divers had shewed their uttermost cruelty both against these and many others, they were so far from their purpose, in extinguishing the light of the gospel, which they endeavoured to suppress, that it increased daily more and more. Which thing Charles the fifth (than whom all Christendom had not a more prudent prince, nor the church of Christ almost a fore enemy) easily perceived; and therefore when he had in his hand Luther dead, and Melancthon and Pomeran with certain other preachers of the gospel alive, he not only determined nothing extreme against them, nor violated their graves, but also intreating them gently, sent them away, not so much as once forbidding them to publish openly the doctrine that they professed. For it is the nature of Christ's church, that the more that tyrants spurn against it, the more it increaseth and flourisheth; a notable proof of the providence and pleasure of God in sowing the gospel, was the coming of the Bohemians when persecution was raised against us.

But much more remarkable was it,
N^o 13.

that we have seen come to pass in these our days; that the Spaniards, sent for into the realm on purpose to suppress the gospel, as soon as they were returned home replenished many parts of their country with the same truth of religion, to which before they were utter enemies.

By these examples it might evidently be perceived, that the princes of this world labour in vain to overthrow it, considering how the mercy of God hath sown it abroad, not only in those countries that we spake of, but also in France, Poland, Scotland, and almost all the rest of Europe. For it is said, that some parts of Italy (although it be under the Pope's jurisdiction) do of late incline to the knowledge of the heavenly truth: wherefore sufficient argument and proof might be taken by the good success and increase thereof, to make us believe that this doctrine is sent us from Heaven, unless we will wilfully be blinded; and if there were any that desired to be persuaded more at large in the matter, he might advisedly consider the voyage that the Emperor and the Pope with both their powers together, made jointly against the Bohemians; in which the emperor took such an unworthy repulse of so small a handful of his enemies, that he never almost in all his life took the like dishonour in any place.

Of this also might be an especial example the death of Henry king of France, who the same day that he had purposed to persecute the church of Christ, and to have burned certain of his guard whom he had imprisoned.
3 R. for

for religion, at whose execution he had promised to have been himself in person, in the midst of his triumph at a tournament, was wounded so sore in the head with a spear by one of his own subjects, that he soon after died.

In which behalf, the dreadful judgments of God were no less approved in our own countrymen. For one that was a notable slaughterman of Christ's saints rotted alive, [bishop Gardiner] and before he died, such a rank savour steamed from all his body, that none of his friends were able to come to him, but they were ready to vomit. Another, being in utter despair well nigh of all health, howled out miserably. The third ran out of his wits. And divers others that were enemies to the church perished miserably in the end. All which things were most certain tokens of the favour and defence of the Divine Majesty towards his church, and of his wrath and vengeance towards the tyrants.

As he had made mention of the Bohemians, he said a most apt example was reported of their captain Zisca, who, when he should die, ordered his body to be flayed, and of his skin to make a parchment to cover the head of a drum: for it should come to pass, that when his enemies heard the sound of it, they should not be able to stand against them.

The like counsel (he said) he himself now gave them as concerning Bucer: that like as the Bohemians did with the skin of Zisca, the same should they do with the arguments and doctrine of Bucer: for as soon as the pa-

pists should hear the noise of him, their superstitions would forthwith decay. For saving that they used violence to such as withstood them, their doctrine contained nothing that might seem to any man (having but mean understanding in holy scripture) to be grounded upon reason.

As for those things that were done by them, against such as could not play the madmen as well as they, some of them were cruel, and some ridiculous. Was it not frivolous, that for the space of three years together, mass should be sung in those places where Bucer and Phagius rested in the Lord, without any offence at all? And as soon as they took it to be an offence, it should not be as good then as it was before; as if deemed upon the sudden it had been a heinous matter to celebrate it in that place, and that the fault that was past should be counted the more grievous, because it was practised a longer time.

Moreover this was a matter of none effect, that Bucer and Phagius only should be dug up, as who could say, that they only had embraced the religion which they call heresy. It was well known how one of the burgeses of the town had been minded toward the popish religion; who when he should die, neither ringing of bells, dirges, nor any other such kind of ceremonies, but rather that they should go with instruments of musick before the mayor and council of the city, to celebrate his memorial; and also that yearly a sermon should be delivered to the people, bequeathing a sum of money

money to the preacher for his labour. Neither were divers others to be pass'd over in silence, who were known of a certainty to have continued in the same sect, and to rest in other church-yards in Cambridge, and rather thro' the whose realm, and yet defiled not their mass at all.

All which persons (forasmuch as they were all of one opinion) ought all to have been taken up, or else all have been to let lie with the same religion; unless a man would grant, that it lieth in their power to make what they list lawful at their own pleasure.

In the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, to say the truth, they used too much cruelty, and too much violence. For whatever cause they might have to object to the doctrine of Bucer, certainly they could find nothing whereof to accuse Phagius, inasmuch as he wrote nothing that came abroad, except a few things that he had translated out of the Hebrew and Chaldee tongues in Latin.

After his coming into the realm, he never read, disputed, preached, nor taught; for he died soon after, so that he could in that time give no occasion for his adversaries to take hold on, whereby to accuse him whom they never heard speak.

Thus turning his discourse from this matter to the university, he reprov'd in a few words their unfaithfulness towards these men. For if the Lord suffered not the bones of the king of Edom, being a wicked man, to be taken up and burnt without tokens of his resentment (as saith Amos) let us assure ourselves he will not suffer so

notable a wrong done to his godly preachers to pass unrevenged.

When he came to the condemnation (which we told you in the former action was pronounced by Dr. Perne the vice-chancellor, in the name of them all) being somewhat more moved at the matter, he reminded them how much it behoved them to use great circumspection, what they decreed upon any man by their voices, in admitting or rejecting any man to the promotions and degrees of the university; for that he which should take his authority from them, should be a great prejudice to all the other multitude, which (for the opinion that he had of their doctrine, judgment and knowledge) did think well of them. For it would come to pass, that if they would bestow their promotions upon none but fit persons, and let the unfit go as they come, both the commonwealth should receive much advantage and profit by them, and besides that, they should highly please God. But if they persisted to be negligent in doing thereof, they should grievously injure the commonwealth, and work their own shame and reproach: besides they would greatly offend the majesty of God, whose commandment (Not to bear false witness) they should in so doing break and violate.

While he was speaking these and many other things before his audience, several of the university, to defend the character of Bucer, beset the walls of the church and church-porch on both sides with verses; some in Latin, some in Greek, and some in English, in which they made a manifest declaration
how

how they were disposed both toward Bucer and Phagius. When his sermon was ended, after thanks rendered to God for many other things, but especially for restoring of the true and sincere religion, every man departed his way.

As mention hath been made of the death of the worthy and famous clerk, Martin Bucer, and of the burning of his bones after his death, it will not be improper here to insert the funeral verse of Dr. Redman upon Bucer's death, now translated into English.

*The EPITAPH or Funeral VERSE
of Dr. REDMAN upon the Death
of BUCER.*

HENCE, O far hence envy fly,
Nor be revenge nor mock'ry
nigh:

The lying lips and faithless mind,
Let here no rest or refuge find.
These from the man God's image take,
And him more like the devils make.
But holy truth be present here,
Thou virgin everlasting fair,
And to the inquiring many show,
From whence proceeds the scene of
woe.

BUCER, who led the church before,
BUCER, that light of learning is no
more:

As the sun gilds the world around,
So he in learning's orb was found.
The mourning schools his loss confess,
But who can *Cambridge's* grief express?
High as the stars her signs ascend,
Lamenting thus her wonted friend.

No more shall we a master find,
Like him so just, like him so kind:
Whose exemplary life was fraught,
With all the virtues which he taught:
His rest so small, labour so great,
Nature sunk down beneath the weight,
And yielded to death's fatal power,
Before his short appointed hour.
But stop my muse, thy labour's vain,
Thy lines can't half his praise contain:
Then farewell BUCER, thy remains
An humble sepulchre retains,
'Till the Great Judge of all shall come,
And pass his universal doom:
Then he thy body will restore,
More glorious than it was before.
'Till when thy soul amongst the blest
remains,
There happily thou lives, there happily
thou reigns.

*The absurd Treatment of PETER
MARTYR'S Wife at Oxford, taken
up from her Grave at the Command
of Cardinal Poole, and afterwards
buried in a Dungbill.*

LEST one university should ex-
ceed the other, the like cruelty
was exercised upon the dead body of
Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford, an
honest, grave and sober matron, and
a great friend to the poor.

In the year of our Lord, 1552, she
departed this life, to the great sorrow
of all those needy persons, whose ne-
cessities she had liberally relieved.
When Brooks bishop of Gloucester,
Nicholas Ormanet, datary, Robert
Morwen president of Corpus Christi
col-

college, Cole and Wright doctors of the civil law, came thither as the cardinal's visitors, they among other things had in commission to take up this good woman again out of her grave, and to consume her carcase with fire, not doubting but that she was of the same religion that her husband had professed before, when he read the king's lecture there. To make a shew that they would do nothing disorderly, they called all those before them, that had any acquaintance with her or her husband and administred an oath unto them, that they should not conceal whatsoever was demanded. In fine, their answer was, that they knew not what religion she was of, by reason they understood not her language.

After the visitors had finished their business, they went to the cardinal again, certifying him that upon due inquisition made, they could learn nothing upon which by the law they might burn her. Notwithstanding the Cardinal did not leave the matter so, but sent letters a good while after to Marshal, then dean Frideswide's that he should dig her up, and lay her out of Christian burial, because she was interred nigh unto of St. Frideswide's, that he should dig her up, and lay her out of Christian burial, because she was interred nigh unto St. Frideswide's relicks, sometime had in great reverence in that college. Dr. Marshal therefore, caused her to be taken up and buried in a dunghill.

Howbeit, when it pleased God under good queen Elizabeth to give rest to his church, long persecuted with prison and death; Dr. Parker, arch-

N^o 13.

bishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindall, bishop of London, Richard Goodrick, with divers others her majesty's high commissioners in matters of religion (nothing ignorant how far the adversaries of the truth had transgressed the bounds of all humanity, in violating the sepulchre or grave of that good and virtuous woman) ordered certain of that college, in which this uncourteous act was done, to take her out of the dunghill where she lay, and solemnly in the face of the whole town to bury her again in a more decent monument: for though the body being once dead, no great estimation were to be had, how or where the bones were laid; yet was some reverence to be used towards her for her sex's sake.

Besides, to say the truth, it was shameful that he which had travelled so far at kind Edward's request, from the place wherein he dwelt quietly, and had taken earnest pains, being an old man, in reading and setting forth the truth had, with learning to teach and instruct, and had so well deserved of that university; should be so ungratefully rewarded again, as to have his wife that was a godly woman, a stranger, good to many, especially to the poor, and hurtful to none, either in word or deed, without just deserving, and beside their own law, not proceeding against her according to the order thereof, spitefully lain in a stinking dunghill.

To well disposed minds the fact seemed odious, and to such as were induced with humanity, utterly to be abhorred. Wherefore Mr. Calfield,

3 S

then

then sub-dean of the college, diligently provided, that from Marshal's dunghill she was restored and translated to her proper place again; yea, and withal mixed her with Frideswide's bones, that in case any cardinal would be so mad hereafter to remove this woman's bones again, it shall be hard for them to discern the bones of her from the other. And to the intent the same might impress the minds of men the better, the next day after, which was Sunday, Mr. Rogerfon preached to the people and in his sermon declared the rough dealing of the adversaries, not contented to practise their cruelty on the living, but must also rage against one that was dead, and had lain two years in her grave. God grant them once to see their own wickedness. Amen.

Thus much touching the noble acts of this worthy cardinal in both the universities; whereunto it may not be impertinent, to adjoin and set forth to the eyes of the world the blind and bloody articles set out by cardinal Poole, to be inquired upon, within his diocese of Canterbury, whereby it may the better appear what yokes and snares of fruitless traditions were laid upon the poor flock of Christ, to intangle and oppress them with loss of life and liberty. By which wise men may see what godly fruits proceeded from that Catholic church and see of Rome.

The ARTICLES set forth by Cardinal Poole, to be inquired in his ordinary visitation, within his Diocese of Canterbury.

Touching the Clergy.

WHETHER the divine service in the church, at times, days, hours, be observed and kept duly, or no?

2. Whether the parsons, vicars and curates, do comely and decently in their manners and doings behave themselves, or no?

3. Whether they do reverently and duly administer the sacraments or sacramentals, or no?

4. Whether any of their parishioners do die without ministration of the sacraments, through the negligence of their curates, or no?

5. Whether the said parsons, vicars or curates, do haunt taverns or ale-houses, increasing thereby infamy and slander, or no?

6. Whether they be diligent in teaching the midwives how to christen children in time of necessity, according to the canons of the church, or no?

7. Whether they see that the font be comely kept, and have holy water always ready for children to be christened?

8. If they do keep a book of all the names of them that be reconciled to the church?

9. Whether there be any priests that late unlawfully had women under pretended

pretended marriage, and hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling-places?

10. Whether they do diligently teach their parishioners the articles of the faith, and the ten commandments?

11. Whether they do decently observe those things that do concern the service of the church, and all those things that tend to a good christian life, according to the canons of the church?

12. Whether they do devoutly in their prayers pray for the prosperous estate of the king and queen's majesties?

13. Whether the said parsons and vicars do sufficiently repair their chancels, rectories, and vicarages, and do keep and maintain them sufficiently repaired and amended.

14. Whether any of them do preach or teach any erroneous doctrine, contrary to the catholick faith and unity of the church?

15. Whether any of them do say the divine service, or do administer the sacraments in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the church?

16. Whether any of them do suspiciously keep any women in their houses, or do keep company with men suspected of heresies, or of evil opinion?

17. Whether any of them that were under pretence of lawful matrimony married, and now reconciled, do privily resort to their pretended wives, or that the said women do privily resort unto them?

18. Whether they do go decently apparelled, as it becometh sad, sober, and discreet ministers, and whether they have their crowns and beards

shaven?

19. Whether any of them do use any unlawful games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow to slander and evil report?

20. Whether they do keep residence and hospitality upon their benefices, and do make charitable contributions according to all the laws ecclesiastical?

21. Whether they do keep the book of registers of christenings, burials and marriages, with the names of the god-fathers and godmothers?

Touching the Lay people.

1. **W**HETHER any manner of person, of what estate, degree or condition soever he be, do hold, maintain, or affirm any heresies, errors or erroneous opinions, contrary to the laws ecclesiastical, and the unity of the catholick church?

2. Whether any person do hold, affirm, or say, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is not contained the real and substantial presence of Christ; or that by any manner of means do contemn and despise the said blessed Sacrament, or do refuse to do reverence or worship thereunto?

3. Whether they do contemn or despise by any manner of means any other of the Sacraments, rites or ceremonies of the church; or do refuse or deny auricular confession?

4. Whether any do absent or refrain, without urgent and lawful impediment, to come to the church, and reverently to hear the divine service upon Sundays and holy-days?

5. Whether

5. Whether being in the church, they do not apply themselves to hear the divine service, and to be contemplative in holy prayer, and not to walk, jangle, or talk, in the time of divine service?

6. Whether any be fornicators, adulterers, or do commit incest, or be bawds, and receivers of evil persons, or be vehemently suspected of any of them?

7. Whether any do blaspheme and take the Name of God in vain, or be common swearers?

8. Whether any be perjured, for have committed simony or usury, or do still remain in the same?

9. Whether the churches and church yards be well and honestly repaired and inclosed?

10. Whether the churches be sufficiently garnished and adorned with all ornaments and books necessary, and whether they have a rood in their church of a decent stature, with Mary and John, and an image of the patron of the same church?

11. Whether any do withhold, or draw from the church any manner of money or goods, or that do withhold their due and accustomed tithes from their parsons and vicars?

12. Whether any be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of evil living, or do exercise any lewd pastimes, especially in the time of divine service?

13. If there be any who do practise or exercise any arts of magick or necromancy, or do use or practise any incarnations, forceries or witchcraft, or be vehemently suspected thereof?

14. Whether any be married within the degrees of affinity or consanguinity, prohibited by the laws of the holy church, or that do marry, the banns not asked, or do make any private contracts?

15. Whether in the time of Easter last, any were not confessed, or did not receive the blessed Sacrament of the altar, or did irreverently behave themselves in the receiving thereof?

16. Whether any do keep any secret conventicles, preachings, lectures or readings, in matters of religion contrary to the laws?

17. Whether any do now not duly keep the fasting and ember-days?

18. Whether the altars in the churches be consecrated or no?

19. Whether the Sacrament be carried devoutly to them that fall sick, with light, and with a little sacring bell?

20. Whether the common schools be well kept, and that the schoolmasters be diligent in teaching, and be all catholick, and men of good and upright judgment, and that they be examined and approved by the ordinary?

21. Whether any do take upon them to administer the goods of those that be dead, without authority from the ordinary?

22. Whether the poor people in every parish be charitably provided for?

23. Whether there do burn a lamp or a candle before the sacrament. And if there do not, that then it be provided for with expedition?

24. Whether

24. Whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in convenient time.

25. Whether any do keep, or have in their custody any erroneous or unlawful books?

26. Whether any do with-hold any money or goods bequeathed to the amending of the highways, or any other charitable deed?

27. Whether any have put away their wives, or any wives do with-draw themselves from their husbands, being not lawfully divorced?

28. Whether any do violate or break the Sundays and holy-days, doing their daily labours and exercises upon the same?

29. Whether the taverns or ale-houses, upon the Sundays and holy-days, in time of mass, mattins and even-song, do keep open their doors,

and do receive people into their houses to drink and eat, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to the church?

30. Whether any have or do deprave or condemn the authority or jurisdiction of the Pope's holiness, or the see of Rome?

31. Whether any minstrels, or any other persons do use to sing any songs against the holy Sacraments, or any other rites and ceremonies of the church?

32. Whether there be any hospitals within your parishes, and whether the foundations of them be duly and truly observed and kept: and whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordingly?

33. Whether any goods, plate, jewels, or possessions be taken away, or with-held from the said hospitals, and by whom?

O F T H E
R O M I S H P E R S E C U T I O N S
I N
S C O T L A N D.

AT the time of the reformation in Scotland, the clergy were in possession of a great many lands and revenues, which had been given to them: and being almost the only men of letters, in that age, they were of course advanced to the highest

N^o 13.

places of honour in the kingdom. Hence they grew idle and voluptuous; and became the objects of hatred to the great, and of contempt to the little: they had likewise fallen into an error, in omitting to recommend to the people, the weightier duties of religion

3 T

religion; and, instead thereof, making it to consist chiefly in the practice of certain human institutions, which had little to do with it's internal nature. Of this sort were pilgrimages, indulgences, donations to the church, invocation of saints, confessions, penances, &c.

The evil tendency arising from these indulgences will appear by the following abstract of the form of absolution granted in that age, which must necessarily shock every honest and sensible reader. "I absolve thee from all
"ecclesiastical censures, and from all
"thy sins, how enormous soever.
"And, by this plenary indulgence,
"I remit thee all manner of punishment, which thou oughtest to suffer
"in purgatory. And I restore thee
"to the sacraments of the church; and
"to that innocence and purity which
"thou hadst at thy baptism; so as,
"at thy death, the gates of hell shall
"be shut against thee, and the gates
"of paradise shall be laid open to
"receive thee. *In the name of the*
"*Father, and of the Son, and of the*
"*Holy Ghost. AMEN.*"

How blasphemous was such an indulgence with respect to the Almighty! How injurious with regard to mankind! This was throwing society into the utmost confusion, and consequently called aloud for a reformation: and therefore latest posterity may justly bless the memory of Martin Luther, who so vigorously opposed those destructive indulgences.

These were not the only circumstances which contributed to make

way for a reformation: for as the clergy had not hitherto been accustomed to hear of any opposition to the received doctrines of the church, they had not taken care to instruct the people how to maintain or defend their religious principles, if ever they should be attacked on that head.

It is no wonder therefore, if the clergy were so negligent of their duty, that the people should go over to men, who not only put those divine oracles into their hands, but publickly taught and instructed them in the true principles of christianity; and who, by a greater art of disputation, than they had been accustomed to hear, suggested to them the weakness and insufficiency of such doctrines and practices, as they had formerly been most conversant in. Such were the disadvantages in the government of the church in Scotland, at the time proceeding the reformation.

The kings of Scotland was, by grants of the Pope, invested with a privilege of nominating to all the considerable vacant bishopricks, abbies, and priories in the kingdom, the consequence of which was, that they, at the solicitation of their favourites and courtiers, usually nominated to vacant bishopricks, persons unworthy of that sacred character; and, to abbies and priories, persons of no education, nor in any orders of the church; but often children and boys, under the name of abbots and priors commendators; by which fraudulent and sacrilegious kind of dealing, the rents and benefices of the church became the patrimony of private families.

It is even certain, that persons in no ecclesiastical orders, and meer boys, were, by the presentation of the Scottish kings, and the provision of the popes, set over episcopal sees. Such being the bad use made, by the kings in question, of these privileges; the natural consequence was, that, as far too many of these prelates, were neither bred up to letters, nor endued with a virtuous disposition, they themselves not only live irregularly, but introduced by degrees, through a neglect of their charge, such a deluge of ignorance and vice, among the clergy and all ranks of men; that the state of the church seemed to call loudly for a reformation.

During the reign of bloody queen Mary, many protestant preachers and others had fled out of England, among whom was William Harlow, a Scotchman, who after having preached there some time; returned to his native country, where he performed the same duty to such as favoured the reformed opinions and principles.

After him came into Scotland, John Willocks, who had formerly been a Franciscan in the town of Air, and had resided in England; but upon queen Mary's persecution, had fled into Friesland, where he professed physick; and was sent, in 1554, by the countess of Friesland, with some commission to Mary of Lorrain, queen regent of Scotland. He returned again next year, with another commission from the same lady; after which he lived in Scotland, and there preached to as many as would resort to him;

who (it is said) were neither few in number, nor of the meaner sort.

Before this, viz. in 1550, was seized one Adam Wallace, a simple man, but very zealous for the new doctrines: This man was in all probability taken more notice of than he otherwise would have been, on account of his wife, who being employed as tutoreſs to the children of lady Ormiston, catechised them in the new forms of religion. He was seized at Winton, in East-Lothian, by the lord-primate's direction, and brought to his trial, in the church of the Black-friars, in Edinburgh, in presence of the governor, divers of the nobility and prelates, &c. when being accused of many articles, and pronounced guilty, he was burnt, next day, on the castle-hill, at Edinburgh.

It is related that he was ordered not to speak to the people at his execution: but that he nevertheless entreated them not to be offended at the truth, because of his sufferings; saying, *the disciple is not above his master*; after which, recommending his soul to God, he died with the greatest patience and resignation.

How bloody-minded must the judges of this unhappy man be, especially such of them as were ecclesiastick, to sentence him to be burnt, for instructing young persons in the articles of religion!

John Knox arriving in Scotland about the year 1555, gave great life to the reformation. He had been carried into France, at the time that the castle of St. Andrew's was taken; and after
his

his escape from that kingdom, had remained in England till the death of king Edward. From thence he went to Geneva; then to Frankfort, again to Geneva, and from thence to Scotland. This was at the close of the harvest 1555.

Many persons of reputation flocked to him to hear his discourses; wherein he expatiated chiefly on the unlawfulness of being present at the mass, which he declared to be an idolatrous worship.

So considerable was his success, in these exhortations, that a great number of persons withdrew from the churches, and began to separate openly: which being observed by the clergy, Mr. Knox was summoned to appear before the ecclesiastical judicatory, on the 15th of May, 1556, in the church of the Black-friars at Edinburgh.

But when the day came, the cause was dropt upon some informality in the summons, as was pretended: though it is more likely that the arrival of a great number of Knox's friends in town, might cause some uproar to be dreaded. It is certain that Mr. Knox preached to a greater auditory, the very day that he was ordered to make his appearance, than ever he had done before; and continued doing so many days afterwards.

The earl of Glencairn, at that time, took with him the earl Marischal, to hear one of Mr. Knox's discourses; which pleased the latter so much, that it was thought adviseable Mr. Knox should write a letter to the queen-regent, intreating a reformation in the church.

Mr. Knox did this accordingly, and the letter was delivered to her by the earl of Glencairn. But the queen calling it a pasquil, put it into the hands of the archbishop of Glasgow. This gave occasion to Mr. Knox, to make some additions to his letter two years after; both which he then printed in Geneva.

Not long after this, letters were brought to Mr. Knox, from an English congregation in Geneva, beseeching him to go and be their pastor; and accordingly he set out for that city in July, 1556. But he was scarce gone, when the Scottish clergy cited him anew to appear; and upon his not doing this, he was condemned as an heretick, and burnt in effigy at the cross in Edinburgh.

A copy of his sentence being sent him to Geneva, he answered it, under the title of *The Appellation of John Knox, from the cruel and most unjust Sentence, pronounced against him, by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland, &c.*

In 1557, the new doctrines were greatly supported, by the preachings of sundry persons in different parts of the country; as William Harlow, and John Willocks, (above mentioned) in Edinburgh and Leith; Paul Methven, a baxter in Dundee; other persons in Angus and Merns; and especially John Douglas, a Carmelite-friar, who was appointed chaplain to the earl of Argyll; and spoke openly at court, where the earl then resided, against the prevailing superstition of the times.

And

And it was observable, that, from this period, the clergy grew in less esteem: and that even many of that order, both secular and regular, (but especially of the latter,) began publicly to espouse the reformation, and to declare against the corruptions of the church of Rome.

And now the bishops, perceiving that their opponents increased daily, and were forming stated meetings and conventicles among themselves; moved the queen-regent to call the preachers before her council, and arraign them for exciting mutinies. But the day appointed for their appearance being come, such numbers flocked together, and the queen was so menaced, that she was forced to declare, she meant no harm to their preachers, and that the present diet should be discharged.

This gave new spirits to the reformers, who thereupon sent a most affectionate letter, dated March 10, 1556, to Mr. Knox, inviting him back from Geneva to Scotland.

Accordingly he by the advice of Calvin, set out, and was got as far as Dieppe, when he received advice from Scotland, not to proceed any farther; as all things were said to be at a stand there.

Mr. Knox, being grieved at this, wrote a very pathetic answer to his friends, observing to them, how greatly he was confounded, to find them so unstable in their consultations: and that if any one persuaded them, thro' fear of the danger which might follow, to faint in their intended purpose, and to prefer their worldly quiet to

Nº XIV.

God's praise and glory; such an one was to be accounted their mortal enemy. That they ought to hazard their lives, though against kings and emperors, for the deliverance of the people from spiritual bondage,

And finally, having laid before them many strong inducements, to quicken them to the work; he concluded with telling them, that the reformation of religion, and of public enormities, belonged to more persons, than either the clergy, or the chief rulers called kings.

This had so happy an effect, that they were resolved to pursue the reformation with vigour; when a bond for that purpose, dated Edinburgh, December 3, 1557, was drawn up, and signed. This bond is called by some, THE FIRST COVENANT.

John Knox, may justly be considered as one of the chief instruments and promoters of the reformation in Scotland. He had been the disciple of John Major, one of the most acute men of those times. But afterwards, he not only exploded school divinity, but freely censured many of the Romish superstitions, for which he was forced to fly from Edinburgh: and he afterwards would have been murdered by assassins, had not a gentleman protected him.

Returning to England, he was in such high esteem with king Edward, that he offered him a bishoprick; which Knox refused with indignation, he being a great enemy to the hierarchy.

3 U

Being

Being recalled to Edinburgh, with others who had been banished, he resumed his ecclesiastical labours. About November 9, 1572, he fell sick; and languished from that time, till the 24th of November following, when he died.

During his sickness, he principally discoursed on religion, with his wife, his friends, and his servant. And like other celebrated reformers, was exposed to the blackest calumny.

Among others that suffered in the year, 1558, was one Walter Mill, who, in his younger years, had travelled into Germany; and, upon his return, had been installed priest of the church of Lunan, in Angus; but upon an information of heresy, in the time of cardinal Beton, he was forced to abandon his charge, and had absconded ever since. Being now seized in the town of Dyfert in Fife, he was carried to St. Andrews, in order for his examination, before the archbishop, and several of his suffragans there convened, and was condemned by them to be burnt.

Walter Mill was eighty-two years of age, and decrepid; but it is reported that though it was scarce thought his voice could be heard, he yet delivered his mind with so much courage and composure as amazed his enemies; and that, when brought to the stake, he spoke to the spectators as follows.

The cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime, (though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner;) but only for the defence of the truth of Jesus Christ;

and I praise God who hath called me, by his mercy, to seal the truth with my life; which, as I received it from him, so I willingly offer it to his glory. Therefore, as you would escape eternal death, be no longer seduced by the lies of the seat of antichrist; but depend solely on Jesus Christ, and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation. And added, That he trusted he should be the last who would suffer death in Scotland, upon a religious account.

The spectators were greatly moved at his words; and took his death so grievously, that, as a monument of it to future ages, they raised a pile of stones, in the place where his body was burnt. This they renewed several times, after it had been thrown down, by order of the clergy; till, at last, a watch was set for apprehending any person who should be found carrying stones to that place.

This plain, good man was put to death, as is recorded, with this remarkable circumstance; that the baillie of the regality, having refused to pronounce sentence upon him, no other person could be found to supply his place as a judge; nor in the whole city could they purchase a cord to tie him with, after his condemnation; and that, on this account, his execution was suspended for a day, 'till the next morning, one of the archbishop's domesticks took upon himself to officiate as a temporal judge, and condemned Walter Mill to the flames; upon which, the ropes of the archbishop's pavilion, for want of others, were taken from thence to bind him.

It

It is not known whether this be strictly true; but a certain circumstance is, the sacrifice of this man proved the death of popery in Scotland. And, to say the truth, the clergy were so sensible that their affairs were falling to decay; that they, from that time, never dared to proceed to a capital punishment, upon account of religion. Insomuch, that in the synod held in Edinburgh, in July this year; some persons who had been impeached of heresy, were only condemned upon their non-appearance, to make a public recantation at the market-cross of that city, on the 1st of September following, being St. Giles's-Day, the tutelar saint of the city.

It was usual, at the feast of this saint, which now nearly approached, to carry his image in procession through the town; and the queen-regent was to honour the solemnity with her presence. But when the time was come, the image was missing: it having been stole from its station, by some who were too wise to pray to it.

This caused a halt to be made, till another image was borrowed from the Grey-friars, with which they set forward: and, after the queen had accompanied them a considerable way, she withdrew into the lodging where she was to dine. But no sooner was she gone, than some persons, who had been purposely appointed, tore the picture from off the shoulders of those who carried it; threw it into the dirt; broke it to pieces, and spoiled the glory of the whole pageantry. Upon this the people fell a shouting; the priests took to their heels; and there was a

great tumult, in the street, during some hours after: till at last, the magistrates having quelled the mob; and the priests being told that there was more fear than danger, crept again out of their lurking holes; when re-assembling, they judged it would be best to assume a face of confidence, hoping thereby to strike a terror into their enemies.

The following circumstances arose from a sermon preached by Mr. Knox, against idolatry and the Romish superstitions, at Perth, in the year 1559. After sermon was over, and the better sort of people were gone to dinner, some godly men remained in the church, when a priest was so imprudent as to open a tabernacle, or case, in which was curiously engraved the history of a great many saints; and he was preparing to say mass. A young boy observing this, cried aloud;—This is intolerable!—As God plainly condemns in scripture, idolatry; shall we stand and see it in our own despite? This offending the priest, he gave the child a blow; which however, afterwards helped to dash him, and all his brethren, with their saints and wealth to the ground.

For this child first threw a stone, which broke one of the pictures, when immediately the whole multitude, being fired with rage, some fell upon the priest and his tabernacle, and others upon the altars: so that in an instant, every thing in the church which favoured ever so little of idolatry, was demolished by them. This being noised abroad, the rest of the people assembled in great numbers, and flew

the monastries of the Grey and Black-friars, both of which they stripped. They next pulled down the house of the Carthusians, a noble edifice; so that, in three days time, nothing remained of those houses but the bare walls. The like outrages were committed in other towns.

About this time many persons travelled all over Scotland, soliciting subscriptions, in order to carry on the work of the reformation, under the name of the congregation, in which they had great success. But these congregations were afterwards called covenanters; from their congregating, covenanting, or agreeing to unite, in order to overthrow popery, and introduce a reformation. Among these were many of the nobility, such as the earl of Argyle, the lord James Stewart, the earl of Glencairn, &c. Their great preacher was Mr. John Knox abovementioned, whose sermons and discourses had great influence on the minds of his hearers.

These congregationers or covenanters waged war against the queen-regent, who, though of an excellent disposition, yet being a French woman of the family of the Guises, and guided by French counsels, many irregularities ensued, and many outrages were committed. It is said, the lords among the congregations, and Mr. Knox, used their utmost endeavours to restrain the violence of the vulgar, among their followers, who were resolved to demolish every thing popish in Scotland.

On this occasion the fine abbey of Scoon, where the kings of Scotland

were usually crowned, near Perth, was burnt down. While the flames were ascending, an old woman perceiving that many were offended thereat, cried aloud:—"Now I see and understand, that God's judgments are just: and that no man is able to save, where he will punish. Since my remembrance, this place (the abbey) has been nothing else but a den of whoremongers. It is incredible to believe, how many wives have been adulterated, and virgins deflowered, by the filthy beasts who have been fostered in this den; but especially by that wicked man who is called the bishop. If all men knew as much as I do, they would praise God, and no one would be offended.—At these words many were pacified; affirming with her, that this was God's just judgment."

In the year 1564-5, a disturbance of a very whimsical nature arose in the chapel of Mary Queen of Scots; the particulars of which were as follow: One Moffet, who used to attend the court, was commonly seized with a frenzy once in three years. In one of these fits he fancied himself to be queen Mary's husband. He was said to be a strong protestant, and very godly when in his senses.

This man coming one day into the queen's chapel, and finding the queen at mass, drew his sword; drove the priest from the altar into the vestry; broke the chalice; pulled to pieces the robes, relicks, cross, and candlesticks; and, in short, cut or broke every thing that fell in his way.

The

The priest who officiated was a doctor of the Sorbonne; and the queen's physician was then present, who was seized with so great a panick, that he hid himself behind the tapestry till the madman's rage was subsided. The queen was greatly offended at this disturbance, but those who disapproved of the Romish superstitions, received the highest satisfaction.

Among the many who suffered in Scotland on a religious account, before those already mentioned, was one Resby, an Englishman, who was burnt for preaching certain doctrines contrary to the papal authority. Some years after, Paul Craw, an Hussite and Bohemian, was burnt, for instilling the principles of that party, into some persons as St. Andrews. And towards the close of the 15th century, Lollardy, (as it was then termed,) had spread into many parts of the diocese of Glasgow.

Upon this account several persons of distinction were impeached; but they answered the archbishop of that see so resolutely, that he dismissed them, after admonishing them to rest satisfied with the faith of the church, and to guard against new doctrines.

The like spirit of ignorance, immorality, and superstition, having possessed the clergy of Scotland, which was so much inveighed against in other parts of Europe; we may conclude that it was proportionably greater, in nations less enlightned and polite than in others.

The pastoral care was so totally neglected, and the scandal given by the clergy so gross, that the common people, being justly prejudiced against

them, were thence more inclined to listen to the new preachers.

Among these was one Patrick Hamilton, a gentleman of noble descent, who had been educated with a design that he should one day be highly preferred; and had an abbey bestowed upon him, to enable him to pursue his studies. Travelling into Germany, he there got acquainted with Luther and Melancthon; and having imbibed their doctrines, came back to Scotland, where he laid open the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome.

He was invited to St. Andrews, to confer concerning these points; doing which, he was sentenced and imprisoned.

Certain articles were objected to him, and upon his refusing to abjure them, Beton, archbishop of St. Andrews, with the archbishop of Glasgow, three bishops and five abbots, condemned him as an obstinate heretick; delivered him over to the secular arm, and ordered his execution that very afternoon.

Being tied to the stake, he expressed great joy in his sufferings; as (he said) he should thereby gain eternal life. Fire being set to a train of powder, it only burnt his face, but did not kindle the fuel: so that, a stop being put, till more powder was brought, the friars called frequently upon him, during this cruel interval, to recant; to pray to the Virgin; and to say the *salve regina*. One friar Campbell, who had visited him often in prison, was particularly officious. Hamilton said, that he knew he was

not an heretick, and had confessed this to him in private: he charging him to answer for it to Almighty God. And now the gunpowder being come, the fire was kindled; and Hamilton expired, repeating frequently these words. Lord Jesus receive my soul! He suffered the last day of February, 1527-8. Campbell afterwards ran distracted, and died within the year. But these two circumstances, put together, made an impression upon the people; and, as these points began to be enquired into, many embraced the new opinions.

This execution is ascribed, by Drummond, to a revenge of a private quarrel against the earl of Arran.—After which several persons, in all parts of the kingdom, began to enquire into the articles, for which Mr. Hamilton had been so inhumanly treated. Many entertained favourable sentiments concerning them; insomuch that, several of the friars, from that time, declaimed openly against the leud behaviour of their brethren the clergy; and particularly in that Lent, one Seton, confessor to the king, presumed to recommend some of the new doctrines from the pulpit; and to set forth to the people, the virtues which St. Paul requires in a good minister.

This freedom was not a little gratifying to most of the clergy; and they found less difficulty to bring Seton into discredit at court, as he had used much freedom in reproving the king. So that Mr. Seton, perceiving his majesty's countenance was changed; and dreading the power and influence of the clergy, he retired from court, and

went to London, after having wrote a letter to the king.

One Henry Forest, a young ignorant Benedictine, being charged with speaking respectfully of the above Patrick Hamilton, was thrown into prison: and in confessing himself to a friar, owned that he thought Hamilton a good man; and that the articles, for which he was sentenced to die, might be defended. This being revealed by the friar, it was received as evidence; and the poor Benedictine was sentenced to be burnt.

Whilst consultation was held, with regard to the manner of his execution, John Lindsay, one of the archbishop's gentlemen, offered his advice, to burn friar Forest in some cellar; for, (said he,) the smoke of Patrick Hamilton, hath infected all those on whom it blew.

Many others were dragged to the bishop's court, most of whom abjured; but two were more resolute than the rest, viz. Gourley, who denied purgatory, and the papal authority; and David Smiton, who, being a fisherman, had refused to pay the tithes of his fish; for when his vicar came to him for this purpose, he said, the tithe was taken where the stock grew; and, for this reason, he threw the tenth fish into the sea. Smiton, on account of this and other opinions, was condemned, and he and Gourley were burnt at the same stake.

At a meeting of bishops held at Edinburgh, the following persons were accused and condemned as hereticks, viz, Killor and Beverage, two Blackfriars; Sir Duncan Simson of Sterling, a priest;

a priest; Robert Forester, a gentleman of the said city; and Thomas Forest, a canon regular. These five were burnt on the Castle hill of Edinburgh the last day of February 1538-9.

In 1545-6, David Beton, cardinal of St. Andrews, made a visitation into some parts of his diocese, when several persons were informed against at Perth, for heresy.

Three or four were banished, and some imprisoned; but the following were condemned to die, viz. William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Ronald, James Hunter, James Finlayson, and Helen Stark his wife. Great intercession was made for a pardon, but without effect. The men were hanged, and the woman drowned. Perhaps the cardinal was more inexorable on this occasion, in order to set an example (a most shocking one!) to the rest of the prelates; or, perhaps, he imagined that, by this severe punishment, he should put an effectual stop to the progress of heresy, (as it was falsely termed,) throughout the kingdom; as Perth, and the places adjacent, were more infected with the new opinions than any other part of the country.

Several others were impeached, who all fled to England or Germany. These changes brought about in England, made the people of Scotland desirous of enquiring into religion; a circumstance ever fatal to superstition. Pope Clement VII, in a letter to the king of Scotland, conjured him to adhere steadfastly to the catholic faith.

Upon this his majesty summoned a parliament; when new laws were

made for maintaining the papal authority, and for proceeding against heretics; and yet the Roman pontiff could not prevail with the king to make war upon England.

In 1537, the king of Scotland married Magdalen, daughter to the French king; but she dying, he wedded a second consort, viz. Mary of Guise, (afterwards regent of Scotland) whose family was most zealously addicted to the old superstition.

This queen, joining her interest to that of the Scotch clergy, occasioned his majesty to persecute rigorously all who favoured the new opinions.

However, though many were imprisoned, on suspicion of their favouring Luther's opinions, and many banished into foreign countries; it yet was soon found, that the kingdom began to be much divided in matters of religion; nor was it in the power of the king and council, to prevent the new opinions from spreading daily. But the more the persecution increased the greater number embraced the principles of the sufferers.

The king, who was nephew to our Henry VIII. and had a numerous offspring, was advised by the nobility to seize on the abbey-lands, in imitation of his uncle.

The clergy, on the other hand, advised him to prosecute with severity, all who should be suspected of heresy; assuring his majesty that he (by the lists they shewed him) might raise one hundred thousand crowns a year.

They likewise urged him to bestow abbeys and priories on his children; adding, that if he would adhere steadfastly

fastly to the old religion, he would have a great party in England ; and he made head of a league, which was then projecting against Henry VIII.

The Scottish king was so far swayed by these arguments, that he made four of his sons abbots or priors ; and fomented the persecuting spirit of the clergy.

Upon this, many persons were impeached of heresy ; some of whom abjured, and others were banished. Forest, a Canon regular, had been censured, by the bishop of Dunkell, his ordinary, for intermeddling too much with the scriptures. He told Forest, that himself, though so far advanced in years, was wholly unacquainted both with the Old and New Testament ; he contenting himself with his pontifical ; and that he (Forest) might have cause to repent, if he continued to concern himself with such fancies.

The archbishop of Glasgow being of a gentle disposition, was consequently an enemy to such cruel proceedings.

Russel, a friar ; and Kennedy, a youth of eighteen, being brought before the archbishop, expressed surprising joy and resolution, when they found they were to suffer. The archbishop was quite unwilling to proceed sentence, saying, that such executions did more harm than good to the church. But those about him, declaring that he must not act differently from the other bishops ; and threatening him severely, he pronounced sentence.

Russel and Kennedy were both committed to the flames ; on which occasion they gave such farther demon-

strations of patience and satisfaction, as made a strong impression on all who saw or heard this sad catastrophe.

Kennedy's tender years inclining him to some pusillanimity, he was soon fortified by the exhortations of Russel ; who, among other expressions used the following.—“ Now I defy death ; do as you please : I praise God I am ready.” — Russel having reasoned long and learnedly against his accusers, and being answered with railings and bitter speeches, replied : “ This is your hour, and the power of darkness : now ye sit as judges, and we stand wrongfully condemned ; but the day cometh which will shew our innocence ; and you shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion.—Go on, and fill the measure of your iniquities.”

The next martyr who suffered was George Wishart, (or Wischart,) a clergyman, who had been educated in Cambridge, but returned to Scotland in 1544. He preached in many places, against idolatry, and the other abuses in religion. He continued a long time at Dundee, but was drove from that town by means of cardinal Beton ; but at his departure, he denounced heavy judgments on them for rejecting the gospel. He preached in several other places ; and entrance into the churches being refused, he gave out his doctrine in the fields. He would not permit the people to force open the church-doors ; saying, that this did not become the gospel of peace, in which he instructed them.

Hearing

Hearing that the plague had broke out at Dundee, four days after his banishment from it, he returned thither; took care of the sick; and exercised the various offices of a good pastor. He proved his gentleness of spirit, with regard to his enemies, by rescuing a priest that was come to kill him, from the hands of the populace, who would otherwise have torn him to pieces. It is said, that he foretold many things; especially his own sufferings, and the reformation which would overspread the land.

He preached last in Lothian, where he was seized by the earl of Bothwell, who, though he had promised upon his honour that no harm should be done Wishart, yet delivered him to cardinal Beton, who brought him to St. Andrews, and there assembled the bishops, in order to destroy him with the greater solemnity. Hamilton, earl of Arran, regent of Scotland, being greatly prest to it by a worthy man of his name, (Hamilton, of Preston) sent and desired the cardinal not to proceed against him, till he (the regent) should have examined the affair. But the cardinal went on; and condemned Wishart in a public court, as an heretic, upon several articles objected to him, all which he confessed, and offered to justify. He spent the succeeding night of his execution in prayer; and next morning desired he might receive the sacrament, in both kinds, according to Christ's institution; but this being refused, he himself consecrated the elements; and some about him were desirous of communicating at the same time.

Nº 14.

Wishart was carried to the stake, and fixed near the palace of the cardinal; who was seated pompously in a window, to survey this cruel spectacle. Wishart protested that his soul was filled with joy, in thus offering up his life for Christ's doctrine; and he besought the people not to be offended at the word of God, for the sake of the cross. As the fire was burning him, he said: *This flame though it scorches my body, yet it cannot daunt my spirits.*

He declared that the cardinal would, in a few days, be ignominiously murdered in that very place, where he then set with so much state; but, as he was speaking these last words, the executioner drew the rope, which was fastened round his neck, so tight, that he could speak no more. His death was greatly lamented, the people considering him both as a prophet and a martyr. He was executed in the year 1545.

The death of the cardinal, as predicted by Wishart, was as follows.

Norman Lesley, eldest son to the earl of Rothes, being greatly exasperated against the cardinal, conspired, with some other persons, to take away his life. Accordingly the accomplices went early in the morning of Saturday the 29th of May, 1546, to the castle of St. Andrews; whence they drove out all the servants and workmen, after having seized the porter, and secured the gate. This was done with so little noise, that the cardinal knew nothing of it, till they knocked at the chamber door where he lay. He asking, who was there? John Lesley replied,

3 Y

my

my name is Lesley. Which Lesley? said the cardinal: Is it Norman? It was answered, that he must open to those who were there. The cardinal now began to fear the worst, and thereupon began to secure the door. Whilst they were endeavouring to force it, he asked, will ye save my life? John Lesley answered, perhaps we will. Nay, replied the cardinal, but swear unto me, by God, and I will open. To this John answered what was said, is unsaid; and then he called for fire to burn the door. Upon this the cardinal, after a promise given him, (as some relate) that no violence should be used, thought fit to open the door; and then set himself down on a chair, saying:—I am a priest, ye will not slay me. However John Lesley smote him once or twice, as did likewise Peter Carmichael: but James Melvil perceiving them both to be in wrath, said:—This work and judgment of God, although it be secret, ought to be done with greater gravity.

And now presenting to the cardinal the point of his sword, said; repent thee of thy former wicked life; but especially of the shedding the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr. George Wishart, which although the flame of fire consumed his body before men, yet it cries for vengeance upon thee; and we are sent from God to revenge it.

For here, before my God, I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have brought upon me, in particular, moved or moveth me to strike thee: but only

because thou hast been, and remainest an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel.—This said without waiting for an answer, or allowing him the smallest time for performing of that, to which he had fanatically exhorted him, he stabbed him twice or thrice through the body, and there left him weltering in his blood.—Mean time a report was spread, that the castle was taken: whereupon such as favoured the cardinal, posted thither in all haste, and called for ladders to scale the walls. But when it was told them that the cardinal was dead, whom they sought to rescue; their hearts cooled; and they dispersed at the sight of his dead body; this being shewn to them, from that place where before, he had beheld the execution of Mr. Wishart.

In the year 1559, when there was a probability of completing the treaty of Cambray (by which the reformed were to be persecuted) the cardinal of Lorraine, of the house of Guise, wrote to his sister, the queen-regent of Scotland, as also to the archbishop of St. Andrews; informing them of the resolution taken to extirpate heresy; and pressing them to employ their endeavours for that purpose. The queen-regent saw plainly, that she would thereby not only forfeit the promise made by her to the lords, who had hitherto adhered to her, upon assurances given them of her protection; but that the peace of Scotland would likewise be endangered. For besides that their party (the reformed) was strong, it was not to be doubted but that queen Elizabeth would support them:

them: for which reasons the queen-regent was not inclined to favour her brother's bloody counsels. However, the bishops resolved to run every hazard; and to strike an universal terror, by some severe executions. The first who suffered, at this time, was Walter Mill, of whom we have before treated.

The nobility and gentry had presented the preceding year, a petition to the queen-regent, praying that the service might be performed in the vulgar tongue; that the communion might be administered in both kinds; and that such priests as led scandalous lives might be removed, and worthy men put in their places. The queen-regent being unwilling to exasperate so formidable a party, before the dauphin was declared king of Scotland; promised that they should not be punished on account of prayers having been said in the vulgar tongue.

They then moved, in parliament, for a repeal of those laws, by which bishops were impowered to prosecute hereticks; and intreated that such points only might be judged heresy, as were condemned by the word of God. Her majesty answered, that these things could not pass, because of the opposition made by the spiritual estate.

Against this they entered a protest to the following purpose; That having moved, in the most humble manner, for a redress of abuses, they consequently were not to be blamed for any evils which might ensue from her majesty's rejecting their petition. The queen, after she had obtained her ends, with

regard to the dauphin, ordered all the protestant preachers to be served with citations.

The early of Glencairn was thereupon sent to remind her majesty of her former promises: but she made him the rough answer following: That they should be banished Scotland, in spite of all that might be attempted in their favour; adding, that princes were bound to perform their promises, no farther than was convenient for them. They replied, that if the queen renounced her promises, they would renounce their allegiance to her. This bad conduct of the queen-regent, and what follows, must be imputed to the sanguinary counsels of the Guises; she herself being an excellent woman, as will farther appear hereafter.

In St. Johnstoun, the abovementioned party entered the churches, and there heard sermons publickly. The ministers were flocking from all parts, to appear on May 20, (the day for which they had been cited;) and vast numbers accompanied them.

The queen, fearing the ill effects of so vast a multitude of people, dispatched an order, forbidding their coming; whereupon many returned home; notwithstanding which, they were declared rebels for their non-appearance. This foul play occasioned many to leave her, and go over to those who were assembled at Johnstoun. And now the people were so strongly enflamed, that they broke into the houses of the monks and friars; when after distributing every thing found in them, (except what the monks had conveyed away

away to the poor ;) they razed these convents to the ground.

This enraged the queen so much, that she resolved to punish that town in an exemplary manner. She immediately assembled the French soldiers and others : but the earl of Glencairn getting together 2500 men, marched with incredible speed to that place, where there were now 7000 armed men ; which intimidating the queen, a reconciliation was agreed upon.

An oblivion, with regard to every thing past, was now promised ; all matters concerning religion were to be referred to a parliament ; and her majesty was to be admitted into Johnston, upon condition of not taking the Frenchmen with her.

Notwithstanding this, she marched them into the town ; when she not only put a garrison therein, but punished them for what was past. Upon their objecting the promise made by her, she replied ; *Princes are not to be strictly tied down to promises, especially those made to hereticks ; adding, that she thought it no sin to destroy them all ; and that, when this should be done, she would find good reasons to justify her conduct.* All this (as was observed) must be ascribed to the cruel suggestions of the Guises.

The minds of the people were alienated to such a degree at this conduct of the queen-regent, that they began to pull down images and monasteries in many places. All this the queen regent represented to the French king, as being done with no other view than to shake off the Gallic yoke ; and therefore intreated that a greater force

might be sent her, in order to reduce the country.

On the other hand, the lords sent over certain persons, to give his Gallic majesty an impartial account of things ; and to inform him, that an indemnity for all that was past, and the free exercise of their religion in time to come, would give full satisfaction.

The French king began now to be apprehensive, that the keeping Scotland, in tranquility, would put him to great expence ; and he saw the danger that must ensue, should the Scotch throw themselves into the arms of the queen of England. He therefore deputed a person, in whom the constable of France put the utmost confidence, into Scotland ; commanding him to bring him a genuine account of the state of an affair, which was so variously represented.

However, before the person deputed could come back, the French king died, and the constable was disgraced ; when all affairs being put into the hands of the brothers of the house of Guise, no moderate councils were listened to. And now the people of Scotland rose so universally against the queen-regent, that she was obliged to retire to Dunbar-castle. She once resolved to refer the whole affair to a parliament ; but 2000 troops coming over, from France, to her aid ; and assurances being given her of a greater force, she threw off all fear ; and advancing to Leith, fortified it.

Upon this the lords declared, that, during the minority of their queens, the government was vested principally in the estates ; and that the regent, being

being only the chief administratrix, was therefore accountable to them; and thereupon they resolved to remove her from the regency.

They accused her lighting up a war in the kingdom, and of brining in foreigners to subdue it; of debasing the coin; of governing without the consent of the nobility; and breaking her faith, and promises made to them.— They then pronounced her to be fallen from the regency, and suspended her power till the meeting of the parliament. The lords (now styled lords of the Congregation) withdrew from Edinburgh to Sterling; upon which the French marched to the former, and again set up mass in the churches there.

Immediately new succours, commanded by marquis d'Elbeuf, one of the brothers to the queen-regent, came from France, so that they were, by this time, 4000 French in Scotland. But now the whole nation, as the queen had such a number of foreign forces, united against, and considered her as their common enemy. The Scotch, who had hitherto been secretly encouraged and assisted with both money and ammunition from England, were forced to implore more openly queen Elizabeth's aid; and France was so much divided with intestine broils, that this queen was not much afraid of engaging in a war with France: whence she was the more easily inclined to aid the Scotch. A treaty being concluded between the English and Scotch, 2000 horse, and 6000 foot marched out of England to succour the Scotch. They besieged Leith,

Nº 14.

during which each side sustained considerable loss; but that of the English was soonest made up, as supplies were so near at hand. At last, queen Elizabeth offered to mediate a peace between France and Scotland: but before that could be affected the queen-regent died.

During her sickness, she sent for some of the Scotch lords, and begged pardon for the injuries she had done them. She advised them to send away both the English and French out of Scotland; intreating them to persevere in the allegiance they owed their queen. Discourfing with one of their preachers, her majesty declared, that she expected to be saved through the merits of Christ only. She had ruled the Scotch nation, till the last year of her life, with so much justice and wisdom; and set so shining an example to others, both in her own person, and in the order of her court; that had she but died before the bloody counsels of her brother led her astray, she would have been more lamented than any queen, who had been in that country for many years.

This queen-regent, of the family of Guise, is sometimes called Mary of Lorraine; Guise being a branch of that of Lorraine. She was daughter of Claude the first duke of Guise: was first married to Lewis duke of Longueville; and, after his death, to James V. king of Scots. Her body was put into a coffin of lead, and carried to France, in October following; and buried in the Benedictine-monastery of St. Peter at Rheims, in Champagne. Not long after, a peace was concluded

3 Z

between

between England, France, and Scotland: an oblivion was granted for whatever had past; the French and English were to be sent out of Scotland; and all other affairs referred to a parliament, which met accordingly in August.

At this meeting of parliament, all acts, in favour of the Romish religion, were repealed; and a confession of faith, drawn up by John Knox, and afterwards inserted among the acts of parliament Anno 1567, was confirmed. These acts met with no opposition except from three temporal lords, who declared that they would not depart from the faith of their fathers. But they were assented to by the spiritual lords, as well bishops as abbots; who dilapidated the lands and revenues of the church in a most unheard of manner. The abbots turned their abbeys into temporal estates; and the bishops, though they still adhered to popery, divided all their lands among their bastards and kindred; they procuring a confirmation, from Rome, of many of those grants.

By this means that church was so greatly impoverished, that had not king James I. and king Charles I. with great zeal, retrieved some part of the ancient revenues; and provided a considerable maintenance for the inferior clergy; every encouragement to religion and learning, in Scotland, would have been reduced to so very low an ebb, that barbarism must have again overspread that kingdom. When these acts were sent over to France, they were rejected with the utmost scorn, which made the Scotch appre-

hensive of a fresh war: but Francis II. dying soon after, suppressed all their fears; for their queen, being no longer favoured by so mighty a crown, was obliged to return home. In this manner queen Elizabeth severed Scotland from its ancient dependance on France; and acquired afterwards so great an interest in the former, that most affairs there were chiefly governed by her influence.

The establishment of the reformation, which was completed in the year 1560, was followed by an order to pull down all the monasteries, which was immediately put in execution. Mary, queen of Scots, on her return to her kingdom in 1561, was received with great demonstrations of joy, both by the nobles and the people. However, she had the mortification to see the reformation established by such strict laws; that none but herself was allowed to have mass said in her chapel, and this without any pomp. Nevertheless, some lords still continued to profess the old religion; and being in hopes of restoring it, by her authority, they thence made their court to her with great assiduity. Their lords were very considerable, by their birth, their riches, and their vassals: and yet they, perhaps, would never have once thought of restoring the old religion, had they not depended on the queen's favour, who only could balance the power of the Protestants. Their first project was, to alienate her, if possible, from such of the protestants as had most credit with her, and with the nation; and as James Stuart, her natural brother, adhered strongly to the
the

the protestant religion, he thence became the chief object of their hatred. The queen, on her arrival, had made him chief minister, whence they exerted their utmost endeavours to destroy him in her good opinion. But all the

efforts of the Romanists, to restore popery, proved ineffectual; and it has never been able to triumph in Scotland, since the times of which we have been treating: and we hope never will so long as time shall be.

O F T H E
R O M I S H P E R S E C U T I O N S
I N
I R E L A N D.

THE reformation of the church in Ireland was principally owing to one George Browne, an Englishman, consecrated (in London) archbishop of Dublin, the 19th of March 1535, in the 26th year of Henry VIII. He had been an Augustin-friar, and provincial of his order, and is said to have acquired this dignity merely from his merit.

Having enjoyed it about five years, he, at the time that Henry VIII. was demolishing the religious houses in England, caused all the relicks and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of the rest of the churches in his diocese; in whose place he substituted the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, all framed and gilt.

This archbishop was the first of the

clergy in Ireland, who quitted the Romish religion, and professed the principles of the English reformers.

Soon after this he received a letter from Thomas Cromwell, lord privy-seal, informing him, that Henry VIII. had thrown off the papal supremacy, in England; and was determined to do the like in Ireland; and that he thereupon had appointed him (archbishop Browne) one of the commissioners for seeing the same put in execution:—The archbishop wrote (in December 1535) to the lord privy-seal, in answer, that he had employed his utmost endeavours, at the hazard of his life, to cause the Irish nobility and gentry to acknowledge king Henry as their supreme head, in matters both spiritual and temporal; but had met with a most violent opposition, especially

cially from George, archbishop of Armagh: that this prelate had, in a speech to his clergy, laid a curse on all those who should own his highness's (for such was the kings of England stiled in those days) supremacy: adding, that their isle, called in the chronicles, *Insula sacra*; or, The Holy Island, belonged to none but the bishops of Rome; and that the king's progenitors had received it from them. He observed likewise, that the archbishop, and the clergy of Armagh, had each dispatched a courier to Rome; and that it would be necessary for a parliament to be called in Ireland, to pass a supremacy act, the people not regarding the king's commission. He concluded with observing, that the popes had kept the people in the most profound ignorance; and that the clergy themselves knew little more; they not being able to say mass, or pronounce the words, of the Latin tongue, in which they had no skill. He concluded with observing, that the common people were more zealous, in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs had been in the defence of truth, at the beginning of the gospel: and that it was to be feared O'Neal would oppose the king's commission.

The next year a parliament was summoned at Dublin; which being met, archbishop Browne made a speech wherein he set forth; that the bishops of Rome used, antiently, to acknowledge emperors, kings and princes to be supreme in their own dominions; and, therefore, that he himself would vote king Henry VIII. as supreme, in

all matters, both ecclesiastical and temporal. He concluded with saying, that whosoever should refuse to vote for this act, was not a true subject to the king. This speech greatly startled the other bishops and lords; so that the act passed with great difficulty.

A few years after, the archbishop wrote a second letter to lord Cromwell, complaining of the clergy; and hinting at the machinations of the pope of Rome, then carrying on against the reformation. This letter is dated Dublin, April 1538. He says, among other particulars, *That a bird may be taught to speak with as much sense, as many of the clergy do in this country. These, though not scholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dissuade them from following his highness's (the king's) orders.—It is meet I acquaint you first, that the Romish relicks and images of both my cathedrals in Dublin, (of the Holy Trinity and St. Patrick,) take off the common people from the true worship, but the prior, and the dean, find them so sweet for their gain, that they heed not my words. Therefore send, in your lordship's next to me, an order more full; and a chide to them, and their canons, that they (the images) may be removed. Let the order be, that the chief governors may assist me in it. The prior and dean have writ, to Rome, to be encouraged, which will greatly embolden the people.—What follows is remarkable, viz. The country folk here much hate your lordship: and despitefully call you, in their Irish tongue, The Blacksmith's Son. As a friend, I desire your lordship to look to your noble person.*
Rome

Rome hath a great kindness for the duke of Norfolk, and great favours for this nation, purposely to oppose his highness.

Upon this the Pope sent over, to Ireland, (directed to the archbishop of Armagh, and his clergy) a bull of excommunication, against all who had, or should, own the king's supremacy within the Irish nations; and adding a curse to all of them, and theirs, who should not, within forty days, confess to their confessors, (after the publishing of it to them,) that they had done amiss in so doing.

Of all which archbishop Browne gave notice, in a letter, dated Dublin, May 1538. Part of the form of the confession, or vow, sent over to these Irish papists, ran as follows. *I do further declare, him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friends or acquaintance whatsoever, ACCURSED, " that either " do or shall hold for the time to " come, any ecclesiastical or civil " power, above the authority of the " mother church; or that do or shall " obey, for the time to come, any of " her the mother of churches opposers " or enemies, or contrary to the same, " of which I have here sworn unto: " so God, the blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the holy evangelists, help, &c.*

The councils of Lateran and Constance, expressly declare, that no favour should be shewn to hereticks, nor faith kept with them. That they

N^o 14.

ought to be excommunicated and condemned, and their estates confiscated; and that princes are obliged, by a solemn oath, to root them out of their respective dominions.

Very justly, therefore, might Dr. Borlase observe, that "*the martyrology (speaking of the Irish massacre of 1641) exceeded that of former ages; and that it is amazing to reflect, that more arts of cruelty have been invented by the Romish clergy, in their persecutions of the protestants, than were ever practised by the heathens.*"

How abominable a church must that be, which thus dares to trample upon kings! how stupid the people who pay a regard to the injunctions of such a church!

In the archbishop's last mentioned letter, dated May 1538, he says, that *His highness's vice-roy, of this nation, is of little or no power with the old natives.— This nation is poor in wealth and not sufficient to oppose them.— Now, both English race and Irish begin to oppose your lordship's orders; and do lay aside their national quarrels, which I fear will, (if any thing will) cause a foreigner to invade this nation.*

Not long after this archbishop Browne seized one Thade O'Brian, a Franciscan frier; who had got a paper sent from Rome, dated May 1538, and directed to O'Neal. In this letter were the following words;— *His holiness Paul, now pope, and the council of the fathers, have lately found, in Rome, a prophecy, of one St. Lacerianus, an Irish bishop of Cashell, wherein he saith: That the mother church of Rome, falleth, when, in Ireland, the catholic faith*

4 A

faith is overcome. Therefore, for the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own secureness, suppress heresy, and his holiness's enemies.

This Thade O'Brian, after farther examination and search made, was pilloryed, and kept close prisoner till the king's farther orders should arrive for his trial. But news coming over from England, that Thade O'Brian was to be hanged, he laid violent hands on himself, in the castle of Dublin. His corps were carried to Gallows-Green, where being hung up, they was afterwards buried.

An order was directed, to Sir Anthony Leger, the lord deputy of Ireland, commanding that the liturgy, in English, be forthwith set up in Ireland, there to be observed within the several bishopricks, cathedrals, and parish churches; and it was first read in Christ-Church, Dublin, on Easter-day 1551, before the said Sir Anthony, archbishop Browne, and others. Part of this order, was as follows:—

Whereas our gracious Father, king Henry VIII. taking into consideration, the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful subjects sustained, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome; how several fabulous stories, and lying wonders misled our subjects; dispensing, with the sins of our nations, by their indulgences and pardons, for gain; purposely to cherish all evil vices, as robberies, rebellions, thefts, whoredoms, blasphemy, idolatry, &c. our gracious father hereupon dissolved all priories, monastries, abbies, and other pretended religious houses; as being but nurseries for vice or luxury, more than for sacred learning, &c.

When the common-prayer was first received in Christ-church, Dublin, the following wicked scheme was projected by the papists.

There stood, in this cathedral, a marble image of Christ, holding a reed in his hand, with a crown of thorns on his head. Whilst the English service (the common-prayer) was reading before the lord-lieutenant, the archbishop of Dublin, the privy council, the lord-mayor, and a great congregation, blood was seen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, and to trickle down the face of the image. Hereupon, some of the contrivers of the imposture cried aloud: *See how our Saviour's image sweats blood!—But it must necessarily do this, since heresy, (the common-prayer) is come into the church.* Immediately many of the common people prostrated themselves, with beads in their hands before the image, and prayed to it. Vast numbers flocked to see this sight; whence such confusion arose, that the congregation broke up; and the lord-lieutenant, and council, hastened out of the choir, for fear of danger.

But now the archbishop, suspecting the cheat, caused the image to be searched and washed, to see whether it would bleed afresh. This was no sooner done, but a sponge was found within the hollow of the image's head, which one Leigh, (sometime a monk of that cathedral) had soaked in blood: and watching his opportunity, early on Sunday morning, had fixed the sponge so swollen with blood, within the crown of the image's head; that the blood fell, drop by drop, upon the face.

Immediately

Immediately the sponge was brought down, and shewed to those worshippers; who, now greatly ashamed, cursed father Leigh, and the contrivers of the cheat. These afterwards did public penance in the church; and stood on a table before the pulpit with their crimes writ on their breasts: the archbishop preaching that day, before the lord-lieutenant, and council, on the seasonable text following: *God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lye.* 2 Theff. ii. 11.

The news of this imposture being brought to England, at the time that queen Elizabeth was of opinion, that images ought to be kept in churches, might, very possibly, induce her, to issue an order, for their removal.

That the Romish clergy of Ireland were great fomentors of the rebellions in that kingdom is particularly evident from their treacherous and disloyal behaviour, under queen Elizabeth and king James I. they urging continually, to the people, the lawfulness of killing all protestant, who supported the right of the crown of England, to Ireland: assuring, that all papists who should die fighting against the protestants, would go immediately to heaven.

These Irish ecclesiasticks, under Charles I, were greatly increased by titular Romish archbishops, bishops, deans, vicars general, abbots, priests, and friars; for which reason in 1629, the public exercise of the popish rites and ceremonies was forbid.

Nevertheless, soon after, the Romish clergy erected a new popish university in the city of Dublin. Not contented

with this, they proceeded to build, publicly, monasteries and nunneries, in many parts of the kingdom; and in those places, these very Romish clergy, and the chiefs of the Irish, held frequent meetings; and, from thence used to pass to and fro, to France and Spain, to Flanders, to Lorrain and Rome; where the detestable rebellion of 1641, was then hatching, by O'Neal, and his followers.

When the order came over from England to Ireland, for publishing proclamations for reading the English liturgy, Sir Anthony St. Leger summoned an assembly of the archbishops, bishops, and other clergy of Ireland, and informed them of the king's pleasure.

Immediately George Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh, stood up, and opposed the order with all his might; saying, then every illiterate fellow will be able to read the mass. To this Sir Anthony answered; there are already too many illiterate priests, who know not the meaning of the Latin, nor can even pronounce it. George Dowdall then bid Sir Anthony beware of the clergy's curse; to which the other replied, that he feared it not. Then George Dowdall left the assembly, with several of his suffragan bishops (him of Meath excepted;) whereupon archbishop Browne taking the order from Sir Anthony, declared his submission to it, in like manner as Jesus did to Cæsar, in all things just and lawful.

Now several of the more moderate bishops and clergy, joined with arch-
bishop

bishop Browne ; soon after which Sir Anthony St. Leger was recalled to England ; and Sir James Crofts placed in his room, in April 1559. George Dowdall still refusing to obey the order aforesaid, he was deprived of the title of primate of all Ireland ; and the same was conferred on George Browne then archbishop of Dublin ; after which George Dowdall, according to some writers, was banished.

On the demise of King Edward VI. A council being summoned in Dublin, a division sprung up, some declaring for lady Jane Grey, others for lady Mary, who, at last, was voted queen ; upon the promise she made, to confirm every thing enacted in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. She kept it during three or four months, after the coronation ; but, then, having accomplished her design, she, pursuant to the practice of the papists, broke her faith with hereticks ; after which every thing was undone that had been settled by the reformers, who then were persecuted with fire and faggot in England.

Sir James Crofts being recalled, and Sir Anthony St. Leger put in his place, George Browne was deprived of his archiepiscopal see, which, after continuing vacant two years, was filled by Hugh Corrin or Corwine, an Englishman, who was also made chancellor of Ireland. For this purpose queen Mary sent a letter, dated Greenwich, September 25, in the second and third year of her reign.—George Browne died not long after.

At Easter 1551, he had preached a sermon in Christ-Church, upon the

following text, *Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law.* Psalm. cxix. verse 18, in which he inveighed against the church of Rome ; and particularly against the Jesuits, of whom he says, " These shall spread over the whole world ; shall be admitted into the council of princes, and they never the wiser ; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts and the secrets therein unto them, and yet they not perceive it.—But, in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them ; so that, in the end, they shall become odious to all nations, and be worse than Jews."

A very extraordinary accident at this time, prevented the Protestants in Ireland from being persecuted by the papists ; the particulars of which are as follow : Queen Mary, resolving to persecute them, appointed Dr. Cole, (a bloody agent of Bonner) one of the commissioners for this purpose.

He, being arrived at Chester, with his commission ; the mayor of that city being a papist, waited upon him ; when the doctor taking out of his cloak-bag, (before the mayor, a leather-box, said, *Here is a commission that shall lash the hereticks of Ireland.* The good woman of the house being a protestant ; and having a brother in Dublin, named John Edmonds, was greatly troubled at what she heard. But watching her opportunity, whilst the mayor was taking his leave, and the doctor complimenting him down stairs ;

stairs; she opened the box; took out the commission; and, instead thereof, laid in a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards, and the knave of clubs at top. The doctor not suspecting any thing, put up the box, and arrived with it in Dublin in September 1558. Then waiting upon the lord Fitz Walters, at that time vice-roy, he presented the box to him, which being opened, nothing was found therein but a pack of cards.

This startling all the persons present, the lord-deputy said, *We must procure another commission; and, in the mean time, let us shuffle the cards.*

Dr. Cole was returning to England, to get another commission; but waiting for a wind, news came that queen Mary was dead; very happily for the protestants, who, by this means escaped a cruel persecution.

The above relation is confirmed by historians of the greatest credit; who add, that queen Elizabeth settled a pension of forty pound *per ann.* upon the above-mentioned Elizabeth Edmonds, for having thus saved the lives of her protestant subjects.

At the accession of queen Elizabeth to the throne, Ireland was inhabited by the native Irish; and by English families who had been transplanted thither, ever since the reign of Henry II; and was governed by a vice-roy or lord lieutenant. His authority, however, was not considerable enough to awe the Irish.

There were, among these, many great men, who, though they outwardly recognized the king of Eng-

N^o 14

land's sovereignty; yet imagined they had a right to do themselves justice, whenever any supposed injury was done to them. Hence those lords frequently made war one upon another, regardless of the vice-roys, who had not force sufficient to check them; but were obliged to send for troops from England, whenever a rebellion broke out in Ireland; and as this was expensive, forces were never sent over but in the last extremity. Thus, as few of the lord-lieutenants were able to force obedience, they thence willingly connived at the destructive irregularities committed by the Irish lords, for fear of hurting the royal authority: but, contenting themselves with filling their purses; they left, to their successors, the curbing the insolence of the Irish.

This conduct swelled the lords of the country with so much arrogance; that they acknowledged the royal authority no farther than was just sufficient to protect them from their enemies. Add to this, the aversion that the Irish naturally had for the English government; which aversion was increased on occasion of the change projected by queen Elizabeth, in matters of religion.

The Irish being extremely ignorant, had thence a strong attachment to the pope, a circumstance which disposed them to listen to the Romish emissaries, who were perpetually exciting them to rebellion. Hence queen Elizabeth was obliged to keep a watchful eye over the transactions of that island; well knowing the great credit which the pope, her mortal enemy had in it.

4 B

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding all her precautions in 1567, a rebellion broke out in Ireland, headed by Shan O'Neal, a lord of great interest in the northern part of that island: but it ended with the death of that rebel, who was slain by his own people.

In 1569 fresh commotions broke out in that kingdom, excited by Edmund and Peter Boteler, brothers to the earl of Ormond; who being sent from England, persuaded them to lay down their arms. This rebellion had been fomented by the king of Spain, who, in conjunction with the pope, also endeavoured to spirit up another in 1577, by the advice of Thomas Stukely, an English fugitive.

In 1594, the famous Hugh O'Neal, earl of Tir-oen, raised a mighty rebellion in Ireland, he having been promised assistance from the king of Spain; which obliged queen Elizabeth to send a strong re-inforcement to the above-mentioned island. This rebellion continued some years.

The earl of Essex was sent, in 1599, to Ireland, at the head of 20,000 foot, and 1300 horse, who yet were not able to put out this flame; so vigorously was it fomented by Tir-oen; and it was not extinguished till after the arrival of the lord Mountjoy in that island, viz. till 1602, when Tir-oen came and submitted himself to him, and was afterwards poisoned by queen Elizabeth.

About the year 1607, the lord Mountjoy brought Tir-oen to London, and presented him to king James I, who received him very graciously; but Tir-oen returning afterwards to Ire-

land, he again attempted to raise a rebellion, but not succeeding, was forced to fly from that island.

No very remarkable transaction happened from this time till the year 1641, a little before which, the rebels of Ireland had presented to the lords justices of that kingdom, a remonstrance, demanding the free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary; to which both houses of parliament, in England, solemnly answered, that they would never grant any toleration to the popish religion in Ireland.

On the 23d of October, 1641, (the feast of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits,) there broke out a desperate and most formidable rebellion. The revolt was general. This was a rebellion, so execrable in itself, so odious to God and to the whole world; that no age, no kingdom, no people, can parallel the horrid cruelties, and the abominable murders, which were then, without number or without mercy, committed upon the protestant British inhabitants, of every age, quality, or condition, throughout the land.

In Multifernan Abbey, a convent of Franciscans in the county of Westmeath, the horrid resolution was taken, how, most effectually to extirpate and destroy the whole race of protestants in Ireland; which was then concluded should be perpetrated, either by total banishment, (the punishment inflicted on the Moors in Spain;) or by death, or miseries worse than either. And so very closely, and under such a disguise of friendship, was this hideous conspiracy

conspiracy carried on by these men; that visits of seeming kindness were never so frequently made to the protestants, as at that very time. This was done, the more compleatly, to effect the inhuman and treacherous designs then machinating.

The Romish clergy were first in the secret, and had a great share in this detestable conspiracy, by means of the unbounded influence they had over the minds and consciences of their people.

That the papists were at the bottom of this conspiracy, was evident from the letter writ by pope Urban, to the rebel O'Neal, October 18, 1642; and to the popish clergy and nobles of Ireland the February following. But most expressly was this unheard of scene of cruelty, publicly justified and approved of in the very words of pope Urban VIII. to the catholicks of Ireland; wherein the rebels, who engaged in this enormous and most detestable act, were promised to be publicly rewarded with a plenary indulgence, and a remission of all their sins.

This execrable conspiracy was first discovered by Owen O'Connelly, an Irishman; for which most signal service, the parliament voted him five hundred pounds, and a pension of two hundred pounds *per ann.* until better provision could be made for him.

And so very seasonably was this plot discovered, even but a few hours before the city and castle of Dublin were to have been surprized; that the lords justices had but just time to put themselves, and the city, in a posture of defence; and to seize the lord Mac

Guire, and his accomplices in their beds; in whose lodgings were found swords, hatchets, pole-axes, hammers, and such other instruments of death as had been prepared, for the utter extirpation of the hereticks; those wretches having come, the night before into Dublin, to execute this treacherous and inhuman design.

On the 22d of October, 1641, Sir Phelim O'Neal, upon pretence of paying a friendly visit, to the lord Charlemont, first seized him perfidiously in the castle; killed his servants before his eyes; and, a few days after, basely murdered that noble lord, and others in cold blood; as fully appeared in the trial of lord Mac Guire; who was executed for high-treason, at London, in 1644.

And having thus begun to embrue their hands in innocent blood, they continued to hang, drown, burn, bury alive; and, by other methods of torture, to massacre great multitudes of the British protestants, who had not time to save themselves by flight.

The Jesuits, priests, and friars, having a great share in this detestable plot, they had no time to promote it; and, when the day for the execution of it was agreed upon, they in their prayers recommended the success of a great design; much tending, (as they said) to the prosperity of the kingdom, and to the advancement of the catholic cause. They every where declared to the common people, that the protestants were hereticks, and ought not to be suffered to live any longer among them; adding, that it was no more sin to kill an Englishman than
to

to kill a dog; and that the relieving or protecting them was an unpardonable sin.

As soon as the fire began to break out, and the whole country to rise about the protestants; these immediately flew to their friends for protection, some relying upon their neighbours, others upon their landlords, others upon their tenants and servants, for reservation, or at least present safety; and, with great confidence, put their persons, their wives, their children, and all they had, into their power. But these, generally, either betrayed them into the hands of other rebels, or most perfidiously destroyed them with their own hands.

The Irish papists having besieged the town and castle of Longford; and the inhabitants, who were protestants, having surrendered, upon condition of being allowed quarter; the besiegers, the instant the town's people came out, fell upon them: their priest, as a signal for the rest to fall on, first ripping open the belly of the English protestant minister; after which his followers soon hanged up the rest.

In like manner was the garrison, at Sligo, treated by O'Connor Siygah; who, upon the protestants quitting their holds promised them quarter; and to convey them safe over the Curlew mountains, to Roscommon. But he first imprisoned them in a most loathsome goal; allowing them only grains for their food. Afterwards, when some rebels were merry over their cups, who were come to congratulate their wicked brethren for their victory over these unhappy

creatures: those protestants who survived, were brought forth by the White-friars; and were either killed, or precipitated over the bridge into a swift water, where they were presently destroyed. It is added, that the above wicked company of White-friars went some time after, in solemn procession, with holy water, in their hands, to sprinkle the river; upon pretence of cleansing and purifying it, from the stain and pollution of the blood and dead bodies of the hereticks, as they called the unfortunate protestants, who were inhumanly slaughtered at this very time.

At this time Dr. Bedell, bishop of Kilmore, was forcibly taken from his episcopal residence at that place, where he had charitably settled and supported a great number of despoiled protestants, who had fled from their habitations, to escape the diabolical cruelties committed by the papists. But they did not long enjoy the consolation of living together; for Dr. Swiney, the popish titular bishop of Kilmore, soon took possession of bishop Bedell's house; said mass, in his church, the Sunday following; and then seized on all his goods and effects. The rebels soon after forced him, his two sons, and the rest of his family, with some of the chief of the protestants in his company, in December, into a ruinous castle called Lochwater, situated in a lake, near the sea shore. Here himself, with his companions, remained some weeks, in expectation of death. Most of them were stript naked; by which means, as the season was very cold, and the house open, they suffered greatly

greatly. There they continued till the 7th of January, uninterrupted in the exercise of their religious worship; and were afterwards released. The bishop was then most courteously received into the house of Dennis O'Sheridan, one of his clergy, whom he had made a convert to the church of England. He did not long survive this kindness.

During his abode in this tabernacle, his whole time was spent in religious exercises; the better to fit and prepare himself, and his sorrowful companions for their great change; as nothing but certain death, and misery, were perpetually before their eyes.

However, though broken with age, being then in his seventy-first year, and afflicted with an ague, caught in his late cold and desolate habitation on the lake; finding his dissolution at hand, he received it with joy; like one of the primitive martyrs; just hastening to his crown of glory. For after having addressed his little flock, and exhorted them to patience, in the most pathetic manner, as they saw their own last day approaching; after having solemnly blessed his people, his family, and his children; and finished the course of his ministry and life together; he expired the 7th of February, 1641.

His friends and relations applied to the new intruding bishop, for leave to bury him, which was obtained with difficulty. He at first, telling them, that the church-yard was holy ground, and should no longer be defiled with hereticks: however, leave was, at last, obtained, and though the church

funeral service was not used at the solemnity, (for fear of the Irish papists,) yet some of the better sort of the rebels were pleased to honour the remains of this holy confessor to his grave, for whom they, in his lifetime, had had the greatest veneration.

At his interment, they discharged a volley of shot, crying out, *Requiescat in pace, ultimus Anglorum*: that is, *May the last of the English rest in peace.* Adding, that as he was one of the best, so he should be the last English bishop found among them.

His learning was very extensive; and he would have given the world a greater proof of it, had he printed all he wrote. Scarce any of his writings were saved; the rebels having destroyed most of his papers, and his library. He had gathered a vast heap of critical expositions of scripture, all which, (with a great trunk of his manuscripts) fell into the hands of the Irish. Happily his great Hebrew MS. was preserved, and is now in the library of Emmanuel-College.

These cruelties were still more considerably extended; for in the barony of Tyrawley, the papists, at the instigation of their friars, compelled above forty English protestants, some of whom were women or children, to the hard fate either of falling by the sword, or of drowning themselves in the sea. These chusing the latter, rather to trust themselves to the mercy of the rebels; they were accordingly forced, by the naked weapons of those inexorable wretches, into the deep; where they, with their children in
their

their arms, first waded up to the chin ; and afterwards sunk down, and perished all together. In the county of Tyrone, no less than 300 protestants were drowned in one day.

Dr. Maxwell at that time, lived near Armagh, being rector of Tynon, in that diocese ; and, with his family, was a great sufferer in this rebellion. This bishop, in his examination, taken upon oath before his majesty's commissioners, declared, that the Irish rebels owned, to him, that they, at several times, had destroyed, in one place, twelve thousand protestants, whom they inhumanly slaughtered at Glynwood ; in the flight of those miserable people from the county of Armagh.

As the river Bann was not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the Irish forced, at different times, a great number of unarmed, defenceless protestants, (forty in a company ;) and there, with pikes and swords, violently thrust above a thousand of them into the river, where they all miserably perished.

Nor did the fair and goodly cathedral of Armagh escape their barbarous hands ; it being maliciously set on fire by their leaders, and burnt to the ground, And to extirpate, if possible, the very race of those unhappy protestants, who lived in or near Armagh ; the Irish first burnt all their houses ; and then gathered together many hundred of those innocent people, young and old, upon pretence of allowing them a guard and safe conduct to Colerain ; yet fell upon them, most treacherously, by the way, and cruelly murdered them all.

These desperate wretches, flushed and grown insolent with this success, (though by methods attended with such excessive barbarities, as were never practised even by the most savage heathens) soon got possession of the castle of Newry, where the king's stores and ammunition were lodged ; and, with as little difficulty, made themselves masters of Dundalk.

They afterwards took the town of Ardee, where they murdered all the protestants in revenge for their ill success before Tredagh or Drogheda, and so marched on, with the same rapidity and fury, to Drogheda, being then many thousands in number. The Irish hoped they should take that frontier garrison ; and afterwards destroy all the protestants, both there and in the city of Dublin, with those of the neighbouring counties round it. The garrison of Drogheda was in no condition to sustain a siege ; and the treachery of the popish inhabitants, within the town, was almost as dangerous as the fury of the Irish rebels from without ; these being masters of almost the whole country round, on both sides the Boyne ; yet, so often as they renewed their attacks, they were as often courageously and vigorously repulsed, by a very unequal number of the king's forces ; and a few faithful protestant citizens, under Sir Henry Tichborne, the governor, assisted by the lord Viscount Moore, ancestor of the earl of Drogheda. The siege of Drogheda began November 30, 1641, and held till March 4, 1642, when Sir Phelin O'Neal, and the Irish rebels, were forced to retire.

In

*Engraved for England's
Bloody Tribunal.*



*Massacre of the Protestant Martyrs at y Bridge over the
River Bann in Ireland.*

their arms, first waded up to the chin ; and afterwards sunk down, and perished all together. In the county of Tyrone, no less than 300 protestants were drowned in one day.

Dr. Maxwell at that time, lived near Armagh, being rector of Tynon, in that diocese ; and, with his family, was a great sufferer in this rebellion. This bishop, in his examination, taken upon oath before his majesty's commissioners, declared, that the Irish rebels owned, to him, that they, at several times, had destroyed, in one place, twelve thousand protestants, whom they inhumanly slaughtered at Glynwood ; in the flight of those miserable people from the county of Armagh.

As the river Bann was not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the Irish forced, at different times, a great number of unarmed, defenceless protestants, (forty in a company ;) and there, with pikes and swords, violently thrust above a thousand of them into the river, where they all miserably perished.

Nor did the fair and goodly cathedral of Armagh escape their barbarous hands ; it being maliciously set on fire by their leaders, and burnt to the ground. And to extirpate, if possible, the very race of those unhappy protestants, who lived in or near Armagh ; the Irish first burnt all their houses ; and then gathered together many hundred of those innocent people, young and old, upon pretence of allowing them a guard and safe conduct to Colerain ; yet fell upon them, most treacherously, by the way, and cruelly murdered them all.

These desperate wretches, flushed and grown insolent with this success, (though by methods attended with such excessive barbarities, as were never practised even by the most savage heathens) soon got possession of the castle of Newry, where the king's stores and ammunition were lodged ; and, with as little difficulty, made themselves masters of Dundalk.

They afterwards took the town of Ardee, where they murdered all the protestants in revenge for their ill success before Tredagh or Drogheda, and so marched on, with the same rapidity and fury, to Drogheda, being then many thousands in number. The Irish hoped they should take that frontier garrison ; and afterwards destroy all the protestants, both there and in the city of Dublin, with those of the neighbouring counties round it. The garrison of Drogheda was in no condition to sustain a siege ; and the treachery of the popish inhabitants, within the town, was almost as dangerous as the fury of the Irish rebels from without ; these being masters of almost the whole country round, on both sides the Boyne ; yet, so often as they renewed their attacks, they were as often courageously and vigorously repulsed, by a very unequal number of the king's forces ; and a few faithful protestant citizens, under Sir Henry Tichborne, the governor, assisted by the lord Viscount Moore, ancestor of the earl of Drogheda. The siege of Drogheda began November 30, 1641, and held till March 4, 1642, when Sir Phelin O'Neal, and the Irish rebels, were forced to retire.

In

*Engraved for England's
Bloody Tribunal.*



*Massacre of the Protestant Martyrs at y^e Bridge over the
River Bann in Ireland.*

...the place to lay
heads on, no lobby to cover the
...no good to all their
...
All organs of relief were dis-
onate to their want. The poor
habitant refused to admit
least comfort into them; whence the
poor creature appeared as in some
ghost in the house. The houses
little and one house were told
them, whilst some lay in the open
street, and others under hells, where
they perished miserably. The children
were the common recipients of the
of the parent's love, their flesh and blood
in a most cruel manner, as objects
of charity, in such great numbers, that
there was no passage into them.
The better condition, who were
...to beg, and to
...and some of the
...to take, and
...and used without
...
And to better eyes, the remain-
...of their former misfortune,
...and to responsible
...of their former
...but they were
...That being
...with the vast fatigue of their journey,
...and the cruel usage they met with,
...being exhausted, and the
...being miserably
...and soon after they had got to
...this city, great numbers of them died,
leaving their bodies as monuments
the most infamous cruelty, exercised
upon them. The greatest part of the
...and children, the children



...of which
...the magazine of all the
...ammunition, and other provisions
...of the army, and other provisions
...the English, and other
...very
...and encompassed on
...
The northern rebels being come
...in great numbers, as far as
...from the county of
...other rebels from the county of
...making it on the other
...which filled the inhabitants with
...
...was greatly increased by the
...of vast numbers of English pro-
...all of them being and many
...deposited, who came out of the
...Many persons of rank and dis-
...covered with old rage, and some
...any other covering than a
...twisted straw, and some of the
...Some to the
...others who had
...came badly wounded. Wives
...directly lamenting the fate of
...husbands; mothers that of their
...children, miserably distressed
...eyes, poor infants, ready to be
...and to put out their teeth, at
...their mother's bosoms. Some were
...with long nails, some were
...on their knees. Others bore with
...ready to give up the ghost, and
...Others overpowered
...grew distracted.
...was the city, within a few
...after the breaking out of the re-
...filled with most lamentable
...of horror. The wretched
...down to the numbers in all

In consequence of which, the city of Dublin, the magazine of all the arms, ammunition, and other provisions of the army; and the chief sanctuary of all the English despoiled protestants, was now reduced to a very sad condition, and encompassed on every side.

The northern rebels being come down in great numbers, as far as Drogheda, within twenty miles of Dublin; and other rebels, from the county of Wicklow, infesting it on the other side: which filled the inhabitants with terror.

This was greatly increased, by the sight of vast numbers of English protestants, all of them stript and miserably despoiled, who came out of the north. Many persons of rank and quality, covered with old rags, and some without any other covering than a little twisted straw to hide their nakedness. Some reverend ministers, and others, who had escaped with their lives, came sadly wounded. Wives came, bitterly lamenting the fate of their husbands; mothers that of their children, barbarously destroyed before their eyes; poor infants ready to perish, and to pour out their souls in their mother's bosoms. Some, over weary with long travail, came creeping on their knees. Others froze with cold, ready to give up the ghost in the streets. Others, overwhelmed with grief, grew distracted.

Thus was the city, within a few days after the breaking out of the rebellion, filled with most lamentable spectacles of sorrow. These wandered up and down, in great numbers, in all

parts of the city; desolate and forsaken; having no place to lay their heads on; no cloths to cover their nakedness; no food to fill their hungry bellies.

All manner of relief was disproportionate to their wants. The popish inhabitants refused to administer the least comfort unto them; whence these poor creatures appeared as so many ghosts in the streets. The barns, the stables, and out-houses were filled with them; whilst some lay in the open street; and others under stalls, where they perished miserably. The churches were the common receptacle of those of the meaner sort: these stood in them in a most dismal posture, as objects of charity, in such great multitudes, that there was no passage into them. But those of better condition, who could not condescend to beg, crept into private places; and some of these, having no friends to relieve them, wasted silently away, and died without noise.

And, so bitter was the remembrance of their former miserable condition, and so insupportable the burthen of their present calamity, (to many,) that they even refused to be comforted. Thus, being worn out with the vast fatigue of their journey, and the cruel usage they met with; their spirits being exhausted, and their souls fainting, they lay sadly languishing. And soon after they had got to this city, great numbers of them died; leaving their bodies as monuments of the most inhuman cruelty, exercised upon them. The greatest part of the women and children, thus barbarously driven

driven out of their habitations, died in the city of Dublin. Such numbers perished, that all the church-yards, within the city, were not large enough to contain them; so that the lords justices gave orders, that two large pieces of new ground, (one on each side of the river,) should be set apart for burial places.

The design of the rebels was, after they had possessed themselves of other towns, to seize the city and castle of Dublin; and thus extirpate all the English, root and branch; and not leave them posterity, or even a name, throughout the whole kingdom of Ireland.

By the relations of those times, it appears that one hundred and fifty thousand innocent, unguarded, unarmed protestants, had the hard fate to suffer under the most inhuman and most detestable cruelties: were either massacred in cold blood, or sent to starve and perish in the woods, in the coldest and most rigorous season of the year.

In the reign of king James II. at the time of his pretended popish parliament, held in Dublin, Anno 1689, no less than 2445 of the protestant nobility, clergy, and gentry of Ireland, were attained of high-treason.

At this time, under the earl of Tyrconnel's popish administration, the Irish protestants suffered greatly; as was evident, from the ravages and depredations, the oppressions and hardships, the bonds and imprisonments, and the untimely deaths to which multitudes were exposed. A dagger was put to their breasts; their houses

were fired; most of their churches shut up, or made their prisons; the fountains of religion and learning stopt; the revenues of the city of Dublin seized; the vice-provost, with the fellows of the college, and all the scholars, forcibly turned out of their chambers; and the buildings at once made a garrison for soldiers.

And had not God's goodness been most eminently displayed, in the wonderful and unexpected preservation of the city of Londonderry, and town of Enniskillin; by the resolution and uncommon bravery of the persons who defended those garrisons, in the midst of innumerable difficulties and hardships; there had not one place remained for refuge to the distressed protestants in the whole kingdom of Ireland; but all must have been given up to king James, and to the furious popish party who governed him. And had not Ireland been providentially reduced to the obedience of king William and queen Mary; the failure therein might have proved destructive not only to the British kingdoms, but to the whole protestant interest in Europe.

The remarkable siege of Londonderry was opened, April 18, 1689, by 20,000 papists, the flower of the Irish army; who were prepared with all things necessary for the engagement; and assisted by marshal general De Rosen, and another commander, men of great experience. The city of Londonderry was not fit to sustain a siege; and the defenders were only the citizens of the town; a company of raw, undisciplined protestants, who had fled for shelter into that city; and half a
regiment

regiment of lord Mountjoy's disciplin-
ed soldiers ; making, in all, only 7361,
fighting men.

Upon the desertion of governor Lundy, the reverend Mr. George Walker was chose joint-governor, during the siege, with major Baker. The besieged suffered mostly by sickness and famine, for want of proper food, and a due quantity of provision. They hoped, at first, that their stores of corn and other necessaries, would be sufficient ; but by the continuance of the siege, their wants daily increased ; and these became, at last so heavy, that, for a considerable time before the siege was raised, (July 31,) a pint of coarse barley, a little greaves, a few spoonfuls of starch, with a very moderate proportion of horse flesh, were reckoned a week's provision for a soldier ; and a shilling was the common price for a quart of horse's blood. They were, at last, reduced to such extremities, that they eat dogs, horses, cats and mice.

Their miseries increasing with the siege, many, through mere hunger and want, pined and languished away ; or fell dead in the streets. And it is very remarkable, that when their long-expected succours arrived, they were upon the point of eating one another ; or attempting to fight their way through the Irish, which would have been impossible.

These succours were most happily brought by sea, by the Mountjoy of Derry, and the Phoenix of Colrain ; at which time the besieged believed that they had but two days to live ;

N^o 15

had only 9 lean horses left ; with a pint of meal to each man. By hunger and the fatigue of war, their 7361 fighting men, were 4300 ; one fourth part whereof were rendered unserviceable. And as the calamities of the besieged were very great, so likewise were the terrors and sufferings of their protestant friends and relations ; all who, (men, women and children,) were forcibly driven from the country, thirty miles round ; and inhumanly reduced to the sad necessity, of abiding some days and nights, without food or covering, before the walls of the town ; and were thus exposed to the continual fire, both of the Irish army from without, and from the shot of their friends from within.

The Irish army, reflecting that the besieged had many relations in the adjacent country, and had a general kindness for all the protestant neighbours thereabout ; issued out orders, to bring together all the protestants, men, women, and children ; protected and not protected ; and to set them before the walls, there to receive the shot of the besieged ; whilst the besiegers made their approaches, under their covert. And, in the mean time to starve them out, in case their friends, in the town, would not, out of compassion, deliver up themselves, and their city, into the hands of these murderers.

The dragoons and soldiers executed this order with the utmost rigour. They first stript, and then drove the whole country, for thirty miles before them ; not sparing nurses with their

4 D

young

young children, women big with child, nor old decrepid people, Some women in labour, and some just brought to bed, were driven among the rest.

The very popish officers, who executed these horrid orders, confessed that it was the most dismal sight they had ever beheld, and that the cries of the poor people seemed still to ring in their ears.

The papists owned, that there were about 5500 of these; that many of them were kept without meat or drink during a whole week; that several hundreds died in the place before they were set at liberty; and many more, as they were returning to their houses,

It is assured that the soldiers, rap-
parces, and pilferers, who followed the army, left them neither meat, drink, household goods, nor cattle, they having plundered all places in their absence; so that the greatest part of them afterwards perished for want, and many more knocked on the head by the soldiers.

The day before the siege of Londonderry was raised, the Inniskillers engaged a body of six thousand Irish Roman catholicks, at Newtown-Butler or Crown-Castle; of whom near 3000 were slain.

By a report made in Ireland in the year 1731, it appeared, that a very great number of ecclesiasticks had, in defiance of the laws, lately flocked into that kingdom; that several convents had been opened by Jesuits, monks, and friars: that many new and pompous mass houses had been erected, in

some of the most conspicuous parts of their great cities, where none had been built before; and that such swarms of vagrant, immoral Romish priests had appeared, that the very papists themselves complained of their burthen.

Notwithstanding all this, the protestant interest stands upon an infinitely stronger basis than it did an hundred years ago,

The Irish, who formerly led an unsettled and roving life, in the woods, bogs, and mountains, and lived on the depredation of their neighbours: they who, in the morning devoured the prey; and, at night, divided the spoil; have now, during many years past, become quiet and civilized.

They taste the sweets of English society, and the advantages of civil government. They trade in our cities; they are employed in our manufactures. They are received also into English families; and are treated with great humanity, by the protestants.

The heads of their clans, and the chiefs of the great Irish families, who cruelly oppressed and tyrannized over their vassals, are now dwindled, in a great measure, to nothing; most of the ancient popish nobility and gentry of Ireland have turned protestants. So that the great bulk of the Irish people consists, chiefly, of the meaner and lower sort, who shew no aversion to the English customs, or to the other, which is now seen in that kingdom.

And it is not to be doubted, but that inestimable benefits will accrue to Ireland, from the establishment of protestant schools in different parts of

it; in which the children of the poor Roman-catholicks, at the same time that they are taught industry, are also instructed in religion and reading;

whereby the mist of ignorance is dispelled from their eyes; the great source of those cruel rebellions with which that land has been infested.

T H E
H I S T O R Y and O R I G I N
O F T H E
I N Q U I S I T I O N.

POPE Innocent III, being desirous to extirpate all those who began to think freely, and so to treat the see of Rome, declared open war against the Albigenes and Waldenses; famous for first lighting the pure flame of Reformation in the church. This was followed by the establishment of the Inquisition, which completed the destruction of that unhappy people, and which was founded under the direction of Dominic, on whom the title of Saint was bestowed.

Innocent, reflecting, that, what open force soever might be exerted against them, still vast numbers would carry on their worship in private, thought it necessary to establish a standing and perpetual remedy, that is, a tribunal, composed of men whose sole occupation should be, the searching after, and punishing heretics. This tribunal was

called, *The Inquisition*, and Dominic was the first *Inquisitor*.

Dominic, having been sent to Toulouse, to convert the heretics, took up his residence at the house of a nobleman, of this city, infected with heresy. However, our missionary found means to bring him back to the church; after which, the nobleman devoted his house with his family, to St. Dominic and his order. The tribunal of the Inquisition was established in this place, which is still called, *The house of the Inquisition*.

It may hence be concluded, that Dominic was the first Inquisitor, and Toulouse the first city where the Inquisition was settled. Some say, that this was in 1208, and others, in 1212, or 1215; but, which soever may be the true æra, is of no great consequence.

These

These Inquisitors had, at first, no particular tribunal, their function being only to inquire or search after heretics, (whence the former received their name, Inquisitor) to examine into their number, strength, and riches; which being done, they made a report thereof to the bishops, who, as yet, were the only persons authorized to take cognizance of spiritual matters. On these occasions the Inquisitors used to urge the prelate to excommunicate and punish all heretics who should be impeached.

Pope Innocent, being wholly dissatisfied with the indolence of the bishops, and their officials whose zeal he thought much too lukewarm against heretics; imagined that he perceived, in the Dominican and Franciscan, whose orders were but lately founded, all the qualities requisite for directing this new establishment.

The monks of those orders were fired with an implicit and boundless zeal for the court of Rome, and wholly devoted to its interests. They had full leisure to pursue that glorious work, as this would be their only business. They were descended from the dregs of the people; and had no kindred, as it were, or other tie, which might check the rigors of this tribunal; they were severe and inflexible: the solitude and austere life professed by them, and of which they seemed already tired: the meanness of their dress and monasteries, so widely different from their present state; and, especially, the humility and mendicant life to which they, perhaps, had too heedlessly devoted themselves: these

things, rendered them exceedingly fit for the office in question, which (in the opinion of the pontiff) would soften the asperity of their vows, and smother their ambition, some seeds whereof were still left in their minds.

Innocent III. having thus made sure of a set of people, so firmly devoted to his service, and so admirably well qualified to exercise an employment, whose chief characteristics are extreme severity and cruelty; sought for every opportunity to increase their authority, by appointing them a particular tribunal, where they were to sit, hear and pronounce sentence against heresies and heretics, as judges delegated by him, and representing his person.

This pope first enlarged their authority, by empowering them to bestow indulgences, to publish crusades, and to excite nations and princes to join the crusades, and march forth, in order to extirpate heresy.

In 1244 the emperor Frederic II. increased their power much more, by publishing four edicts, in Pavia. He, therein, declared himself protector of the Inquisitors; decreed, that the clergy should take cognizance of heresy, and the lay judges prosecute heretics, after that the former had heard them. He, likewise enacted, that all obstinate heretics should be burned; and such as repented, imprisoned for life.

The reason why Frederic testified so much zeal for the Christian religion, was, in order to destroy a report, which the popes, with whom he had been engaged in violent contests spread, throughout all the courts of Christendom, viz. that he intended to renounce the

the christian religion, and turn Mohammedan. This very probably induced him to exert himself, with greater severity against the heretics, than any of his predecessors; he being the first emperor who sentenced to death all heretics, without distinction.

But whatsoever might have been the motive which prompted this prince to act with so much rigour against them, it is certain, if he at first reaped some little advantage from this conduct, it afterwards proved infinitely prejudicial both to himself and his successors; since the court of Rome turned the power with which he had invested the Inquisitors, both against this monarch and the friends to the empire, not only in Italy, but in other countries.

In a word, the Roman pontiffs used their utmost endeavours to increase this authority, in order to make the Inquisitors still more formidable; they exerted this power with most success under the specious pretence of religion, by making all who presumed to oppose the temporal authority of the popes feel the dire effects of it.

The tribunal is said to have been introduced by the artifice of *John Perex de Saavedra*, of *Jaen*, in *Spain*. We are told, that he having found out the secret to counterfeit apostolical letters, amassed by that means, about thirty thousand ducats, which were employed by him in order to bring the Inquisition into Portugal, and that in the manner following: He assumed the character of Cardinal

Nº 15.

Legate from the Sea of Rome; when forming his household of one hundred and fifty domestics, he was received in the above-mentioned quality, at *Seville*, and very honourably lodged in the archiepiscopal palace.

Advancing after this towards the frontiers of Portugal, he dispatched one of his secretaries to the King, to acquaint with his arrival, and to present him with fictitious letters from the emperor, the king of Spain, the pope, and several other princes, both ecclesiastical and secular, who all intreated his majesty to favour the legate's pious designs.

The king overjoyed at this legation, sent a lord of his court to compliment him, and attend him to the royal palace, where he resided about three months.

The mock-legate having succeeded in his designs, by laying the foundation of the Inquisition, took leave of his majesty, and departed, greatly satisfied with his achievement; but unluckily for himself, he was discovered on the confines of Castile, and known to have been formerly a domestic of a Portuguese nobleman. He was then seized, and sentenced ten years to the galleys, where he continued a very long time, till at last he was released from thence, anno 1556, by a brief from pope Paul IV. This pontiff, who used to call the Inquisition, *the grand spring of the papacy*, wanting to see him.

We are told that the Inquisition of Portugal was copied from that of Spain, and introduced in the former, anno 1535. But Mr. de la Neuville

4 E

in

in his history of Portugal, declares, that the Inquisition was introduced there anno 1537, under John III, and settled in the cities of Lisbon, Corri-bra, and Evora.

The Inquisition has subsisted ever since in Portugal, and is the most severe, the most rigid and cruel of any in the world.

The tribunal in question rose, afterwards, with the Spanish and Portuguese names, and shared as it were in their acquisitions; for these two nations making boundless conquests in both the Indies, established the Inquisition in the several countries won by their arms after the same methods and under the same regulations as in their dominions in Europe.

We find that endeavours were used to introduce the Inquisition into England under the reign of queen Mary. *The justices of the peace, says bishop Burnet, were now every where so slack in the prosecution of heretics, that it seemed necessary to find out other tools: So the courts of Inquisition were thought on.*

These were set up in France against the Albigenes, and afterwards in Spain for discovering the Moors; and were now turned upon the heretics. Their power was unaccountable; they seized on any thing they pleased, upon such informations or presumptions as lay before them. They managed their processes in secret, and put their prisoners to such torture as they thought fit, for extorting confessions or discoveries from them.

At this time in 1557, both the Pope and king Philip, though they differed

in other things, agreed in this, that they were the only sure means of extirpating heresy. So as a step to the setting them up, a commission was given to Bonner, and twenty more, the greatest part lay-men, to search all over England for all suspected of heresy, who did not bear mass, go in processions, or take holy bread, or holy water.

They were authorised, three being a quorum, to proceed, either by presentments, or other politic ways. They were to deliver all they discovered to their ordinaries; and were to use all such means as they could invent, which left to their directions and consciences for executing their commission. Many other commissions, subaltern to theirs, were issued out for several counties and dioceses.

This was looked on as such an advance towards an Inquisition, that all concluded it would follow ere long. The burnings were carryed on vigorously in some places, and but coldly in most parts; for the dislike of them grew to be almost universal.

How greatly are we indebted to such of our generous ancestors, as, under the immortal Queen Elizabeth, rescued us, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, from that diabolical yoke, the Inquisition, which Britons, it is to be hoped, will never fall so low as to suffer to take footing among them.

The Inquisition has not enlarged its jurisdiction since the attempts made to force it into the Netherlands. Such countries as had admitted this tribunal before, are still subject to it, and those which had refused it, have been so

so happy as to keep it out ; so that it is now confined to a great part of Italy, and the dominions subject to the crowns of Spain and Portugal ; yet its power reaches over a larger extent of ground than all Europe ; and in the several places where it is established, the sad marks thereof are put too apparent.

The officers of the inquisition are three inquisitors or judges, a fiscal proctor, two secretaries, a judge, a receiver, and a secretary of confiscated possessions, assessors, counsellors, an executor, physicians and surgeons, a jailor, a messenger, door-keepers, families and visitors, who are invested with great privileges, and sworn to the utmost secrecy.

The first circumstance which subjects a person to this tribunal, is heresy. Under this head are comprehended all persons who have spoken, written, taught or practised any tenets contrary to the scriptures, to the articles of the creed, and especially to the traditions of the church of Rome.

Likewise such as have denied the Catholic faith, by going over to some other religion ; or who, though they do not quit the Roman communion, praise the customs and ceremonies of other churches ; practise some of them ; or believe that persons may be saved in all religions, provided they profess them with sincerity.

They also consider as heretics, all who disapprove any ceremonies or customs received not only by the church, but even by the inquisition.

All who think, say, or teach any thing contrary to the opinion received

at Rome, with regard to the Pope's unlimited authority, and his superiority over general councils : or, who speak, teach, or write, contrary to the papal decisions on what occasion soever.

A suspicion of heresy, which is the second case, is still more extensive, for to incur suspicion it is enough that such a person only start some offensive proposition, or fail to impeach those who advance such,—or condemn, or mutilate images,—or read books condemned by the Inquisition, or lend them to others.

That person, also, incurs this suspicion, who deviates from the ordinary customs relating to religion practised by the Romanists ; as letting a year pass without going to confession or communion ; the eating meat on fish days, or neglecting mass at the times enjoined by the church.

They also are suspected, who, being in holy orders, repeat such sacraments as should not be repeated ; endeavour to enter into the marriage state ; or marry two or three wives.

In fine, such incur a suspicion of heresy as go but once to the sermons of heretics, or any other of their public exercises, or neglect to appear before the Inquisitors when summoned, or procure absolution the same year they were excommunicated ; also the lodging, or contracting a friendship, with heretics, making them presents, or even visiting them ; especially the preventing their imprisonment in the Inquisition ; or furnishing them with opportunity of escaping, though excited thereto by the strongest ties of blood,
of

of gratitude, or pity. Nay, to such lengths is this article carried by the Inquisitors, that persons are not only forbidden to save heretics, but are obliged to discover them, though a father, brother, husband, or wife, on pain of excommunication, of incurring a suspicion of heresy, and of being obnoxious to the rigours of the tribunal, as abettors of the heresy. How unnatural, how cruel is such an injunction !

Under the name of Fautors, or abettors of heresy, which constitute the third case, are comprehended all who favour, or defend, the protestant principles.

These are distinguished by the advising, or assisting, in any manner, those whom the Inquisitions have begun to prosecute,—or, who, knowing persons to be heretics, or, to have escaped from the prisons of the Inquisition, or, who, upon their being cited to appear, refused to obey the summons, yet conceal, advise, or assist them in order to their escape: likewise, all who by threats, or otherwise, molest the agents of the tribunal in the execution of their office; or who, though they do not themselves obstruct them, aid or abet opposers.

Under the name of Fautors of heresy are also included those who speak, without permission, to the prisoners, or who write to them, either to give them advice or comfort.

Such as by money, or otherwise, prevail on witnesses to be silent, or to favour the prisoners in their depositions; or who conceal, burn, or get possession, in any manner whatever, of

papers which may be of use to convict persons accused.

The fourth case subject to the judgment of the Inquisition, includes magicians, wizards, sooth-sayers, and the like, of whom it is supposed, very idly sure, that there are more in Italy than in any other country, the Italian women being strangely curious and credulous.

We shall not specify the various accusations brought on these occasions, they consisting of ridiculous superstitions, arising from a heated imagination and blind credulity, rather than from a depraved will, and a corrupt heart.

We will only observe, that among the several cases subject to the Inquisition, none fills it's prisons with a greater number of women of all conditions.

Blasphemy, the fifth case, though very common, and one of the greatest crimes, yet the Inquisitors do not take cognizance of it, except it contain some heresy. We shall forbear giving instance thereof here, it being much better for mankind that such things should be buried in oblivion.

Though neither Jews, Mohammedans, or such like, are subject to the Inquisition, yet in many things they are obnoxious to it; as in all the cases above-mentioned; those crimes not being tolerated in Jews and Mohammedans, &c. more than in Christians.

Farther, the above-mentioned become subject to the Inquisition, if they assert, write, or publish any particulars contrary to the Roman communion.

Thus

Thus, for instance, should a Jew or Mohammedan deny a Trinity, or a Providence, he would be punished as an heretic; as also was he to hinder a person, professing any of those religions, from turning Christian, or convert a Romanist to theirs, or favour such a design.

Jews are not allowed to vend, publish, or even keep the Talmud, or any book which speaks contemptuously of the Christian religion, or is prohibited by the Inquisition; and in fine, are not permitted to have Christian nurses, or to do any thing in contempt of the Romish religion.

The Inquisitors take cognizance of such cases, and punish offenders in them with the utmost severity; so that the dread of this obliges those unhappy people to become converts to popery.

The utter abhorrence in which these new converts are held, makes them unite more closely one with the other, in order to perform mutual services, which they could not expect from the old Christians. But this very union is commonly the source of their misfortunes.

To illustrate this I need but observe, that, if a new Christian, who is sincerely such, happens to contract a very strict intimacy with other new Christians, this alone would be sufficient to make him suspected of practising Jewish ceremonies with them, in secret.

In consequence of this suspicion, such person is seized by order of the holy office, and accused, by a deposition of some person, of being a Jew. Being conscious of his innocence, he

N^o 15.

flatters himself, that nothing will be easier for him than to prove it publicly; whence he makes no difficulty to comply with the custom established by the Inquisitors, viz. of giving immediately a complete inventory of all his effects, &c. upon the firm persuasion that they will be restored to him the instant he shall have justified himself. But he is mistaken, for, presently after he has given in such inventory, the Inquisitors seize his effects, and sell them publicly by auction.

The bare accusation pronounces him guilty, and he has no other way to escape the flames, than by making a confession conformably to the articles of the indictment. As his accusers, the witnesses, and himself, are not brought face to face, his innocence is of no service. His riches prove his ruin, those being certainly seized; and his life would inevitable fall a sacrifice should he not acknowledge himself a relapsed Jew, though he had always been a zealous Romanist.

The sixth and last case subject to the judgment of the Inquisition, is of those who resist its officers, or any way oppose it's jurisdiction. As one of the chief maxims of the tribunal is to strike terror, and to awe such as are subject to it; it punishes, with the utmost severity, all who offend it's agents and officers.

On these occasions the slightest fault is considered as an heinous crime. Neither birth, employment, dignity, or rank, can protect. To threaten ever so little, the lowest officer belonging to

4 F

the

the Inquisition, it's informers, or witnesses, would be punished with the extremest rigour.

Such are the cases which subject a person to the Inquisition.

Having thus treated of the cases which subject a person to this tribunal; we will now consider the ways by which such a one becomes so.

First, by common fame, which declares him to be guilty of one or more of the crimes before specified.

Secondly, by the deposition of witnesses, who impeach him.

Thirdly, by his being informed against by the spies of the inquisition, who are dispersed every where. And

Fourthly, by the confession of the prisoner, who accuses himself in hopes of being treated with greater humanity, than if he had been informed against by others.

The manner of prosecuting a person impeached is, sometimes, upon the slightest suspicion. First, he is summoned three several times, to appear before the Inquisitors; when, if, thro' fear or contempt, he should neglect to do this, he would be excommunicated, and sentenced, provisionally, to pay a considerable fine, after which, should he be seized, a more severe sentence would inevitably be passed upon him.

The safest course, therefore, for a person impeached, is, to obey the first summons. The longer he delays, on this occasion, the more criminal he makes himself in the eye of the Inquisitors, though he should really be innocent.

To disobey their command is ever considered by them as a crime. They

always look upon delays to be certain indications of guilt, as showing a dread to appear before the judges.

When, therefore, a person is reduced to this sad extremity, nothing can secure him from the most rigorous punishment but a voluntary and perpetual exile. Nothing is forgot by the inquisitors; time cannot obliterate any crime; and prescription is a thing unknown to them.

It frequently happens that the Inquisitors, either from their considering the crime of which a person stands impeached as enormous, and that they have sufficient evidence against him, or from their apprehending that he may escape, immediately issue their order, without first sending a summons, for his being seized in any place whatever.

When this is the case, no asylum or privilege can stop, a single moment, the prosecution, nor abate it's rigors.

The Inquisitors give an order, under their own hands, to the executor, who takes a sufficient number of familiars along with him, to prevent a rescue.

Words cannot describe the calamity of a man under these circumstances. He, perhaps, is seized, when in company with his friends, and surrounded by his family; a father by his son's side; a son by that of his Father; and a wife in the company of her husband. No person is allowed to make the least resistance, or even to speak a single word in favour of the wretched prisoner; who is not indulged a moment's respite to settle his most important affairs.

From hence our reader may judge of the continual apprehension with which

which the persons, who inhabit the countries where the Inquisition is established, must necessarily be filled; since, in order to secure themselves from it, one friend is obliged to sacrifice another; sons their parents; parents their children; husbands their wives, and wives their husbands, by accusing them to the pretended holy office.

How horrid a scene of perfidy and inhumanity! What kind of community must that be, whence gratitude, love, and a mutual forbearance, with regard to human frailties, are banished! What must that tribunal be, which obliges parents, not only to erase from their minds the remembrance of their own children, to extinguish all those keen sensations of tenderness and affection wherewith nature inspires them, but even to extend their inhumanity so far as to force them to commence their accusers, and, consequently, to become the cause of the cruelties inflicted upon them!

What ideas ought we to form to ourselves of a tribunal, which obliges children not only to stifle every soft impulse of gratitude, love, and respect, due to those who gave them birth, but even forces them, and that under the most rigorous penalties, to be spies over their parents, and to discover, to a set of merciless Inquisitors, the crimes, the errors, and even the little lapses to which human frailty so often exposes. In a word, a tribunal, which will not permit relations, when imprisoned in its horrid dungeons, to give each other the succours, or to perform the duties which religion enjoins.

What disorder and confusion must such a conduct give rise to in a tenderly affectionate family! an expression, innocent in itself, and, perhaps, but too true, shall, from an indiscreet zeal, or a panic fear, give infinite uneasiness to a family, shall ruin its peace intirely, and, perhaps, at length, cause one or more of its members to be the innocent, unhappy victims of the most barbarous of all tribunals.

What distractions must necessarily break forth in an house where the husband and wife are at variance, or the children loose and wicked! Will such children scruple to sacrifice a father, who endeavours to restrain them by his exhortations, by reproofs, or paternal corrections? Will not they rather, after plundering his house to support their extravagance and riot, readily deliver up their unhappy parent to all the horrors of a procedure, founded on the blackest injustice.

A riotous husband, or a loose wife, have likewise an easy opportunity, assisted by means of the prosecutions in question, to rid themselves of one who is a check to their vices, by delivering him or her up to the rigours of the Inquisition.

Every detestable expedient, such as false oaths and testimonies, are employed, with impunity, to sacrifice an innocent person. Very justly, therefore, might an ingenious French author, a Romanist, write thus, speaking of the various courts in Lima: *The most formidable of all the tribunals is that of the Inquisition, whose bare name strikes universal terror. 1st. Because the informer, is admitted as a witness. 2dly,*
A₃

As the persons impeached never know those who inform against them. 3dly, As the witnesses are never confronted. Hence innocent people are daily seized, whose only crime is, that certain wretches are bent on their destruction.

When a person is once imprisoned by the Inquisitors, his treatment is still more cruel. He is more thoroughly searched, to discover, if possible, any books or papers which may serve to convict him; or some instrument he may employ to put an end to his life, in order to escape the torture, &c. Of this there are but too many sad examples; and some prisoners have been so rash as to dash out their brains against a wall, upon their being unprovided with scissars, a knife, a rope, or the like.

After a prisoner has been carefully searched, and his money, papers, buckles, rings, &c. are taken from him, he is conveyed to a dungeon, the sight of which must fill him with horror. Torn from his family and friends, who are not allowed access, or even to send him one consolatory letter, or take the least step in his favour, in order to prove his innocence: he sees himself instantly abandoned to his inflexible judges, to melancholy and despair, and even often to his most inveterate enemies, quite uncertain of his fate. Innocence, on such an occasion, is as a weak reed, nothing being easier, than to ruin an innocent person.

After his arrival at the prison, the Inquisitor, attended by the officers of this mock holy tribunal, goes to the prisoner's abode, and there causes an

exact inventory to be made of all his papers, effects, and of every thing found in his house. They frequently seize all his possessions, at least the greatest part of them, to pay themselves the fine to which he may be sentenced; for very few escape out of the inquisition without being entirely ruined.

The house of the Inquisition in Lisbon is a very spacious edifice. There are four courts, each about forty feet square, round which are the cells or prisons, being in number about three hundred: those on the ground floor are allotted for the vilest of criminals, as they are termed, and are so many frightful dungeons, all of the free-stone, arched over, and very gloomy. The cells on the first floor are filled with less guilty persons; and women are commonly lodged in those of the second story. These several galleries are hid from view, both within and without, by a wall above fifty feet high; built a few feet distant from the cells, which darkens them exceedingly.

The house in question is of so great an extent, and contains so vast a variety of turnings, that I am persuaded a prisoner could scarce find his way out, unless he was previously well acquainted with them.

The apartments of the chief Inquisitor, which likewise are very large, make part of this house. The entrance to it is through a coach-gate, which leads to a large court or yard, round which are several spacious apartments, where the king and his court commonly stand, to view the procession

cession of the prisoners on the day of the Auto da fe.

The furniture of the miserable dungeons just mentioned, is, a straw bed, a blanket, sheets, and, sometimes a mattrafs. The prisoner has likewise a frame of wood, about six feet long, and three or four wide: this he lays on the ground, and spreads his bed upon it. He also has a large earthen pot to ease nature in; an earthen pan, for washing himself; two pitchers, one for clean, and the other for foul water; a plate, and a little vessel with oil, to light his lamp: he is not, however, allowed any books, not even those of devotion.

With respect to provisions, the Inquisitors allow every prisoner a testoon, seven-pence half-penny, English money, per day, for his subsistence.

The gaoler, accompanied with two other officers, visits, at the end of every month, all the prisoners, to inquire how they would have their monthly allowance laid out. The prisoner usually expends nine testoons for part of his provisions; that is, for a porringer of broth, and half a pound of boiled beef, daily; eight testoons for bread, four for cheese, two for fruit, four for brandy, and the rest for oranges, lemons, sugar, and washing.

The gaoler's secretary, who accompanies him, takes an exact account of what particulars every prisoner requests to be provided with during the month; which orders are punctually observed; the person who is appointed to furnish the prisoners on these occasions being

N^o XVI.

punished in case he infringes them.

Such as have a great appetite, or desire wine, as foreigners do, petition for an audience, in order to set forth their wants; and these are usually supplied, provided such indulgence does not foment intemperance, or in sickness, that the Inquisitors show some little humanity. These excepted, nothing is found in them but severity and barbarity. They are quite inflexible; for when once a person has the misfortune to be their prisoner, he is not only forbidden all correspondence with his family and friends, but even to sigh, complain, address heaven aloud, to sing psalms or hymns, or, in short, to make the least noise.

These are esteemed capital crimes, for which the guards or attendants of the Inquisition, who are ever walking up and down the passages, first reprove him sharply; but if he happen to make any noise a second time, they open his cell, and severely beat him; and this, not only to punish the prisoner offending, but likewise to intimidate others, who, by reason of the horrid silence which ever reigns there, and proximity of the cells, may hear the blows and the cries of the wretched victim. Of this barbarity we will here beg leave to give an instance, attested by several persons.

A prisoner having a violent cough, one of the guards came and ordered him not to make a noise: he replied, that it was not in his power to forbear, when his cough increasing, he was commanded, a second time, to be silent; but this being impossible, he stripped the poor creature naked, and beat

beat him so unmercifully that his cough grew worse, and the blows being again repeated, he died soon after.

By this silence, which the guards and keepers force prisoners to observe, they not only deny them every little consolation, but prevent such as are neighbours from making the least acquaintance; for the instant this should be found out, they would be removed to other cells.

They never lodge two prisoners in the same cell; to prevent, as the inquisitors pretend, their consulting together, in order to suppress or conceal the truth, or baffle the interrogatories; but the chief motive for keeping those unhappy persons apart, is, to extort from them, by the dread solitude of their confinement, a confession of whatever the Inquisitors may require from them.

However, on some occasions two prisoners are lodged together in the same cell; as, for instance, when a husband and wife are imprisoned for the like crime, and that there is no room to suspect that one of them will prevent the other from freely confessing the several articles of which he or she may stand indicted.

When a prisoner is sick, a companion is given him, in order to assist him, as he is told.

Likewise, when the inquisitors have not been able to prevail with a prisoner to plead guilty, and that there are not proofs sufficient to convict him, they then send him a companion, who has been taught his lesson before-hand by the officers of the Inquisition; and this companion artfully glides into the con-

fidence of the prisoner, wins his friendship, and inveighs strongly against the Inquisitors; accuse them of injustice, cruelty, and barbarity, and, insensibly, causes the unhappy victim to join his reproaches against the Inquisitors and the Inquisition.

This is a black and unpardonable crime; and, should the prisoner inadvertently fall into this trap, he would be inevitable undone; for then his companion immediately desires to be admitted to audience, appears as a witness against him, and is no longer his fellow prisoner.

A day or two after a prisoner is brought into his cell his hair is cut off and his head shaved.

On these occasions no distinction is made in age, sex, or birth. He then is ordered to tell his name, his profession, and to make a discovery of whatever he is worth in the world.

To induce him to do this the more readily, the Inquisitor promises, that, if he be really innocent, the several things disclosed by him will be carefully restored; but that should any effects, &c. concealed by him be afterwards found, they will all be confiscated, though he may be cleared.

As most of the Portuguese are so weak as to be firmly persuaded of the sanctity and integrity of this tribunal, they do not scruple to discover even such things as they might the most easily conceal, from a firm belief that every particular will be restored to them the moment their innocence shall be proved.

However, these hapless persons are imposed upon; for those who have the
sad

bad fortune to fall into the merciless hands of these Iniquitous Judges, are instantly bereaved of all their possessions.

In case they plead their innocence, with regard to the crimes of which they stand accused, and yet should be convicted by the witnesses who swore against them, they then would be sentenced as guilty, and their whole possessions confiscated.

If prisoners, in order to escape the torture, and in hopes of being sooner set at liberty, own the crime or crimes of which they are impeached, they are then pronounced guilty by their own confession, and the public in general, think their effects, &c. justly confiscated.

If such prisoners come forth as repentant criminals, who have voluntarily accused themselves, they yet dare not plead their innocence; since they thereby would run the hazard of being imprisoned again, and sentenced, not only as hypocrite penitents, but likewise as wretches who accuse the inquisitors of injustice; so that what course soever these persons might take, they would certainly lose all such possessions belonging to them as the Inquisitors had seized.

Sometimes a prisoner passes several months in his cell without having a single word of being brought to his trial; nay, even without knowing the crime of which he stands impeached, or a single witness who hath sworn against him.

At last the jailor tells him, as of his own motion, that it will be proper for him to sue to be admitted to audience.

In case he consents to this proposal, he is then conducted, for the first time, bareheaded to the judges.

Being come to one of the doors of the tribunal, the keeper knocks thrice, upon which the door is opened by one of the attendants, or porters of the inquisition.

The prisoner is commanded to stay in the anti-chamber, till the porter has knocked three times at the door of the great hall.

This is done in order to give the inquisitors time to prepare for, and receive the prisoner; that is, for them to dismiss all persons to whom they may be giving audience, thereby to prevent the prisoner from seeing, or being seen by them.

Every thing being made ready pursuant to the orders given for the purpose, the judge who presides in the great hall, signifies it by ringing a little bell; upon which the porter of the hall opens the door. The prisoner enters, guarded by his two keepers; when these advancing towards the table, give the prisoner a stool; after which, ceremoniously bending the knee, they retire.

The president then bids the prisoner to kneel down, at the same time ordering him to lay his right hand on a book, which he presents to him, closed. He then proceeds to address him in these words, *Will you promise to conceal the secrets of this holy office. and to speak the truth?* — If the prisoner answers in the affirmative, the president commands him to be seated, and afterwards asks him a great variety of questions, with respect to all such

such crimes as he may have committed, cognizable by the Inquisition.

The secretary writes down very accurately the several interrogations and answers; which being done, he rings the little bell, when the prisoner is conducted back to his cell in the same manner as he had been brought from it; but not till after he has been exhorted to recollect all the sins he may ever committed since his arrival at the years of discretion.

In case the prisoner has made an ingenuous confession, and complied with all the customs and orders of the Inquisition, the gaoler and under-keeper, who are apprized of his conduct by the examiners, make him a low bow, and assume an air of mildness towards him. But if on the contrary, he shall decline a direct answer to all such interrogatories as they are pleased to propose, and happens to employ ambiguous or evasive expressions, as they may be deemed; such as, *I do not know, I cannot call to mind, I have forgot*, or the like, he is then remanded to his cell with the rough severity of indignation.

Some days after this first audience, the prisoner is again brought before his judges, with the like formality as before. He is then asked, whether he hath seriously examined and scrutinized into his past life, and has any thing farther to divulge.

In case he shall accuse himself of some other crime or crimes, his declaration is received, and drawn up by the secretary: but if he refuses to

make any further confession, the judge, by a thousand subtle shifting ensnaring questions, endeavours to draw from him such answers as may condemn him.

This snare, which is laid with the utmost caution and address, can hardly be escaped; for should the prisoner have been confined merely on such a random feeble report as is insufficient to convict him, the judges would be greatly embarrassed in case he should not fall one way or other into the toils they have spread for him, nor furnish, by his answers, wherewithal to find him guilty.

Farther, as the Inquisitors promise to treat with the greatest lenity, and even to release those who shall accuse themselves before their crimes have been proved.

Some prisoners are thus over-reached and plead guilty of the offences they stand charged with, in hopes of obtaining, by such a voluntary confession, the speedy release which is so solemnly promised them.

They often go a step farther, and some have been known even to declare themselves guilty of crimes of which they are wholly innocent: a circumstance which is always infinitely pleasing to the Inquisitors, especially when they are not furnished with matter sufficient for the prisoner's conviction.

But should a prisoner, either because he is really innocent, or too much on his guard to be cajoled or imposed on by their artifices, persist in pleading not guilty to their charge, then a written copy of his indictment is given him;

him; wherein the Inquisitors frequently intermix many false accusations relating to the most enormous offences, with those of which he stands indicted; all such circumstances, sworn to by the witnesses, as might be of service to the prisoner, being suppressed.

The blending truth and falsehood together in this manner, is another trap laid for the wretched victim; for as he does not fail to inveigh bitterly against the horrid crimes with which he is falsely charged, his judges take occasion from thence to suppose, however unjustly, that those concerning which he complains least, are true. How false soever this consequence may be, it is, notwithstanding, turned greatly to the disadvantage of the prisoner.

After the prisoner has received the articles of indictment in writing, he is asked, whether he desires to have a counsellor. However, he is not at liberty to chuse one: a counsellor not being allowed to defend the cause of an heretic, upon pain of being himself declared infamous.

This person, therefore, is appointed by the Inquisitors, who take care to secure him to their own interests by an oath. Such an assistant must consequently be of little service to the prisoner, as he is not permitted to be his advocate, to give him advice, or to search for proofs of his innocence, unless in the presence of the Inquisitors.

Thus the prisoner is reduced to the sad necessity of defending himself against accusers and witnesses who are wholly unknown to him. The fiscal

Nº 16.

professor is his accuser, and the only person he is permitted to know.

It is to no purpose that he presses to be informed of, and confronted with, the witnesses, who have sworn against him. The only circumstance in his power is to guess at them, and to ask, if such and such people are not his enemies, to which no answer, affirmative or negative, is returned him.

The Inquisitors then proceed in their interrogations; when, if the prisoner still continues to deny the charge, he is again remanded to his cell.

In fine, after being sometimes conducted from the prison to audience, and from audience to the prison, perhaps, for several years together, his trial is at length prepared, and definitively concluded.

For this purpose he is taken before the Inquisitors, who deliver him a copy of the depositions of the several witnesses; but not till they have expunged every particular which might serve to his justification; as, likewise, all such circumstances of persons and places, as might give the prisoner light with regard to the witnesses who have sworn against him.

If the prisoner is not prepared to reply to the articles of which he stands accused, he is allowed three or four days to consider of them; and for this purpose he is remanded back to his dungeon.

On this occasion the unhappy creature racks his thoughts in order, if possible, to trace out his accusers; with respect to whom he yet often remains in doubt, after all his recollection and distracting reflexions.

4 H

This

This time being elapsed, he is again summoned before his judges. He then is heard, with regard to any exceptions he may make, as to the witnesses, or the depositions sworn against him, though he knows neither names, professions, or characters. What inconsistency! But should he happen to pitch upon the real persons, and give his reasons why he supposes they would endeavour to exercise their malice against him, by false and unjust accusations; this, though, perhaps, it might tend to weaken their testimony, yet it would not avail him to invalidate it, especially if he should be charged with any black and heinous crimes.

Such are the prerogatives of the witnesses of this tribunal, who are never named, confronted, or known, by which means crowds of them are easily to be procured.

In the case of heresy, the inhumanity of the Inquisitors is so great, that every person, how infamous soever his character may be; though a thief, false-swearer, or the like; yet his testimony would be received; and this would suffice to precipitate a poor injured prisoner to the flames.

The prisoner having given in his answers; in case the Inquisitors are not satisfied with them; if the charge is not sufficiently proved, or the judges want to discover any accomplices the prisoner may be supposed to have; for these causes, or any of them, they order him to the torture, at the motion of the Fiscal Professor for that purpose; and this is immediately put in execution.

We have already observed, that in

case a prisoner's confession was not deemed satisfactory after every other method to extort it, had been attempted, without the desired effect, namely, his full conviction of himself as to the crime laid to his charge in his indictment; the Inquisitors then proceeded to the horrid expedient of Torturing the wretched victim of their cruelty. Of these diabolical tortures the following is a particular description.

A late author who has written on the Inquisition of Portugal, fully shews the difficulty of representing the tortures to which the poor prisoner is condemned by his merciless judges, in order to draw from his own mouth what they cannot prove by witness. His words, upon this occasion, may be no improper apology for any defect in our description.

Oh! that I were able to give some faint idea of that variety of tortures which the miserable victims are here forced to suffer! But no language can represent such a complicated scene of horrors. It is utterly impossible for any words to describe which of them is the most cruel and inhuman; every one is so exquisite in it's kind, as to surpass all imagination.

What detestable monsters then, must those judges be, who are the inventors and perpetrators of such misery! They are shaped, it is true, like other men, but surely they seem to have a different kind of souls: *They appear as little affected with the groans and agonies of their fellow-creatures, as the cords, and chains, and racks of torture, which are applied to their writhing limbs: The hearts of these ecclesiastical butchers are*
grown

grown callous, and, like those of the common species, so inured to the shedding of blood, and the horrid sight of mangled carcasses, as to have lost all the impressions of sensibility, and every touch and feeling of humanity.

Perpetual scenes of horror and distress become so familiar to their minds, that what would rend the very heart-strings of some men, make no more impression on theirs, than on a rock of adamant. Indeed, without such a fiend-like temper, it were impossible for any man to act the part of an Inquisitor.

To convince the unprejudiced (in which number every one must be included, who is not irrecoverably immersed in the bottomless gulphs of popery, and nursed up in it's true spirit of persecution) that this is the genuine character of the ministers of that tribunal, we hope the following passages will amply suffice, of whose authenticity there is not the least shadow of suspicion.

According to the rules of the Inquisition no one can be tortured more than thrice; but the extremity to which they carry their barbarity, seldom fails to kill, or render life ever afterwards a burden.

We shall here give the account of one who himself suffered, and survived, the torture, which was inflicted with the utmost severity the three several times:

I. On his refusal to comply with the iniquitous demands of the Inquisitors, by confessing all the crimes they thought proper to charge him with, he was immediately conveyed to the torture-room, where no light

appeared, but what two candles gave, and made the scene more dreadful. To prevent the heart-rending cries, and shocking groans, of the unhappy sufferers, from reaching the ears of the other prisoners, the doors of this room are lined with a sort of quilt.

The readers will naturally suppose our author's horror; on entering the infernal place, he saw himself, on a sudden, surrounded by six wretches, who, after preparing the tortures, stripped him naked to his drawers, and, laying him on his back, upon a kind of stand, or scaffold, raised a few feet from the floor, began their operation. First, they put round his neck an iron collar, which was fastened to the scaffold; then they fixed a ring to each foot, and that being done, stretched his limbs with all their might. Next, they wound two ropes round each arm, and two round each thigh; which ropes being passed under the scaffold, through holes made for the purpose, were all drawn tight, at the same instant of time, by four of the men, on a signal given, by one of them.

The pains which succeeded, were as will easily be conceived, intolerable. The ropes, which were of the size of the little finger, pierced through the prisoner's flesh quite to the bone, making the blood gush out at the eight different places that were thus bound. He still, however, persisted in refusing to make a further confession than he had before given in; and the ropes were thus drawn together four different times. At his side stood a physician, and a surgeon, who

This time being elapsed, he is again summoned before his judges. He then is heard, with regard to any exceptions he may make, as to the witnesses, or the depositions sworn against him, though he knows neither names, professions, or characters. What inconsistency ! But should he happen to pitch upon the real persons, and give his reasons why he supposes they would endeavour to exercise their malice against him, by false and unjust accusations ; this, though, perhaps, it might tend to weaken their testimony, yet it would not avail him to invalidate it, especially if he should be charged with any black and heinous crimes.

Such are the prerogatives of the witnesses of this tribunal, who are never named, confronted, or known, by which means crowds of them are easily to be procured.

In the case of heresy, the inhumanity of the Inquisitors is so great, that every person, how infamous soever his character may be ; though a thief, false-sweaver, or the like ; yet his testimony would be received ; and this would suffice to precipitate a poor injured prisoner to the flames.

The prisoner having given in his answers ; in case the Inquisitors are not satisfied with them ; if the charge is not sufficiently proved, or the judges want to discover any accomplices the prisoner may be supposed to have ; for these causes, or any of them, they order him to the torture, at the motion of the Fiscal Professor for that purpose ; and this is immediately put in execution.

We have already observed, that in

case a prisoner's confession was not deemed satisfactory after every other method to extort it, had been attempted, without the desired effect, namely, his full conviction of himself as to the crime laid to his charge in his indictment ; the Inquisitors then proceeded to the horrid expedient of Torturing the wretched victim of their cruelty. Of these diabolical tortures the following is a particular description.

A late author who has written on the Inquisition of Portugal, fully shews the difficulty of representing the tortures to which the poor prisoner is condemned by his merciless judges, in order to draw from his own mouth what they cannot prove by witness. His words, upon this occasion, may be no improper apology for any defect in our description.

Oh ! that I were able to give some faint idea of that variety of tortures which the miserable victims are here forced to suffer ! But no language can represent such a complicated scene of horrors. It is utterly impossible for any words to describe which of them is the most cruel and inhuman ; every one is so exquisite in it's kind, as to surpass all imagination.

What detestable monsters then, must those judges be, who are the inventors and perpetrators of such misery ! They are shaped, it is true, like other men, but surely they seem to have a different kind of souls : *They appear as little affected with the groans and agonies of their fellow-creatures, as the cords, and chains, and racks of torture, which are applied to their writhing limbs : The hearts of these ecclesiastical butchers are*
grown

grown callous, and, like those of the common species, so inured to the shedding of blood, and the horrid sight of mangled carcasses, as to have lost all the impressions of sensibility, and every touch and feeling of humanity.

Perpetual scenes of horror and distress become so familiar to their minds, that what would rend the very heart-strings of some men, make no more impression on theirs, than on a rock of adamant. Indeed, without such a fiend-like temper, it were impossible for any man to act the part of an Inquisitor.

To convince the unprejudiced (in which number every one must be included, who is not irrecoverably immersed in the bottomless gulphs of popery, and nursed up in it's true spirit of persecution) that this is the genuine character of the ministers of that tribunal, we hope the following passages will amply suffice, of whose authenticity there is not the least shadow of suspicion.

According to the rules of the Inquisition no one can be tortured more than thrice; but the extremity to which they carry their barbarity, seldom fails to kill, or render life ever afterwards a burden.

We shall here give the account of one who himself suffered, and survived, the torture, which was inflicted with the utmost severity the three several times:

I. On his refusal to comply with the iniquitous demands of the Inquisitors, by confessing all the crimes they thought proper to charge him with, he was immediately conveyed to the torture-room, where no light

appeared, but what two candles gave, and made the scene more dreadful. To prevent the heart-rending cries, and shocking groans, of the unhappy sufferers, from reaching the ears of the other prisoners, the doors of this room are lined with a sort of quilt.

The readers will naturally suppose our author's horror; on entering the infernal place, he saw himself, on a sudden, surrounded by six wretches, who, after preparing the tortures, stripped him naked to his drawers, and, laying him on his back, upon a kind of stand, or scaffold, raised a few feet from the floor, began their operation. First, they put round his neck an iron collar, which was fastened to the scaffold; then they fixed a ring to each foot, and that being done, stretched his limbs with all their might. Next, they wound two ropes round each arm, and two round each thigh; which ropes being passed under the scaffold, through holes made for the purpose, were all drawn tight, at the same instant of time, by four of the men, on a signal given, by one of them.

The pains which succeeded, were as will easily be conceived, intolerable. The ropes, which were of the size of the little finger, pierced through the prisoner's flesh quite to the bone, making the blood gush out at the eight different places that were thus bound. He still, however, persisted in refusing to make a further confession than he had before given in; and the ropes were thus drawn together four different times. At his side stood a physician, and a surgeon, who

who often felt his temples, to judge of the danger he might be in; by which means his tortures were, for a while, suspended, at intervals, that he might have no opportunity of recovering himself sufficiently, to sustain each ensuing rack.

In all this extremity of anguish, while the tender frame is tearing, as it were, in pieces; while at every pore it feels the sharpest pangs of death, and the agonizing soul is just ready to burst forth, and quit its wretched mansion, the ministers of the holy office have the obduracy of heart to look on without emotion, and calmly to advise the poor distracted creature to confess his imputed guilt: on which occasion they promise him, that he may not only expect a pardon, but be permitted a release. All this, however, was ineffectual with our author, whose mind was strengthened by a sweet consciousness of innocence, and the divine consolations of religion.

While he was thus suffering, his physician and surgeon were so barbarously unjust as to declare, that if he died under the torture, he would be guilty, by his obstinacy, of self-murder. In fine, at the last time of the ropes being drawn tight, he grew so exceedingly weak, by his blood's circulation being stopped, and the pains he endured, that he swooned away; upon which he was carried back to his dungeon.

II. The barbarians of the holy office, finding that all the torture above-related, could extort no further discovery, but served the more

fervently to excite his supplications to heaven for patience, and power to persevere in truth and integrity; were so inhuman, six weeks afterwards, as to expose him to another kind of torture, more grievous, if possible, than the former, and which was effected in this manner. They forced his arms backwards, so that the palms of his hands were turned outward behind him; when, by the means of a rope which fastened them together, at the wrists, and which was turned by an engine, they drew them, by degrees, nearer each other, in such a manner that the back of each hand touched, and stood exactly parallel to the other. In consequence of this violent contortion both his shoulders became dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood issued from his mouth. This torture was repeated thrice; after which he was again taken to the dungeon, and put into the hands of the physician and surgeon, who, in setting the dislocated bones, put him to exquisite misery.

III. Two months after this, being a little recovered, he was again ordered to the torture-room; and there, for the last time, made to undergo another kind of punishment twice successively, and without any intermission: The following account, of which will enable the reader sufficiently to conceive the horror of it:

The executioners turned twice round his body a thick iron chain, which crossing upon his stomach, terminated at the wrists, where it was fastened. They then placed him with his back against a thick board, at each extre-

mit

mity whereof was a pulley, through which there run a rope that caught the ends of the chain at his wrists.

The tormentors then stretching the end of this rope, by means of a roller, placed at a distance behind him, pressed or bruised, his stomach, in proportion as they were drawn tighter. They tortured him, on this occasion, to such a degree, that his wrists, as well as his shoulders, were put out of joint.

The surgeons, however, set them presently after; but the barbarians, not yet satisfied with this series of cruelty, made him immediately undergo the like rack a second time; which he sustained, though, if possible, attended with keener pains, with equal constancy and resolution.

He was then again remanded to his dungeon, attended by the surgeons to dress his bruises; and there continued till their Auto da Fe, or goal delivery: A solemnity, which we shall present our readers with the description hereafter.

From the above relation, however inaccurately or faintly drawn, it may easily be judged, what dreadful agony the sufferer must have laboured under, at being so frequently put to the torture.

Most of his limbs were disjoined: and so much was he bruised, and exhausted, as to be unable, for some weeks, to lift his hand to his mouth; and his body became vastly swelled by the inflammations caused by such frequent dislocations. He concludes his account with observing, he had too much reason to fear he should feel the sad effects of this cruelty so long as he

Nº 16.

lived; being seized, from time to time, with thrilling and excruciating pains, to which he had never been subject, till after he had the misfortune to fall under the merciless and bloody hands of the Inquisitors.

When this misfortune happens to be the case with young ladies (of which there are frequent instances :) Their cloaths are stripped off, and nothing put on them but a pair of coarse canvas drawers.

In this condition they are fixed to the rack, where very little regard is paid either to the tenderness and delicacy of their sex, or even to common decency.

How many of these poor creatures, merely from a powerful sense of shame, have rather chosen to plead guilty to the falsest accusations, than to have their modesty injured, and be treated in so brutal a manner? As shocking as this account may appear, the fact is not to be disputed, and to confirm it we shall here relate a particular case, which will serve as the most striking instance imaginable of the inhumanity of this tribunal.

The case was published in the Auto da Fe held at Evory, on the 18th of April 1660.

Maria de Cocciação, born in the town of Estramoz, daughter of Manoel Soares Pereira, while living at her brother's, in Lisbon, was apprehended, with two of her sisters, all three being unmarried, and came out of prison in the same Auto, acquitted of the crime laid to her charge, which was, a vehement suspicion of Judaism, whereof she made her abjuration in form.

4 I

As

As the proofs against this young gentlewoman were far from satisfactory, and nothing could be drawn from her own mouth, to convict her, the Inquisitors ordered her to be put on the rack, where, having almost got the better of the first tortures (these are the very words of the sentence) she was, at length, overcome by their violence, confessed the whole charge.

The cords were immediately slackened; and the officers, taking her down from the rack, put on her cloaths and carried her back to her cell.

As soon as she had recovered the use of her limbs, she was brought before the tribunal, to ratify her confession. Instead of which, she answered the Lords Inquisitors, that every thing she had uttered, whilst she was under the executioner's hands, was absolutely false: That she was, and ever had been a sincere christian: and that her confession to the contrary had been extorted by the extremity of the torments, wherein she found herself just expiring.

On hearing this, the judges immediately ordered her to be put again to the rack, which being as effectually applied as before, she again sunk under it's violence; and, in order to save her life, made the same confession as before, which was taken down in writing, while her limbs were still stretching with the cords! This being done, she was once more taken down, and carried to her cell.

As soon as she was in a condition to appear before the tribunal, they commanded her to ratify her first and second confessions. She still persisted

in the same answer as before, and had now so much courage as to add, That were they to rack her an hundred times, she should always act in the same manner, until she expired, or, at least, so long as God should afford her strength to support the torments: That their cruel treatment, and her own frailty, might possibly force her again to confess that of which she was perfectly innocent; yet, the moment she was taken off the rack, she would revoke, and never ratify what had been thus extorted from her.

She farther intreated their lordships to take her case into serious consideration, and to undeceive themselves, as she assured them, in the most pathetic terms, that this was her final resolution, and that all the torments in the world should never induce her to alter it.

The unrelenting Inquisitors were so little affected at what she said, that they instantly commanded her to be racked a third time, which, as the sentence itself declares, she underwent, with amazing constancy.

For this heinous crime of refusing to ratify her confessions, whereof she now stood convicted, and having thrice borne the torture, which, as we have before observed, was the regular extent of punishment, in the holy office, she was condemned to be whipped through the public streets by the common hangman, and then to be banished for ten years to an island principally inhabited by negroes.

This sentence was pronounced against her when she came out at the Auto da Fe, with her two sisters, who had

had likewise been accused of Judaism.

Oh thou Father of Mercies! and God of all consolation! what heart is there, though ever so obdurate, except that of an Inquisitor; which will not melt at such a scene of oppression, of cruelty and distress! Is it possible to read this account without indignation and horror? Good heavens! an innocent young lady, of so noble and exalted a spirit, possessed of such generous and amazing fortitude, whipped like a miscreant through the streets of a city, by the hands of a common executioner, and then banished to so wretched a place for ten years, after having been so long confined in such a dismal prison, thrice put on the rack, and almost tortured to death!

Gonsalvus, in his treatise of the holy Inquisition of Spain, tells us, that the Inquisitors of Seville seized and imprisoned Jane Bohorquia, a lady of noble extraction, on an information forced by torture from her own sister, afterwards burned as an heretic, who deposed, that she had frequently discoursed with her sister Jane on religious subjects.

The lady in question was six months gone with child, for which reason the Inquisitors treated her with less cruelty at first; however, a week after her delivery they took her infant away, and on the fifteenth day confined her more closely, and used her with no less severity than the other prisoners; carrying on her prosecution with the usual

artifice and inhumanity.

In this miserable state her only consolation was a young woman of great good-nature and piety; whom the Inquisitors burned some time after, on pretence of her being a heretic: she had before been so cruelly tortured, and reduced so very low, that she could not move without feeling the most exquisite pains. In which situation Mrs. Bohorquia comforted her as well as she could, and behaved to her with all the tenderness of a parent.

Scarce was the poor young creature recovered, but Mrs. Bohorquia herself was ordered by the judges to the rack, and violently tortured, the ropes used in the operation having pierced quite to the bones of her arms, legs and thighs; she was then carried back to her dungeon, casting up continually great quantities of blood, which emaciated her to such a degree that she expired in a week after.

The Inquisitors were more than ordinarily perplexed at her death, the rather, since she was a native of Seville, it became necessary for the mock holy-office to give the inhabitants some account of her. Accordingly, in the next Auto de Fe, her sentence was pronounced to the following effect, care being taken to suppress the cause of her exit.

Jane Bohorquia was dead in prison, and that the Inquisitors, after reviewing her prosecution, had found her innocent: that no farther prosecutions would be carried on against her: that*

* The better to understand this expression of the Inquisitors, we must observe, that they do

not confine their power merely to the living; the dead are subjects of their ridiculous inhumanity;

she was restored to her innocence and reputation ; and therefore that all her possessions which had been confiscated should be restored to her heirs.

How barbarous a satisfaction to the relations of this lady, to declare her innocency after putting her to a most cruel death !

We cannot conclude our subject without taking notice of another instance of wontonness and excess of barbarity and injustice in the Inquisitors, which they practised on Dr. Isaac Orobio, a physician, as related by himself.

This gentleman tells us, That he was accused of Judaism by a Moor, who had been his servant, and whom he had caused to be beaten for theft. Dr. Orobio, after having been kept three years in prison, and interrogated several times, still persisted in denying the crimes laid to his charge ; upon which he was tortured successively in the manner following :

First, they put on him a coarse linen coat, which the tormentors strained so very tight that his breath was almost lost ; when loosing it on a sudden, the instantaneous motion put him to incredible pain.

They next tied his two thumbs with small cords, so very hard, that

Not only those who die in prison before their process is completed, are prosecuted with a like formality as if they were alive ; but they even prosecute such as have died many years before their being indicted, cause their bodies to be dug up, and burn them in the Auto da Fe.

The Inquisitors likewise confiscate their possessions, of which they make no scruple to dispos-

the blood gushed from under his nails.

The third torture was, the tormentors seating him on a bench, his back against a wall, wherein little iron pulleys were fixed ; through these, ropes were run, which took hold of several parts of the body, and particularly his arms and legs ; then the executioner, pulling these ropes with the utmost violence, drew the unhappy victim's back so close to the wall that his hands and feet, and particularly his thumbs and great toes were squeezed so violently that he felt the most accute pains, like to that of burning.

In the midst of these dreadful agonies, the bench was suddenly drawn from under him, so that the poor gentleman hung solely by the ropes ; and being thus unsupported, the whole weight of his body drew the knots still tighter, and put him to inconceivable misery.

This torture was succeeded by another, performed by means of an instrument in form of a little ladder, crossed by five pieces of wood, and made sloping before. This instrument being set directly opposite to the sufferer, he received, on a certain motion of the torturers, at one and

less their heirs not excepting even their children.

It is certain nothing can be easier than to condemn bones, as these are unable to defend themselves ; but this proceeding will not be wondered at when the reader is assured, that such of the living as become victims to the tribunal, are no better heard in the Inquisition, than if they were really dead.

the

the same time, five dreadful blows on the cheek, which put him to such pain that he fainted away.

Recovering afterwards, the last torture was inflicted, which was effected in this manner. The executioners fastened ropes about the doctor's wrists, then wound them round his body; after which he was laid upon his back, with his feet against a wall; this being done, the executioner drew him, with all his might, so that the ropes pierced quite to his bones.

This torture was thrice repeated: the cords being fixed round the prisoner's arms, not above two finger's breadth from the wounds which the first torture had made. And now the ropes (at the second attempt) slid into the first wounds, by the violence of the jerk, which occasioned an effusion of blood, so great, that the doctor seemed expiring.

The physicians were then consulted to know whether the same torture might be practised a third time without endangering his life. To which they answered, that he might suffer it a third time without the least danger.

This declaration saved him from undergoing again all the various sorts of tortures abovementioned, his sentence specifying that he should suffer successively all these different kinds the same day. Being tortured for the last time, he was remanded back to prison, where he lay above seventy days, before his wounds were healed; and he was at last banished for life out of the kingdom, for being suspected of Judaism.

Nº 16.

Having thus exhibited many horrid examples of the shocking barbarities of this Tribunal, which, under the mask of religion, commits cruelties unknown even to the most savage Heathens; we shall now proceed to give some account of the grand solemnity of the Auto da Fe, or act of faith.

If the tortures we have related force from the prisoner a full and entire confession of all the articles of which he stands accused, he is then conveyed back to his frightful dungeon; where he is left a prey to his melancholy, to the violent anguish caused by the tortures, and the dreadful expectation of still greater barbarities.

But in case the tortures have not been able to force a confession from him, he is then remanded back to his sad abode; when the basest artifices are employed, under pretence of succouring him in this deplorable condition.

He is allowed a companion in his cell, as we have before observed, who after gaining his confidence by pretending that he also is imprisoned for the like crimes with himself, exclaims against the Inquisition, its injustice, rigour and cruelty; and thus makes the prisoner fall into snares, which are so much the more difficult to be avoided, as they are disguised under the deceitful appearances of friendship, compassion and sympathy in misfortunes. Some Familiars, or common servants of the Inquisition, do not scruple to confine themselves

4 K

four

four or five months in a cell, merely to entrap a prisoner.

In fine, if the person impeached is found guilty, either from evidence or his own confession, he is sentenced to be whipped, to perpetual imprisonment, to the galley, or to death, according as his crime is thought more or less enormous. One sure consequence of this, as we have before taken occasion to observe is, that the best part, if not all of his effects, are confiscated to the tribunal.

After judgment hath thus passed on all the prisoners, a mock religious ceremony is performed, when they all walk in dismal procession to the place appointed for their execution, and there hear the articles of their impeachment read, together with their sentences. This ceremony is called the Auto da Fe, or act of faith; and is a kind of jail-delivery of the Inquisition.

These solemnities are not annual, nor is there any stated time for them: they are very rarely held in two successive years, but rather for the most part at two, three, and sometimes four years distance one from another.

Here follows a succinct description of one, as it was solemnized at Madrid in the year 1682; from whence a full idea of the ceremony may be collected.

“ The officers of the Inquisition,
“ preceded by trumpets, kettle-drums,
“ and their banner, marched, on the
“ 30th of May, in cavalcade, to the
“ palace of the great square; where
“ they declared by proclamation, that
“ on the 30th of June the sentences of

“ the prisoners would be put in execution.

“ There had not been a spectacle of this kind in Madrid for several years before, for which reason it was expected by the inhabitants with as much impatience as though it had been the merriest holiday.

“ On the 30th of June a numberless multitude of people appeared, as splendidly dressed as for a royal wedding. In the great square was raised a high scaffold; and thither, from seven in the morning till nine at night, came criminals of both sexes; all the Inquisitions in the kingdom sending their prisoners to Madrid.

“ Of these prisoners, twenty men and women and one renegado Mohammedan were ordered to be burned; fifty Jews and Jewesses, having never been before imprisoned, and repenting of their crimes, were sentenced to a long imprisonment and to wear a yellow scapulary; and ten more, indicted for bigamy, witchcraft, and other crimes, were sentenced to be whipped, and then sent to the galleys: these last wore large paste-board caps, with inscriptions upon them; having halters about their necks, and torches in their hands

“ The whole court of Spain was present on the occasion. The grand Inquisitor's chair was placed in a sort of tribunal, far above that of the king. The nobles here acted the part of the sheriff's officers in England, leading such criminals as were to be burned, and holding
“ them

“ them when fast bound with thick
“ cords : the rest of the criminals
“ were conducted by the Familiars of
“ the Inquisition.

“ The unhappy victims were situated
“ near the place where the king stood,
“ their scaffold touching his balcony ;
“ several friars, appointed for the
“ purpose, arguing with great vehemence,
“ to convince the wretched
“ creatures of the truth of the christian religion.

“ Amongst those who were to suffer
“ was a young Jewess of exquisite
“ beauty, and but seventeen years of
“ age ; who, being on the same side
“ where the queen was seated, addressed
“ her, in hopes of obtaining her
“ pardon, in these pathetic words :
“ *Great queen ! will not your royal
“ presence be of some service to me in my
“ miserable condition ? Have regard to
“ my youth ; and, oh ! consider, that I
“ am about to die for professing a religion
“ imbibed from my earliest infancy !*
“ Her majesty seemed greatly to pity
“ her distress, but turned away her
“ eyes, as she did not dare to speak a
“ word in a heretic's behalf.

“ Now mass began ; in the midst
“ of which the priest came from the
“ altar, placed near the scaffold, and
“ seated himself in a chair prepared for
“ that purpose.

“ The chief Inquisitor then descended
“ from the amphitheatre, dressed in his
“ cope, and having a mitre on his head.
“ After bowing to the altar, he advanced
“ towards the king's balcony, and went
“ up to it, attended by some of his
“ officers, carrying a cross and the gos-

“ pels ; with a book containing the
“ oath by which the kings of Spain
“ oblige themselves to protect the catholic
“ faith, to extirpate heretics, and support,
“ with all their power, the prosecutions and
“ decrees of the Inquisition.

“ On the Inquisitor's approach, and
“ presenting this book to the king, his
“ majesty rose up, bare headed, and swore
“ to maintain the oath, which was read to
“ him by one of his counsellors : after which
“ his majesty continued standing till the
“ Inquisitor was returned to his place ;
“ when a secretary of the holy office
“ mounted a sort of pulpit, and administered
“ the like oath to the counsellors, and the
“ whole assembly. The mass was begun
“ about twelve at noon, and did not end
“ till nine in the evening ; being protracted
“ by a proclamation of the sentences of the
“ several criminals, which were all rehearsed
“ aloud, one after another.

“ Then followed the burning of the
“ twenty-one men and women ; whose
“ intrepidity in suffering that horrid
“ death, was truly astonishing ; some
“ threw themselves into the flames, others
“ thrust in their hands and feet, with
“ dauntless fortitude ; and all of them
“ yielded to their fate with so much
“ resolution, that many of the amazed
“ spectators acknowledged themselves
“ sorry, that such heroic souls were not
“ enlightened by the gospel.

“ The king's near situation to the
“ criminals rendered their dying groans
“ very audible ; he could not, however,
“ ever,

“ ever, be absent from this dreadful
 “ scene, as it is esteemed a religious
 “ one; and as his oath obliges him to
 “ give a sanction by his presence to all
 “ the acts of the tribunal.”

Dr. Geddes, describing an Auto da Fe in Lisbon, of which he himself was a spectator, says, “ That at the place
 “ of execution there are so many stakes
 “ set up as there are prisoners to be
 “ burned, a large quantity of dry
 “ furze being placed about them.

“ These *stakes of the professed*, as
 “ the Inquisitors call them, are about
 “ four yards high, and have each of
 “ them a small board, whereon the
 “ prisoner is to be seated, within half
 “ a yard of the top. The *professed*
 “ then go up a ladder betwixt two
 “ Jesuits, who attend them the whole
 “ day of execution: When they come
 “ even with the forementioned board,
 “ they turn about to the people, and
 “ the Jesuits spend near a quarter of
 “ an hour in exhorting them to be
 “ reconciled to the see of Rome: on
 “ their refusal, the Jesuits come down
 “ and the executioner ascending, turns
 “ the *professed* from off the ladder upon
 “ the seat, chains their bodies close
 “ to the stakes, and leaves them.

“ The Jesuits then go up to them
 “ a second time, to renew their ex-
 “ hortation, and, if they find it in-
 “ effectual, usually tell them at part-
 “ ing: *That they leave them to the*
 “ *devil, who is standing at their elbow*
 “ *ready to receive their souls, and carry*
 “ *them with him into the flames of hell*
 “ *fire, so soon as they are out of their*
 “ *bodies.*

“ Upon this a general shout is

“ raised; and as soon as the Jesuits
 “ are got off the ladder, the universal
 “ cry is, *Let the dogs' beards be made,*
 “ *let the dogs' beards be made:* which
 “ is accordingly performed, by thrust-
 “ ing flaming furzes, fastened to a long
 “ pole, against their faces.

“ This barbarity is commonly re-
 “ peated till their faces are burned
 “ to a coal; and is always accompa-
 “ nied with the loudest acclamations
 “ of joy: a bull-feast, or farce, be-
 “ ing dull entertainment to this inhu-
 “ man treatment of a professed he-
 “ retic.

“ Fire is then set to the furze at the
 “ bottom of the stake; when, if there
 “ happens to be a wind, to which
 “ that place is exposed, it seldom
 “ reaches higher than the criminal's
 “ knees; in which case they are not
 “ dead in an hour and half, or two
 “ hours, and so are really roasted, and
 “ not burned, to death.

“ If there is a calm they are com-
 “ monly dead in about half an hour
 “ after the furze is set on fire.

“ There cannot, surely, out of hell,
 “ be a more lamentable sight, than
 “ this; especially, joined to the hor-
 “ ror of the sufferers' loud and fre-
 “ quent cries, who, as long as they
 “ are able to speak, are heard to im-
 “ plore, *Miserecordia, por amor de*
 “ *Dios, Mercy, for the love of God:*
 “ and yet all this is beheld by the
 “ people of both sexes, and all ages,
 “ with such transports of joy and sa-
 “ tisfaction, as are not to be perceiv-
 “ ed amongst them on any other oc-
 “ sion.”

Having taken notice of the extreme rigours exercised by the Tribunal against *persons*, we shall proceed to shew that it is no less severe with respect to *books*: and indeed this is one of the principal branches of its authority.

As there are always among the agents and familiars of the Holy Office a great number of indolent fellows, the same as in monasteries, whose monks are as much devoted to the inquisition as its own agents; the moment a book is published it is read and examined; but always read and examined with those prejudices which prevail in those places, and which are frequently received as sound maxims by a great part of the world besides.

If they dislike but the most trifling circumstance in a book, the tribunal has immediate notice of it, where it is to be scrutinised a second time; seldom without being censured. The Inquisitors are excessively rigorous on the articles of books; and they often censure them on the minutest occasion.

Their censure may be considered under three heads: sometimes a book is absolutely condemned to all intents and purposes. At other times it is condemned only till it shall be corrected. And lastly, an extract is sometimes made of the several propositions condemned; all which are expressly stigmatized.

An index, or table, is published annually, containing a catalogue of all the books which have been condemned

Nº 16.

in the preceding year; and in which all the books may be met with which have been censured in any of the three manners abovementioned.

This index is afterwards pasted, or hung up, in the most public places of resort; after which no person is allowed to keep the books therein specified by him.

One of the cases which subjects a person to the Inquisition, is, either the reading or keeping such pieces by him: and, if any man should be found to have but one of these interdicted books that alone would bring him into great trouble.

Hence we may conceive what treatment the authors of those performances would meet with, were they to be discovered. For this reason they take the utmost precaution not to write any thing that may prove obnoxious; or in case a man has an itch of scribbling, he never suffers any person to be privy to it: and a writer who cannot resist the impulse of genius, is often obliged, for his own security, to banish himself for ever from his country.

The printer or publisher of suspected books would think himself very happy, could he clear himself by the payment of a large fine, or the confiscation of all the copies. But he does not meet with the least favour on these occasions; no composition is allowed; and his prosecutors never leave him till they have completed his ruin. It even often costs him his liberty; and he sees himself, perhaps, reduced to spend many years, sometimes his whole life, in the prisons of the Inquisition.

4. L

Nay,

Nay, they are so rigorous in the Inquisitions upon this article of books, that they have not even spared the fathers of the church: there are several of their works extant, printed by the Inquisition, wherein we find whole pages mutilated, because they contained sentiments, or passages, repugnant with those tenets which are received in the countries where the tribunal is established.

We cannot comprehend what excuse can be offered for so extraordinary a liberty, to give it the softest name: we may, however, affirm, that were it to be practised in those countries which are not subject to the Inquisition, we should thereby soon lose all those proofs of antiquity and tradition, which are so useful to convict heretics of innovations in matters of religion; at least we should have none left but such as might be justly suspected.

Could it be possible for the greatest enemies of the church to give her a more dangerous wound? Thus Zeal, when unassisted by knowledge, has frequently an effect quite foreign to its design.

And yet we must own, that, as nothing can be of more pernicious consequence than the perusal of bad books; so, also, to prevent the sale of such as may corrupt either the faith or morals of mankind, cannot but be of the utmost service.

One of the most essential duties of all christian princes and magistrates is, to have a watchful eye over those matters; such governments as have suffered themselves to be deprived of this branch of their authority, have never

perceived the loss it was to them, till it was too late to apply a remedy.

The commonwealth of Venice seems to be the only republic that has ever had a just notion of the importance of this maxim, and it has not suffered the least diminution of its ancient rights. She still asserts them with spirit and resolution; and her ministers, to this day, enjoy the right of examining whatever books are printed, to prevent their instilling any pernicious doctrines. As for those which were formerly published, occasioned by the too great remissness of the censors, she prevents their being reprinted, in order to put an entire stop to the evil.

Spain, for many years, followed what is still practised at Venice. The right of examining all books written in opposition to religion and the state, was lodged in the prince's ministers, who used to censure them; but the court of Rome, ever upon the watch to extend the limits of her power, at length, in an artful manner, got possession of this right, and hath ever since retained it.

Let us now take some notice of good books, which are equally, not to say, indiscriminately, subjected to the censure of the Inquisition. As the studying of such must necessarily be extremely useful, one cannot be too careful in distinguishing them from those of a pernicious tendency, nor be too cautious how they are condemned, lest they share in the fate common to bad ones.

To be enabled to pronounce justly on the several merits of all literary performances, a man should be endued with

with learning, penetration, a good taste; and, above all, a certain extent of understanding; a circumstance rarely met with, especially amongst those persons, who are any way connected with the Inquisition.

The members of this tribunal have in general very little notion of learning; are vastly confined in their ideas; seem to think a good taste wholly unnecessary, and lay it quite out of the question; are wholly ignorant of antiquity; and, in a word, decide entirely from the prejudices they have imbibed, whether good or bad: boasting of no other science than that of school divinity, or the new Cannon-law.

Whatever does not square with the lights which these two last mentioned branches of knowledge are able to afford; and which it is well known are confined within pretty narrow bounds, is sure of being disapproved.

What must be the fate of an ingenious and valuable book, when such persons as these are to be it's censors? Notwithstanding this, the Inquisition pretends to determine upon every department in literature; but then, as a natural consequence, their injudicious censure is generally advantageous to the sale of a stigmatized book; and though it may thereby become more scarce, it is frequently the better esteemed on that very account.

Of all the countries in which the roman catholic religion is established, there is no one where the censure of the Inquisition against a book is less

regarded than in France: nay, to their honour be it said, the French openly profess, that they will never be influenced by it.

A book does not sell the worse amongst them, for having been prohibited by those despotic tyrants, nor do the writers suffer in their reputation in consequence of their interdiction.

Four circumstances contribute to the little regard which is there paid to this kind of censure.

I. It is said that the Inquisition, even including that of Rome, notwithstanding the empty title of Universal, which it assumes, has no manner of authority in that kingdom.

II. There is a great number of maxims in France, directly clashing with those of the Inquisition; and, as the French maxims have been often condemned by the Inquisitors, the former have accustomed themselves to despise whatever sentences they pronounce.

III. The French are certain, that policy, intrigue, and interest, are, very often, the chief motives for passing censure. And, as the politics which prevail in France do not always agree with those of Rome, this is another inducement not to submit to it's censures.

IV. They are persuaded of the bad taste which prevails in the Inquisition; and the genius and qualities of the members of it are not unknown in that kingdom.

France, on the contrary, abounds with learned men; the handsome reception which such there meet with,
and

and the generous rewards that are there commonly bestowed on them, induce persons of all nations to resort thither.

Great penetration and good taste seem to spread in France universally: the French too, have a regard to antiquity; they apply themselves continually to the search of it; and, so far are they from mutilating the fathers in the forementioned manner (a practice of the most dangerous tendency) that they daily enlarge their plan, by the addition of new discoveries; all which they communicate to the public, and that with so much fidelity, that the most severe and eagle-eyed critics have not yet been able to contradict them.

The liberty which the French enjoy, of speaking, or publishing their thoughts, is as far removed from the unbounded licence which prevails in some neighbouring countries, as from the tyrannical constraint to which persons, subordinate to the inquisition, are subject.

It is a well regulated liberty, which, by the wisdom and vigilance of the legislature, is kept within such bounds as to prevent its being any way prejudicial to the public.

As it is a difficult matter to form the same judgment with qualities of so opposite a nature, we need not be surprized that, what is condemned by the Inquisition is often approved in France; or that the French pay so little regard to its censures.

We have, in the former part of this history given an account of the several methods of proceeding in the falsely-

styled Holy-office: and, we hope, the relation has afforded the desired satisfaction to our curious readers; at the same time, that it hath inspired them with equal horror and detestation at that ill-formed constitution, which sanctifies so infernal a court of ecclesiastical judicature; and, with grateful acknowledgment to those our christian legislators, who, under the guidance of divine Providence, have established a far different constitution in this happy kingdom; a constitution, whose every principle breathes pure religion, liberty, both bodily and mental, and universal benevolence and mercy, to those who *err, or are deceived*.

Before we conclude our short history of the Inquisition, it may not be improper to take notice of some of its principal Maxims; as thereby we shall, perhaps, be enabled to judge of its spirit and conduct better, than by any thing which we have before related on that head.

It is an inviolable maxim with the Inquisitors, that an heretic must never be disputed with upon religious matters, especially in public; so that they are to be instructed, by compulsion, not by argument.—That all who either conceal, or favour, an heretic, in what manner, or by what methods soever, ought to be excommunicated, and cannot be received into the number of penitents, without first passing through the hands of the Inquisition.

This tribunal always consider such persons as justly to be suspected of heresy, and that too in the strongest manner; as though it were impossible to assist a person, and, at the same time, pre-

preserve oneself from their errors. An heretic, though absolved by the Pope himself, is, nevertheless, still subject to the Inquisition, and may be condemned to die.

When an heretic has been once condemned, he must never be suffered to speak before the people. An heretic, notwithstanding he retracts his former errors must yet not be pardoned; because, otherwise, there is no one but would save himself by a pretended recantation.

The Inquisitors, in their examination of a prisoner who is impeached, must never interrogate him as though they were doubtful of his crime, but must always suppose him guilty, and examine him only with respect to the circumstances of the fact alledged.

In the examination of an heretic, death must always be set before his eyes; nor must his interrogators hope, or ever attempt to convert him, either by scripture, or argument. A promise must be made him in ambiguous terms, that, in case he confesses his crime, he shall be pardoned; but yet this promise must not be kept after he has made his confession.

To these maxims, we may add the following; which their known mode of process warrants us to observe are constantly adhered to; and which, indeed, the foregoing narration of it, in a great measure, tends to exemplify: That the possessions of an heretic devolve, by right, on the Inquisition, in prejudice even of his children, and the rest of his catholic heirs. That death does not prevent a suspected criminal, from being subject to the tribunal: that he must be prosecuted after his

N^o XVII.

death; and, if adjudged guilty, executed in effigy.

That a person becomes suspected of heresy, and, thereby, subject to the Inquisition, if he only happens to advance some heretical tenets, in a jocular manner, or to have mimicked the heretic, merely for jest's sake. That, in matters of heresy and apostasy, there is no pleading, or availing oneself of prescription.

That no person ought to employ friendly advice before he impeaches another to the Inquisition. That no consideration, whether of kindred, alliance, or gratitude, though even for having saved the informer's life, ought to prevent a man from impeaching a criminal who is become subject to the jurisdiction of the office. That a person, who is known to have favoured heretics, ought, after his death, to be denied church-burial.

That, whoever has advanced any heretical tenets, though it were thro' ignorance, and without being aware that they were such, does, nevertheless, by that means, become subject to prosecution; and that, because it is the duty of every good Christian to know and avoid whatever has been condemned by the church.

That the civil magistrate is bound to assist the Inquisition, upon pain of excommunication: and, that, in case a magistrate, after having been excommunicated for refusing to assist the Inquisition, delays to get himself absolved, he shall be condemned as an heretic.

The Inquisitors are persuaded, that a Mental heretic, who does not reveal his errors, and, consequently, hurt

4. M.

any

any one but himself, ought to be impeached to the Inquisition, and condemned. That one who has *relapsed*, though he repent afterwards, ought, nevertheless, to be condemned to die. That an heretic, who, *after have abjured* his errors, *falls*, afterwards, *into another heresy* ought to be considered as one relapsed.

That a mental heretic, who was not looked upon as such, during his life, time, and is not discovered to be one till after his death, ought, notwithstanding, to be condemned, and executed in effigy. And that a person impeached, who owns that he formerly did embrace some heretical principle, imagining it to be orthodox, ought, nevertheless, to be sent to the torture, in order to squeeze out of him a confession, whether his assertion be true.

If, to all this, we add, the consideration, that the prosecutors and informers, are allowed as witnesses: that they are never named, or discovered, to the prisoner, in order to incapacitate him from excepting to their evidence; that the parties are scarcely ever confronted; that perjured persons and miscreants of the blackest character, are there received as witnesses; and that wards, or minors, at the age of fourteen years, may depose, as such, without the consent of their guardians, or trustees.

If all these things are considered, we shall be forced to own, that the Inquisition is the most severe, the most formidable, and the most barbarous and unjust tribunal in the world.

The Inquisitors themselves acknow-

ledge, that the procedure of the Holy Office is such, that it is hardly possible, but that a great number of innocent persons must suffer with the guilty: but this does not once give them the least uneasiness: for it is also one of their chief maxims, that it were better to put to death an hundred catholics of unblemished life, than to let one heretic escape.

The following reason, which they give for this, is neither valid, or convincing, viz. That, by putting an innocent catholic to death, they, then, only ascertain to him the joys of paradise; whereas an heretic, suffered to escape, might infect and destroy a great number of souls.

Nor are such innocent persons, who are unjustly oppressed, allowed to complain of the injuries which may have been done them: to do this, would be a fresh crime, which the Inquisitors would punish with so much the greater severity, as it might be a means of casting a stain on their reputation; not to mention, that those gentlemen never allow themselves to have been mistaken in their verdict.

Such sufferers, therefore, must content themselves, with the poor consolation, which the directory of the Inquisition give them, in the following words: *Let no man say, he has been unjustly condemned; or complain of the ecclesiastical judges, or of the judgment of the church: but, in case he be unjustly condemned, let him rejoice that HE SUFFERS FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS' SAKE.*

They pretend that this sad consolation ought to satisfy a man, though he may have been divested of all his possessions,

sessions, or condemned to the galleys, to banishment, to perpetual imprisonment, or even to the most cruel and infamous death.

It must, indeed, be owned, that what renders it something the more tolerable, is, that the wretched condition to which these unhappy persons are reduced, does not allow them to entertain any other.

However, we may justly suppose, that the Inquisitors themselves would not be satisfied with such reasoning, though in occasions of a less cruel nature.

Such was the rise and progress of the Inquisition. Policy had, at first, as great a share in it's establishment, as a zeal for the preservation of religion in it's purity. As it owes it's original to politics, this has always been it's support since that time, and has raised it to that height of power and authority, which makes it so formidable at this day. The court of Rome considers the Inquisition as the master-piece of it's invention, and the most substantial support of it's power both spiritual and temporal.

There is nothing it attends to more than the preservation of it's authority in both: and, indeed, the Inquisitors have brought matters to that pass, in those countries which submit to their authority: that, though they offer to stretch their prerogative never so far, every one favours their pretensions; or at least, no man dares to contradict them; and, on these occasions, they go what lengths they please: nothing is able to oppose them, but all must submit: the most

extravagant maxims are looked upon as indisputable, and the most ill-grounded claims, as just: hence, infallibility, with respect to actions; the superiority of the pope over general councils: his right to all the possessions of the several churches in the world; a power of disposing of them at pleasure: his pretending power over the temporality of sovereigns; the unwarrantable prerogative he assumes of deposing them, of absolving their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and of disposing of their dominions to whomsoever he thinks proper.

These are all maxims of which if any person presume to doubt the validity in those countries where the inquisition prevails, they dare not, however, oppose them; since they would thereby expose themselves to the severest rigours of that dreadful tribunal.

The blind and passionate attachment of the Inquisition, to all that concerns the interest of the court of Rome; the warmth and eagerness with which it supports all their pretensions, and it's uninterrupted endeavours to enforce that unlimited authority which the popes arrogate to themselves, are the principles to which it owes it's prodigious influence and numberless privileges; and which have rendered it so formidable, as to be dreaded even by those very princes who have received it into their dominions.

The court of Rome is anxiously desirous of having it received in all places which are yet free from it's shackles;

shackles; and would spare no pains, were there the least hopes of success in such attempts; and, indeed, could this once be brought to bear, we might almost admit the business to be done.

But, as the rational world is persuaded, that religion is able to support itself in its purity, as it hath hitherto done, and still continues to do, in many countries, without employing such violent expedients; and that so powerful and despotic a body as the Inquisition—(which has so great a number of agents and persons in its dependence; so many maxims which clash and interfere with the rights, and so many engagements, which are directly opposite to the interests of sovereigns; and which, moreover, binds the people, by the strongest and most indissoluble ties, viz. those of religion and conscience;)—would not fail, whenever opportunity offered, to interrupt the tranquility of government. All these things considered, it is highly probable, that it will make no farther progress.

To this it might indeed be answered, that it were an easy matter to prescribe such laws to it, to limit its authority in such a manner, and to take such just measures, as to render it serviceable to religion, and, at the same time, incapable of prejudicing the state.

But experience shews, that, on what conditions, or under what qualifications soever it may be received, and whatever laws may be prescribed to it; yet it never fails at length to obtain an absolute and unlimited power.

The court of Rome, whose interest it is, that it should flourish, never fails to side with, and are always sure to favour the Inquisitors, in opposition to sovereign princes: nay, the most wisely established laws, the due execution whereof is of such mighty consequence to the peace of kingdoms; are, in the hands of Inquisitors, only so many inexhaustible sources of quarrels and divisions; sources, which they never fail to make use of to curb the authority of sovereigns.

What has been related concerning the Inquisition may possibly seem incredible to those who inhabit those countries where it is not admitted; but all persons who have visited any parts of Italy, or lived in Spain or Portugal, know, and could testify the truth of every particular throughout this narrative.

Hence then it is manifest, that the tribunal in question very unjustly assume the title of Holy Office, since its conduct is directly contrary to that which the ancient fathers of the church employed against heretics, and quiet repugnant to that spirit of mercy, gentleness, and love, which our blessed Saviour breathed not only with regard to heretics but even in favour of persecutors.

Nay, so far from meriting, in any degree, the appellation of Holy, it is a scandal to human nature; and the highest affront to, and blasphemy against, the Almighty; especially as its abominable ministers pretend to act under his influence and direction.



*Engraved for Englands
Bloody Tribunal.*



*Manner of exercising some of the
Cruelties in the Inquisition.*



*The Standard of the Inquisition
at Goa.*



*The Standard of the Inquisition,
in Spain.*

In proof of this, the words of a late celebrated writer are very strong though concise: *The popish Inquisitors, says he, while they deliver over to the flames a poor wretch, already half dead with fears, famine, and torture; beseech and adjure the civil magistrate, who must see to his execution, by the love of God, and the bowels of*

Jesus Christ, not to hurt his life or limb.

How shocking is this grimace! how blasphemous such hypocrisy! May divine providence for ever keep this horrid tribunal at the farthest distance from this our happy nation, and liberty shield it to the latest ages from the horrid incursions of popery and persecution!

D E S C R I P T I O N O F T H E I N Q U I S I T I O N of G O A :

With an Account of the Sufferings of Mr. JOHNSON.

(Written by himself.)

THROUGHOUT the whole extent of the Portugueze dominions, there are four Inquisitions, all of which are sovereign, and have no appeal.

Besides these, there is also the great council of the Inquisition, in which the Inquisitor-general presides. This tribunal is the principal, and it is made acquainted with whatever is done in all other places.

Besides the honour, the unbounded authority, and the salaries annexed to the Inquisitors, there are also two circumstances that are greatly beneficial to them.

Nº 17.

The first is, whenever they expose the effects of any prisoner to sale by auction, if there is any precious jewel, or any such thing among them, which they are desirous of, they have no more to do but to send one of their servants to bid, and no-body will presume to out-bid them; by which means they often purchase very valuable Things for a trifle.

The second method, by which they make a great advantage, is, that as the sums arising from the confiscations are put into the King's treasury, they are empowered to draw a Warrant upon it for whatsoever sums, and

4 N

at

what time soever they please, to defray the expences and private exigencies of the Inquisition.

This money is paid at sight, nor does any person presume to enquire what those private exigencies are; by which means they get the greatest part of the monies arising from confiscations.

The King nominates all the Inquisitors, who are confirmed by the pope, and from him they receive all their bulls.

The Inquisitor of Goa only assumes the privilege of being carried in a chair, and he is much more respected than either the Archbishop or the viceroy. He has jurisdiction over all persons, both ecclesiastical and secular, the archbishop, his great Vicar, who is commonly a bishop, the viceroy, and the governor, when the viceroy is dead, excepted. But he has the power of arresting any of these, after having first given notice thereof to the court of Portugal, and received secret orders for that purpose from the supreme councils of Lisbon, called *Con-solho Supremo*.

This sovereign tribunal meets every fortnight, except upon extraordinary occasions, when they meet oftner; whereas the ordinary councils meet twice every day, viz. from eight in the morning till eleven, and from two till four; sometimes later in the afternoon, especially when the acts of faith draw near; for on those occasions the audience is frequently continued till after ten at night.

When causes are tried, besides the *daputadoes* who assist, the archbishops

or bishops of the several places where the Inquisition is established, have the privilege of being present in them, and to preside in all the sentences pronounced against them.

The prison of the Inquisition at Goa, is called *Aljouva* by the Portuguese, and is a kind of Cellar, which receives the light only by a small hole, into which the sun-beams never enter. It casts a dreadful stench; nor have the prisoners any other place to ease nature in, than a great hole like a well, level with the ground, and in the midst of the cavern; whence it is, that part of the filth lies round the Hole; for which reason most of the prisoners ease themselves in different parts of the prison.

Those who die in prison are buried in it without the least ceremony; and in case they are judged by the inquisitors to have merited death, their bones are burnt in the next Jail-delivery or Act of Faith.

As 'tis very sultry in the Indies, and the Inquisitors don't allow the prisoners beds, they never have fire, candle, or any light but that of the sun. With regard to beds, there are two bedsteads in each cell; because they are sometimes forced to confine two prisoners in the same dungeon.

Besides the mat which is allowed to every one, the Europeans, and persons of some distinction, have a counterpane, which being doubled, serves them instead of a mattress; but seldom have coverlets, because of the violent heat of the Indian climate, unless it be to guard against the gnats, whereof there are vast quantities in these

these countries, and which are inexpressibly troublesome.

Mr. Johnson, who was confined in this loathsome dungeon upwards of two years, relates the particulars of his sufferings thus.

When I found, says he, that I was kept a whole day and night in the Aljouvar, without being examined, I began to flatter myself that I might continue in it till my affair was concluded; but all my hopes vanished, when an officer of the inquisition came the 16th of January at eight in the morning, and brought orders for carrying us to the Santa Casa, which was immediately executed.

The Irons with which I was loaded, made walking very painful to me; however, we were obliged to walk on foot thus fettered, from the Aljouvar to the Inquisition. I was helped in going up the stairs, when I entered with my companions the great hall, where several smiths knock'd off our irons; which being done, I was first called to audience.

After having cross'd the hall, I went into an anti-chamber, and from thence into another apartment, where I found my judge.

This place is called by the Portuguese, Mesa do Santo Officio, i. e. the table or tribunal of the holy office. It was hung with blue and yellow taffety. At one end of it is a large crucifix in relievo, placed against the hangings, and reaching up almost to the ceiling.

In the middle of the chamber is a large Alcove, on which is fixed a table near fifteen feet long, and four over.

There were also over the alcove two easy chairs, and several other seats round the table, and at the end, on one side of the crucifix, was the secretary seated on a folding chair. I was placed at the other end, opposite to the secretary; very near me, and at my right-hand was seated, in one of the easy chairs, the great inquisitor of the Indies, Francisco Delgado e Matos, a secular priest, about forty.

He was alone, because then, of the two Inquisitors who are generally in Goa, the second, who is always a Dominican friar, was embarked for Portugal, a little while before, and the king had not yet nominated any Person to succeed him.

As soon as I entered the hall, I threw myself at the feet of my judge, imagining the suppliant posture I was in would move him to compassion; but he would not suffer me to continue in it, and therefore immediately ordered me to rise.

Then having asked me my name and my Profession, he asked me whether I knew the reason why I had been imprisoned? Whereupon he exhorted me to declare it immediately, as it was the only means left me to recover my liberty instantly.

After having answered these two first questions, I told him, that I believed I knew the reason for my being imprisoned; and that in case he would be pleased to hear me, I would immediately accuse myself. I mingled tears with my intreaties, and thereupon I threw myself a second time at his feet: but my judge told me, with great coolness, that I might take my time,

time, for that matters were not urgent; that he had affairs upon his hands of much greater consequence than mine; that he would give me notice at a proper season, when immediately he rang a little bell for the alcaide, or turnkey of the prison.

This officer came into the hall, and conducted me to a long gallery not far distant from it, whither we were followed by the secretary.

Here my trunk was brought, which was opened before me; upon which I was searched very narrowly, and every thing I had about me was taken away, to the very buttons of my sleeves, and a ring which I wore on my finger; infomuch, that they left me nothing but my beads, my handkerchief, and a few pieces of Gold which I had sewed up in a ribbon, and were lodged between my leg and stocking, which they happened to overlook.

A pretty exact Inventory was immediately drawn up of all the rest; but all this was of no manner of service to me, since nothing of value was afterwards restored to me, notwithstanding that the secretary assured me, and the inquisitor also, that all I had would be faithfully restored to me the instant I should be released.

The inventory being drawn up, the alcaide took me by the hand, and carried me to a dungeon ten feet square, where I was confined alone, nor ever saw a living soul till the evening, when my supper was brought me. As I had not eat any thing either that or the preceding day, I eat what was given me very heartily, and slept much better upon it.

The turnkey coming the next morning with my breakfast, I desired to have my books and combs; but they told me, that prisoners are never allowed to have books, not even a priest to have his breviary, tho' he be obliged to repeat divine service; and that as for my combs, I should not want them; and indeed, this was very true, for they immediately cut off my hair; a custom observed with regard to both women and men, tho' of the greatest quality, the first or second day at farthest of their imprisonment. I had been told, when I was first imprisoned that when I should want any Thing, I need do no more than knock gently at the door, in order to call the turnkeys, or to ask for what I wanted at meal time: and that when I were desirous of going to the audience, I need only address myself to the alcaide, who, as the turnkey, never speaks to the prisoners without having some person along with him.

I had also been flattered that I should be set at liberty immediately after my confession, which made me continually importune my officers to let me be carried before my judges; but notwithstanding all my tears and intreaties, I was not indulged with it, till a considerable time after.

However the day being at length fixed, about two o'clock in the afternoon the alcaide, accompanied with a turnkey, come to me for that purpose. I dressed as he ordered me, and came out of my dungeon bare-legged and bare-footed, the jailer going before, and the turnkey after me.

In this order we walked to the gate
of

of the chamber where audience is given. Here the alcaide advancing a little forward, and making a low bow, came out again; upon which I went in. Here I found the inquisitor and secretary, as before. Immediately I fell upon my knees, but was ordered to rise and seat myself; upon which I sat down upon a bench which was placed at the end of the table, on the side where the judges sat.

Just by me, and at the End of the table, was a mass-book, on which I was first ordered to lay my Hand, and to promise that I would swear to the Truth, and to keep inviolable secrecy, which are the two oaths required of all who appear before this tribunal, whether they come to receive any orders, or to give in their depositions.

After this, I was asked, whether I knew the reason of my being imprisoned, and if I were resolved to declare it? To which I answered, that I was fully determined to do so. Upon which I made an exact declaration of all I had before related with regard to baptism and the worship of Images; but did not mention any thing I had said with respect to the inquisition, they not occurring at that time to my memory.

The judge having again asked me, whether I had any more to say? And being told that I could not think of any thing else; was so far from setting me at liberty, as I had flattered myself I should be, that he concluded the Audience thus:

That I had done very well to accuse myself voluntarily: and that he exhorted me in the name of our Lord Jesus

N^o 17.

Christ, to declare immediately the remainder of my informations, in order that I might experience the goodness and mercy which that tribunal indulges to all who prove the sincerity of their repentance, by a genuine and voluntary confession.

My declaration and the exhortation being ended and written down, it was read to me, and I signed it; which being done, the inquisitor rang a little bell to call the Alcaide, who came, and carried me back to prison in the same order I came.

I was carried a second Time before the judge, without my desiring it, on the 15th of February, which made me suppose he intended to set me at liberty.

Being come, I was asked, whether I had no more to say? I was exhorted not to disguise any circumstance, but on the contrary, to make a sincere confession of my faults. I answered, that after a very serious self-examination, I could not think of any fresh particulars. I then was asked my name, those of my father, my mother, brothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, godfathers and godmothers; whether I were Christian de oito Dies? that is, a christian of eight days standing: because children are not baptized in Portugal till the eighth day after their birth, nor the childbed women church'd till the fortieth day after their lying-in, tho' they had ever so easy a delivery.

The judge seemed to be surprized, when I told him that the custom of deferring the baptism of children a whole week, was not practised in France;

France; but that, on the contrary, they were always christened as soon as conveniency would permit.

I was farther asked the name of the person who baptized me, in what diocese, what city; and lastly, whether I had ever been confirmed, and by what bishop?

Having answered these several questions, I was ordered to kneel down, to make a sign of the cross, to repeat the Paternoster, the Ave-Maria, the Creed, the Commandments of God and the church, and the Salve Regina.

In fine, he concluded as before, with exhorting me by the bowels of Jesus, to confess immediately the several crimes and errors I had not yet revealed; which being written down, and read before me, and signed by myself, I was remanded back to prison.

From the first moment of my confinement, I had always been in the deepest affliction, and shed incessant tears; but at my return from the second audience, I abandoned myself intirely to grief, when I found that I was required to confess such things as to me appeared impossible, since I could not recollect any such circumstances as I was ordered to confess. I therefore endeavoured to starve myself; not but I took all the sustenance that was brought me, because, in case I had refused it, I should have been beat by the turnkeys, who always examine very carefully, upon their taking the plates back, whether the prisoners eat enough to support nature; but my despair suggested methods to

elude their vigilance in this particular.

I spent whole days without taking a morsel, and used to throw part of what was given to me into the basin, to prevent its being seen.

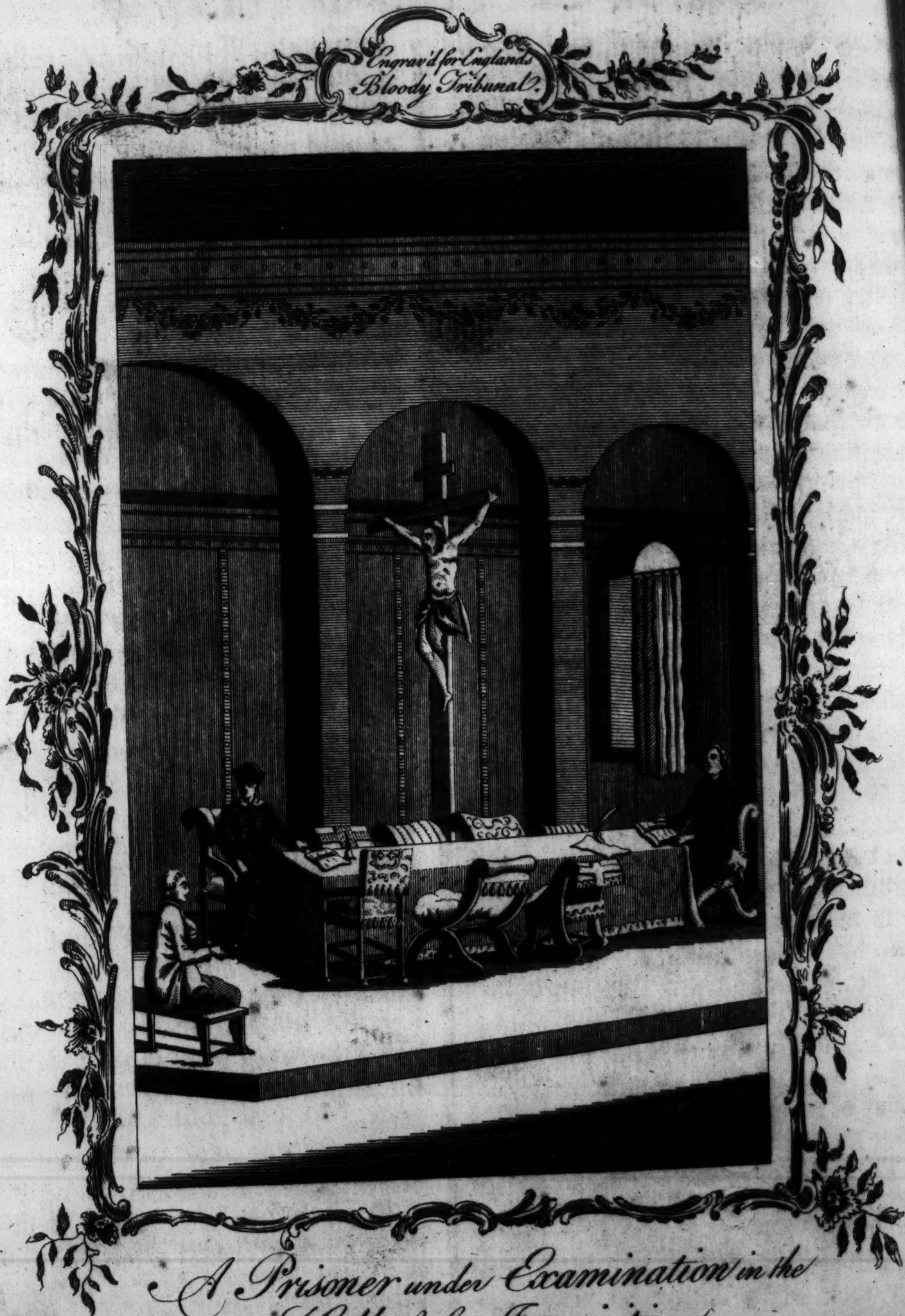
This severe abstinence entirely prevented my sleeping, and now I did nothing but macerate my body in this manner, and shed floods of tears.

However, in these days of sorrow and lamentation, I revolved in my mind all the errors of my past life, and confessed that all my misery was a judgment from heaven upon me: I even persuaded myself, that God perhaps had employed these severe, but salutary methods to call me to himself; when being a little revived and comforted with these reflections, I sincerely implored the assistance of the Holy Virgin, who is equally the comforter of the afflicted, and the refuge and asylum of sinners; and indeed, I have had so visible a demonstration of her protection, as well during my imprisonment, as on several other occasions, that I cannot forbear making this publick testimony thereof.

In fine, after having made a more exact, or more happy recollection of all I had said or done, during my residence at Daman, I remembered the several expressions I had used touching the inquisition and the integrity thereof: upon which I immediately desired to be admitted to audience; but this however was not granted me till the 16th of March following.

I made no doubt, upon my appearance this time before the judge, but I should





should then put an end to my unhappy affair, and after the confession I was going to make, be immediately set at liberty: but when I thought my wishes upon the point of being accomplished, I saw myself immediately fall from my most sanguine hopes; because that when I had declared every thing I had to say with regard to the inquisition, I was told, that this was not what was expected from me; and having nothing else to say, I was immediately remanded back, nor would they so much as write down my confession.

I frankly own, that thro' the cruelty and length of my imprisonment, I fell into despair, and often attempted to destroy myself, first by starving myself, and because that did not succeed, I feigned myself sick; and when the physician of the inquisition found my pulse unequal, and that I was feverish, he ordered me to be let blood, which was done again five days after.

When the doctor was gone, I unbound my arm every day, that so by the large effusion of blood, I might continually grow weaker and weaker.

In the mean while I eat very little, that by hunger and loss of blood, I might put an end to a miserable life. Whilst I was in this sad condition, I had a confessor sent to me of the Franciscan order, who, by various Arguments of comfort, endeavoured to recover me from my despair.

They also gave me a companion in my jail, which was some comfort to me in my confinement. But growing well again after above five months they took my companion from me. The lonesomeness of my confinement

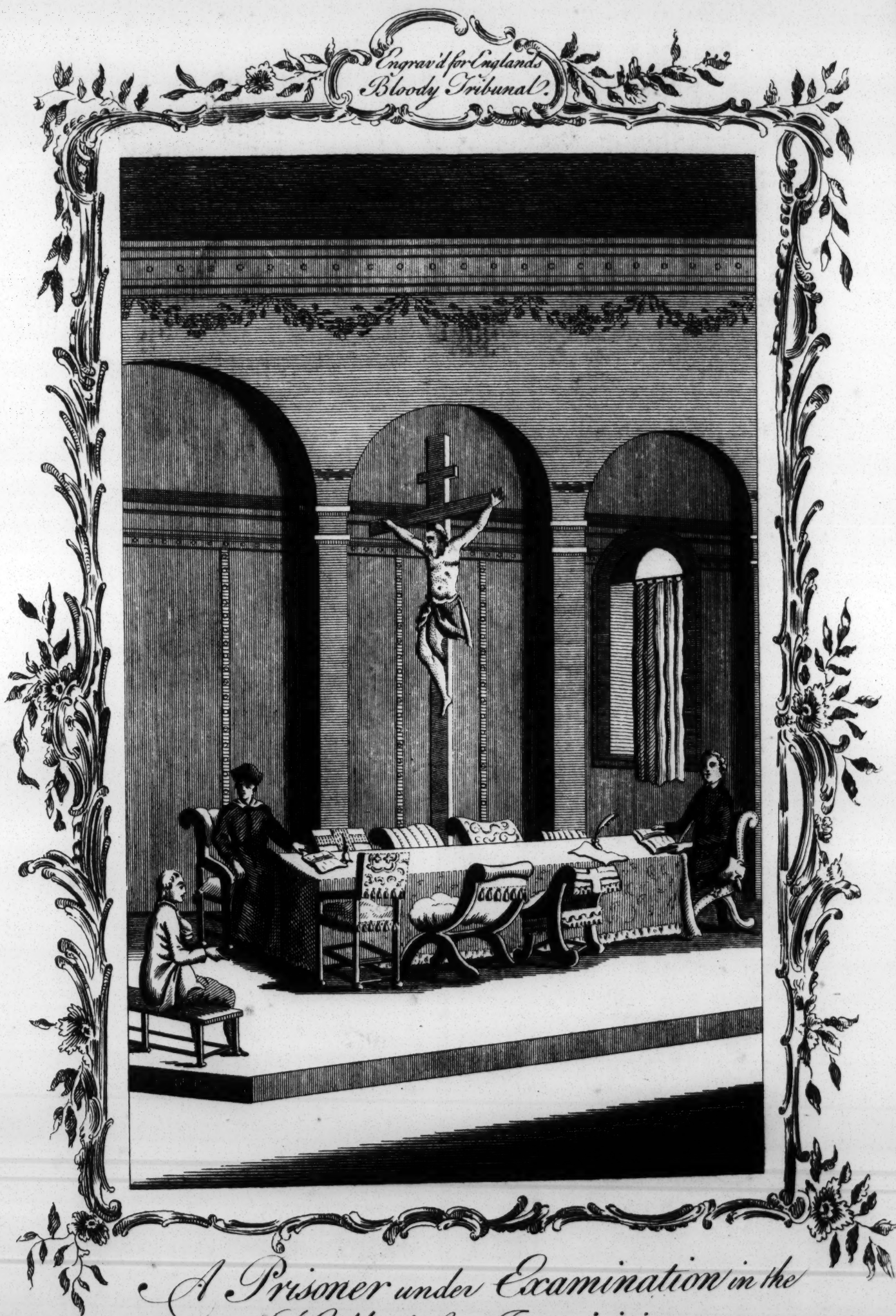
brought on again my melancholy and despair, which made me invent another method to destroy myself. I had a piece of gold money, which I had concealed in my cloaths, which I broke into two parts; and making it sharp, I opened with it a vein in each arm, and lost so much blood, that I fell into a swoon, the blood running about the jail.

But some of the servants happening to come before the usual time to bring me something, found me in this condition.

Then the inquisitor reproached me several times; gave orders for my being carried away, handcuffs to be put upon me, to prevent my forcing off the chains with which I was bound. This was immediately executed, and I was not only hand-cuffed, but an iron machine was clapt about my neck, which held to the handcuffs, and was locked with a padlock; so that now it was impossible for me to stir my arms.

But this treatment only exasperated me the more: I threw myself on the ground, and struck my head against the floor and the walls; and had I been bound but a little longer in that manner, I should have infallibly have got my arms at liberty, and should have died with it: but as I was continually watched, they found, by my actions, that severity was very unreasonable at this time, and that it were better to employ gentle methods.

Upon this my irons were knocked off, endeavours were made to comfort me with delusive hopes, I was put into another cell, and had again a companion given me, who was ordered



should then put an end to my unhappy affair, and after the confession I was going to make, be immediately set at liberty: but when I thought my wishes upon the point of being accomplished, I saw myself immediately fall from my most sanguine hopes; because that when I had declared every thing I had to say with regard to the inquisition, I was told, that this was not what was expected from me; and having nothing else to say, I was immediately remanded back, nor would they so much as write down my confession.

I frankly own, that thro' the cruelty and length of my imprisonment, I fell into despair, and often attempted to destroy myself, first by starving myself, and because that did not succeed, I feigned myself sick; and when the physician of the inquisition found my pulse unequal, and that I was feverish, he ordered me to be let blood, which was done again five days after.

When the doctor was gone, I unbound my arm every day, that so by the large effusion of blood, I might continually grow weaker and weaker.

In the mean while I eat very little, that by hunger and loss of blood, I might put an end to a miserable life. Whilst I was in this sad condition, I had a confessor sent to me of the Franciscan order, who, by various Arguments of comfort, endeavoured to recover me from my despair.

They also gave me a companion in my jail, which was some comfort to me in my confinement. But growing well against after above five months they took my companion from me. The lonesomeness of my confinement

brought on again my melancholy and despair, which made me invent another method to destroy myself. I had a piece of gold money, which I had concealed in my cloaths, which I broke into two parts; and making it sharp, I opened with it a vein in each arm, and lost so much blood, that I fell into a swoon, the blood running about the jail.

But some of the servants happening to come before the usual time to bring me something, found me in this condition.

Then the inquisitor reproached me several times; gave orders for my being carried away, handcuffs to be put upon me, to prevent my forcing off the chains with which I was bound. This was immediately executed, and I was not only hand-cuffed, but an iron machine was clapt about my neck, which held to the handcuffs, and was locked with a padlock; so that now it was impossible for me to stir my arms.

But this treatment only exasperated me the more: I threw myself on the ground, and struck my head against the floor and the walls; and had I been bound but a little longer in that manner, I should have infallibly have got my arms at liberty, and should have died with it: but as I was continually watched, they found, by my actions, that severity was very unreasonable at this time, and that it were better to employ gentle methods.

Upon this my irons were knocked off, endeavours were made to comfort me with delusive hopes, I was put into another cell, and had again a companion given me, who was ordered

dered to watch me narrowly. This prisoner was a black, but much more unfociable than my former companion.

Nevertheless heaven, who had preserved me from so great an evil, banished the despair which sat brooding over me, a circumstance in which I was more happy than many others, who frequently made away with themselves in their confinement in these dungeons, where no consolation is ever allowed to enter.

This companion continued about two months with me; but as soon as I appeared to be easier in my mind, he was taken from me.

In fine, after having spent almost a year in this manner, I was seasoned to affliction, and providence afterwards induced me with so much patience, that I never made any more attempts upon my own life.

I had been about eighteen months in this confinement, when the judges being informed that I was in a condition to speak, sent for me the fourth Time to audience; where I was asked, whether I was not resolved to answer what was required of me? Having replied, that I could not recollect a single circumstance more, the proctor of the inquisition appeared with his declaration, in order to signify to me the several informations which had been exhibited against me.

In all the other examinations I had accused myself, and they were contented with hearing my depositions, without descending to particulars, and had remanded me back to my cell the instant I protested I had no more to de-

clare against myself: but in this fourth examination I was accused, and was allowed to defend myself.

They read to me, in the informations which were exhibited against me, the several things wherewith I had accused myself. These facts were true, and I had confessed them by my own proper impulse, consequently I had nothing to object against these facts; but then I flattered myself, that I could prove to the judges they were not so criminal as they were thought to be.

The proctor when he read the informations, had said, that besides what I myself had confessed, I was moreover accused and clearly convicted of having spoke with contempt of the inquisition and its ministers; and of having spoke with great disrespect of the pope and his authority.

He concluded, that the stubbornness I had hitherto shewn in slighting so much charitable advice, which had been given me, being a manifest proof that I concealed very pernicious designs, and that having designed to teach and foment heresy, I consequently was become obnoxious to the major excommunication; that my goods and chattels ought to be forfeited to the king, and myself delivered over to the executioner, in order to be consumed in the flames.

I leave the reader to judge the tortures which these conclusions of the proctor raised in my breast; notwithstanding I can truly affirm, that how dreadful soever those words may be, yet death would have been more welcome than imprisonment.

Thus, in spite of the terror with which

which I was seized, I yet had spirits enough left to answer the accusations which were then exhibited against me, in saying; that I never had harboured any sinister intentions; that I had ever continued a true catholick; that all those I had conversed with in India would vouch the truth thereof, particularly father Ambrose, and father Ives, both French capuchins, who had frequently heard my confessions; (I knew after I was set at liberty that father Ives was actually at Goa, at the very time when I called upon his testimony; that I had sometimes gone fifty miles to celebrate Easter; that if I had been any ways inclined to entertain heretical principles, I might easily have settled in those countries in the Indies, where a full liberty of speaking is allowed; and consequently, that I should not, had matters stood thus, have settled in the dominions of the King of Portugal; that so far from disputing against religion, I had, on the contrary, frequently argued with hereticks in defence of it: that indeed I remembered I had spoke with too much freedom, when I was before the Inquisitor; but that I was greatly surprized they should impute that very thing to me as a heinous crime, which they had looked upon as a trifle, when I offered to declare it about a year and half ago; that as to the particulars which related to his holiness, I could not recollect that I had expressed myself in the manner laid to my charge; that nevertheless, if they would please to descend to particulars, I would sincerely confess the truth.

Nº 17.

Then the Inquisitor told me, that I was allowed time to consider of those articles which related to his holiness; but that he could not sufficiently admire my impudence, in affirming that I had made my confession with regard to the inquisition, since 'twas very certain that I had not once opened my mouth upon that head; and that in Case I had made my declaration upon that article, when I said I had done it, I should not have been kept so long in prison.

I remembered so perfectly every thing I had advanced, and the answers that had been made me, and was so transported with rage to see myself mocked in that manner, that if I had not been immediately ordered to withdraw, upon the signing of my deposition, it would have been impossible for me to refrain from opprobrious expressions before the judge: And had I had strength and liberty equal to the courage with which my passion fired me, I perhaps should have gone farther than injurious terms.

I was called three or four times to audience in a month, where I was urged to confess those particulars I had advanced with respect to the pope.

A new proof was then declared to me, which the proctor pretended was drawn up against me on that head, but which did not differ in a single circumstance from what had before been urged against me.

But a proof that the whole was a false accusation, and invented merely to force me to speak, is, that they would not declare to me the particulars which they pretended I had advanced.

4 P

At

At last finding they could get no more out of me, they said no more; and this article was not inserted in my indictment, when it was read publicly in the act of faith.

They therefore attempted again in these last audiences, and to oblige me to confess, that in the several facts I agreed upon, I really intended to defend heresy; but this I was resolved never to own, since it was a falsehood.

During November and December, my ears were wounded with the cries of prisoners who were put to the torture, which is so severe, that I have known several persons of both sexes who were lame all their life-time after, and among the rest, the first companion I had in my confinement.

In this holy tribunal no regard is had to age, sex, or condition, but all are treated with the same severity; and are indiscriminately tortured, and stript almost naked, whenever the bloody-minded inquisitors are pleased to order it.

I remembered I had heard before my imprisonment, that the Auto de Fe was generally solemniz'd the first Sunday in Advent, because that passage of scripture which relates to the last judgment is read on that day in churches, the inquisitors then pretending to exhibit a lively representation thereof.

I moreover observed, that there were a great number of persons confined in that prison; the deep silence which reigns in that house giving me an opportunity to count the number of doors which were daily opened at the stated times of eating. I was besides,

almost sure, that a new archbishop arrived at Goa in October, the see having been before vacant for almost thirty years. At least I thought so, because the bells of the cathedral had rung in an extraordinary manner for nine days together, at a time when neither the universal church, nor that of Goa in particular, solemnize any remarkable festival. I knew that this prelate was expected even before my confinement.

These several reasons made me flatter myself, that I might gain my liberty in the beginning of December, but when I found the first and second Sunday in Advent were past, I did not doubt but either my liberty or confinement was postponed for at least twelve months.

As I fancied that the Act of Faith was never solemnized but in the beginning of the Month of December, finding it elapsed without the least sign of any preparation for that dreadful ceremony, I resolved to submit another year to my afflictions; nevertheless, I found at a time when I least expected it; that I was likely to be set at liberty.

I observed that Saturday the 11th of January 1676, intending after dinner to give my linnen to the turnkeys in order to get it washed, as was the custom, they refused to take it, and put it off till the next day.

I could not but revolve a thousand thoughts upon the occasion of this extraordinary refusal; but not finding one satisfactory, I at last concluded, that possibly the Act of Faith might be solemnized the next day; but I
was

was more strongly confirmed in my opinion, or rather looked upon it as certain, when after hearing the ringing for vespers at the cathedral, matins were rung immediately after, which had never been done since my confinement, the eve of the feast of Corpus Christi excepted, which is always solemnized in India the Thursday immediately following Low Sunday, because of the continual rains which fall at the time of its celebration in Europe.

One would have thought that my heart was going to be filled with joy, since I thought I should be soon set at liberty, and that I should come out of the grave, as it were, in which I had been buried for near two years. Nevertheless the dread with which the fatal conclusion of the proctor had filled me, and the uncertainty of my destiny, heightened my affliction to that degree, that I spent the remainder of that day, and part of the night, in such a condition as would have moved the hardest heart, those excepted under whose cruelty I suffered.

Supper was brought me, which I refused, and contrary to custom it was not urged upon me; but no sooner were the doors shut, but I gave myself up to grief and despair.

At last, having deplored my hard fate with sighs and tears, oppressed with the most piercing anguish, I began to doze about eleven at night.

I had not been long asleep, when I was on a sudden awaked by the noise which the turnkeys made in opening the doors of my cell, and as this was unusual, I was surprized to see peo-

ple enter it with a light; and my fears were not a little increased by the lateness of the hour.

Then the alcaide gave me clothes, which he ordered me to put on, and be ready to leave my cell when he should call me for that purpose: then he went away, leaving a lighted lamp in the dungeon.

I now had neither strength enough to rise, nor to answer: and the moment the turnkeys left me, I was seized with such a trembling, that for above an hour I could not so much as cast my eyes upon the clothes which were left me.

At last I arose, and falling prostrate upon the earth before a cross which I had drawn upon the wall, I recommended myself to heaven, and resigned myself wholly to Providence; after which I put on the suit, which consisted in a waistcoat, the sleeves whereof reached to the wrist, and a pair of drawers that reached to the heels; the whole made of a black and white striped Linen.

I did not wait long after the dress was brought me; for the turnkeys came about two in the morning into my cell, whence I was carried into a long gallery, where I found a great number of my fellow-sufferers standing against the wall. Here I placed myself, and several did the same after me.

Notwithstanding there were upwards of two hundred more in this gallery, yet all of them were gloomily silent; as there was not above a dozen whites among them, who could scarce be distinguished from the rest, and

and as all were cloathed in the same dress with myself, they might easily have been taken for so many statues fixed against the wall, had not the motion of their eyes, which was the only liberty allowed them, shewed them to be living creatures.

The gallery in which we stood had so few lamps in it, and the light of them was so very faint and weak, that this circumstance, added to the croud of black and sorrowful objects, seemed to make the whole like a burial.

The women, who were cloathed in the same linen as the men, were placed in an adjacent gallery, where we could see them; but I observed, that in a dormitory, not far from the place where we stood, there were also prisoners cloathed in a black suit, which descended very low, who walked up and down from time to time. I did not then know what this meant, but was informed a few hours after, that they were those who were to be burnt, and were walking up and down with their confessors.

As I was unacquainted with the formalities of the holy office, how heartily soever I might formerly wished to die, I then was under dreadful apprehensions, lest I should be one of those who were condemned to the Flames. However, I cheered myself a little, when I considered my dress was not different from the rest, and that it was not likely such a number of people would be burnt as were there present.

After we were placed against the wall, a yellow wax taper was given

to us; after which clothes were brought us, made like tunicks, or large scapularies; they were of yellow cloth, with red St. Andrew's crosses, painted before and behind. Such as are branded with these stigma's, are those who have been guilty, or supposed to be guilty of crimes against the faith of Christ. whether they be Jews, Mahometans, wizards, or hereticks, who have left the catholick religion. These large scapularies with large St. Andrew's crosses are called San Benitos.

Those who were looked upon as convicts, and persisted in declaring their innocence, or had relapsed, wore another kind of scapulary called Samarra, the ground whereof is grey; the criminal is drawn thereon, both before and behind, standing on fire-brands with flames mounting upwards, and devils around them: at the bottom of the portrait the crime and nature of the prisoner are written.

But such as accuse themselves after sentence as been pronounced upon them before their release, and have not relapsed, have flames pointing downwards painted on their Samarra's, and this is called Fogo Revolto, or reversed fire.

San Benitos were given to twenty blacks accused of magick, and to a Portuguese convicted of the same crime, and who was moreover a new christian; and as they were resolved not to revenge themselves by halves, but to insult me to the utmost, they forced me to put on a dress like to that of the wizards and hereticks, tho'

though I had always confessed the catholic religion. This the judges might easily have known from a great many people, both Frenchmen and others, with whom I had lived in several parts of India.

My terror was increased when I saw myself in this habit, because I thought that as there were not among so great a number of criminals, but twenty-two persons who were dressed with these ignominious San Benitos, it was very possible that these only were those who were not to be pardoned.

After the San Benito, five paste-board caps were brought, shaped like a sugar-loaf, having devils and flames painted on them, with the word Feiticero, that is, Wizard, round them. these caps are called Carrochas, and were put on the heads of five of the most guilty of the criminals, among those who were accused of magic; and as they stood pretty near me, I expected to have one also: however I was mistaken.

I then almost doubted no more but these miserable wretches were to be really burnt, and as they were no better acquainted than myself with the formalities of the inquisition, they have since told me, that they thought their ruin inevitable.

Every one being habited according to his imputed crime, we were allowed to sit upon the ground till farther orders.

About four in the morning, several domesticks belonging to the prison came after the turnkeys, to give bread and figs to such as would eat; but for my part, though I had not

supped the night before, I had so little appetite, that I should have taken nothing, had not one of the turnkeys come up to me, and said, take the bread that is offered you; and if you cannot eat it now, put it in your pocket; for, depend upon it, you will be a hungry before you come back.

These words gave me the highest consolation, and dispelled all my fears, since he talked of my returning back, which made me take his advice.

At last, after having long waited, day began to break about five, when one might plainly behold in the faces of all the prisoners, the various impulses of shame, grief, and fear, as those different passions raged in their bosoms; for notwithstanding that they were all flushed with joy, when they found they were going to be delivered from their dreadful and insupportable captivity, yet the uncertainty of their fate very much diminished their transports.

The largest bell of the cathedral began to ring a little before sun-rise, to give notice to the people of the Solemnization of the act of faith, which is, as it were, the triumph of the holy office.

We at first marched out one by one. I observed in passing out of the gallery into the great hall, that the inquisitor was sitting at the door, having a secretary standing near him; that the hall was crowded with the inhabitants of Goa, whose names were written in a list which the secretary held in his hand; and that at the same time that a prisoner was ordered out, he

he named one of those gentlemen who were in the hall, who immediately went up to the prisoner and attended him, in order to stand godfather to him in the act of faith.

These godfathers answer for the persons they attended upon, and represent them when the festival is ended. The inquisitors pretend, that 'tis a great honour for a person to be chosen godfather on these occasions.

The general of the Portuguese ships in India, was my godfather, and therefore I came out along with him; and being got into the street I found that the procession opened with the Dominicans, who enjoy this privilege, because St. Dominic their founder instituted the inquisition.

Before them, the standard of the holy office was carry'd, in which the image of the founder was wrought in very rich embroidery, holding a sword in one hand, and an olive-branch in the other, with this inscription, *Justitia & Misericordia*.

After these friars follow the prisoners walking one after another, with each his godfather by his side, and a wax-taper in his hand. The least guilty walked first; and as I was not looked upon to be very innocent, above an hundred prisoners walked before me. Men and women walked together, for there was no other distinction than that of crimes.

I, like unto the rest, was bare-headed and bare-footed, but I suffered very much in the march, which lasted above an hour, because of the little flints with which the streets of Goa are filled; so that my feet were all bloody.

We were carried thro' the principal streets, exposed to the sight of innumerable spectators, who were come from all parts of India, and lined the way as we walked; care being taken to give notice of an Act of faith in sermon time, in the most distant churches, a long time before its solemnization.

At last, oppressed with shame and confusion, and vastly fatigued with the march, we arrived at St. Francis's church, which was then appointed to prepare the celebration of the Act of Faith.

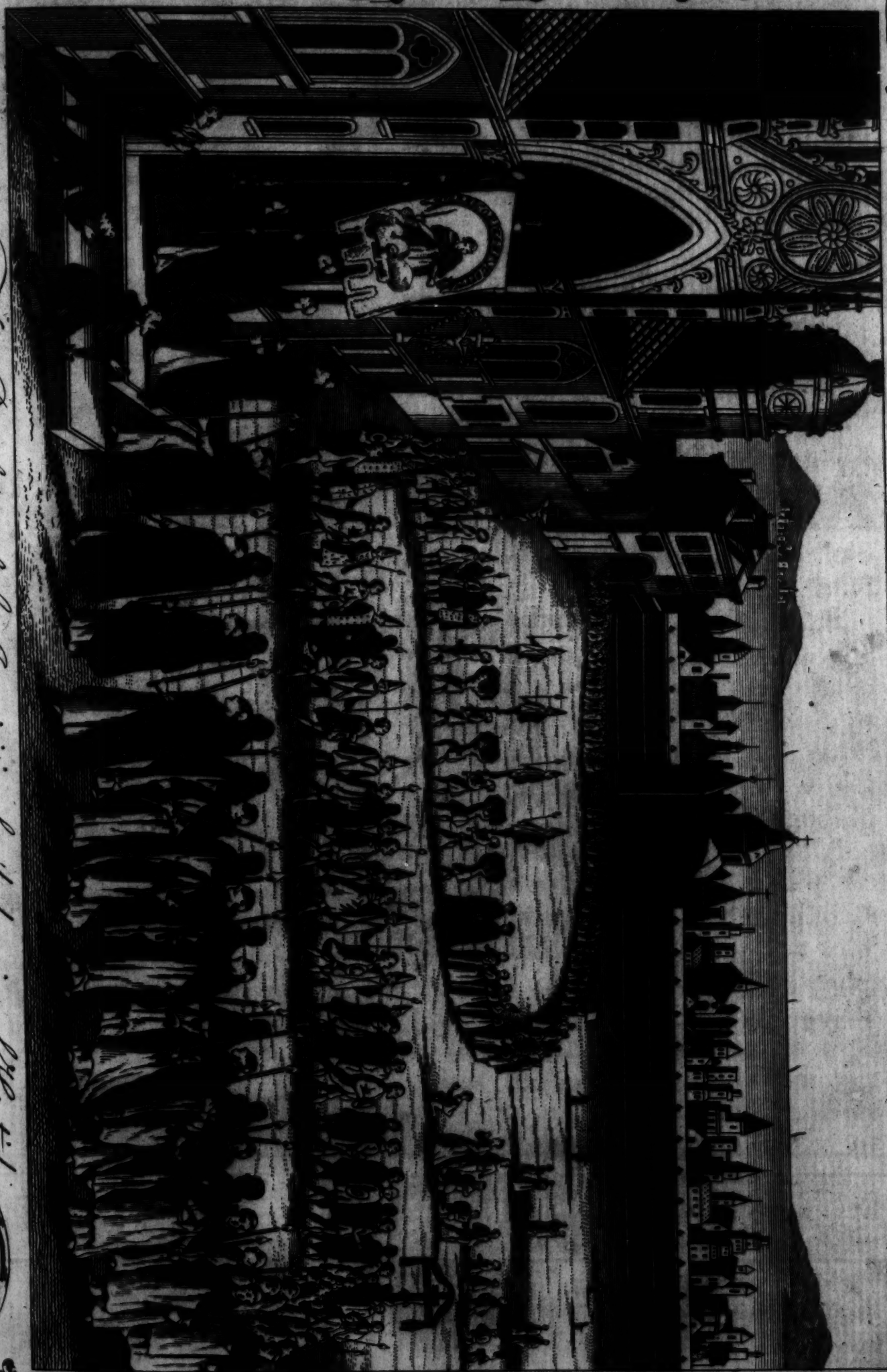
The high altar was covered with black, and had on it six silver candlesticks, in which were six lighted white wax-tapers. On each side of the altar two seats like thrones were raised; that to the right for the inquisitor and his council, and the other for the viceroy and his court.

At some distance from them, and opposite to the high altar, a little towards the door, another altar had been raised, on which two mass-books lay open.

From them to the church-gate a gallery was built about three feet wide, railed in on each side; and on each side forms were placed for the criminals to sit on, with their respective godfathers, who sat down as they came into the church; so that those who came first into it, sat nearest to the altar.

Being seated in my place, I began to consider the order which those who came after me, were made to observe. I found that those who wore the dreadful Carrochas above-mentioned, walk-
ed

Engraved for England's Bloody Tribunal.



The Procession of the Inquisition for the burning of Heretics.

he named one of those gentlemen who were in the hall, who immediately went up to the prisoner and attended him, in order to stand godfather to him in the act of faith.

These godfathers answer for the persons they attended upon, and represent them when the festival is ended. The inquisitors pretend, that 'tis a great honour for a person to be chosen godfather on these occasions.

The general of the Portuguese ships in India, was my godfather, and therefore I came out along with him; and being got into the street I found that the procession opened with the Dominicans, who enjoy this privilege, because St. Dominic their founder instituted the inquisition.

Before them, the standard of the holy office was carry'd, in which the image of the founder was wrought in very rich embroidery, holding a sword in one hand, and an olive-branch in the other, with this inscription, *Justitia & Misericordia*.

After these friars follow the prisoners walking one after another, with each his godfather by his side, and a wax-taper in his hand. The least guilty walked first; and as I was not looked upon to be very innocent, above an hundred prisoners walked before me. Men and women walked together, for there was no other distinction than that of crimes.

I, like unto the rest, was bare-headed and bare-footed, but I suffered very much in the march, which lasted above an hour, because of the little flints with which the streets of Goa are filled; so that my feet were all bloody.

We were carried thro' the principal streets, exposed to the sight of innumerable spectatots, who were come from all parts of India, and lined the way as we walked; care being taken to give notice of an Act of faith in sermon time, in the most distant churches, a long time before its solemnization.

At last, oppressed with shame and confusion, and vastly fatigued with the march, we arrived at St. Francis's church, which was then appointed to prepare the celebration of the Act of Faith.

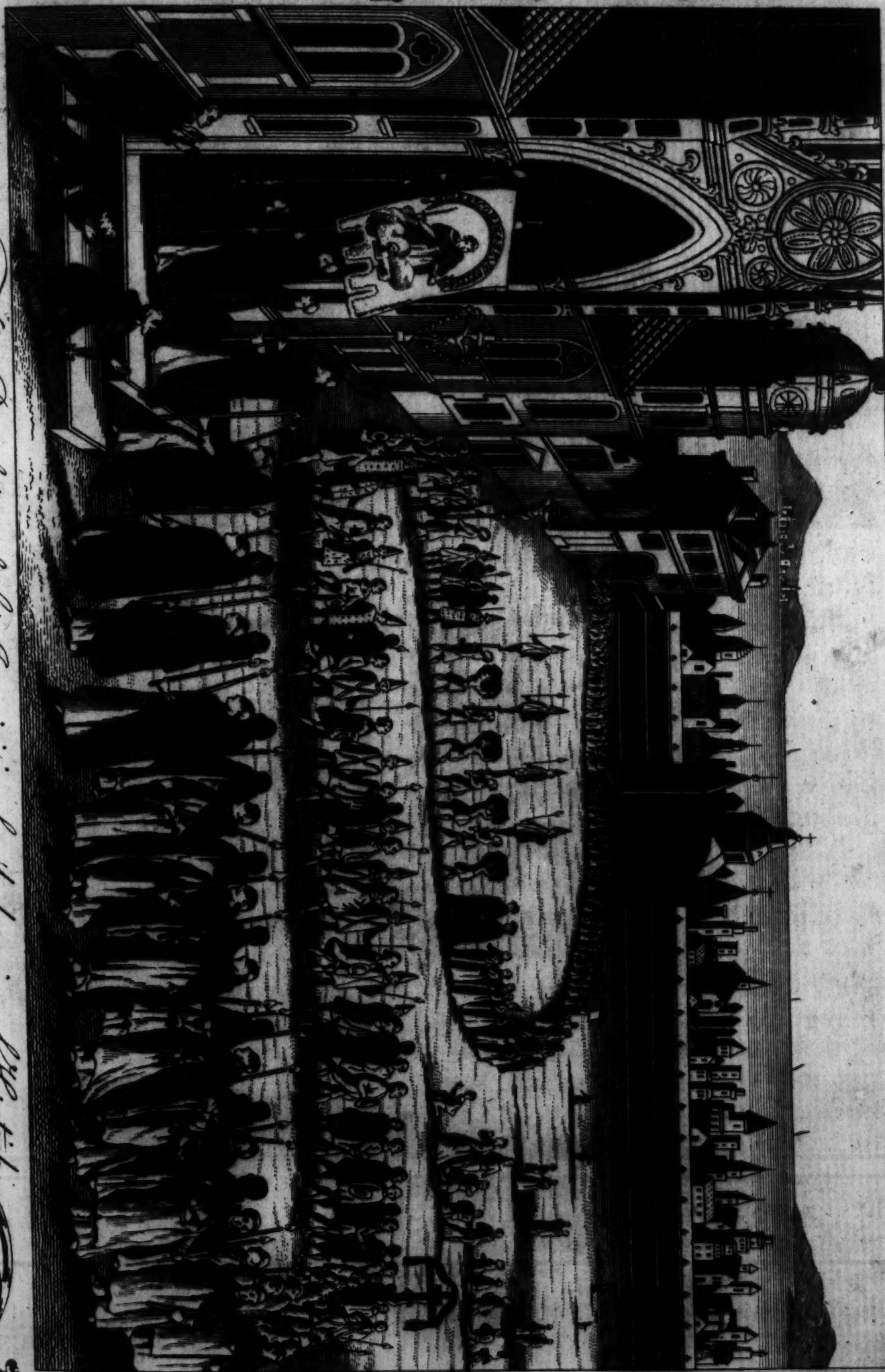
The high altar was covered with black, and had on it six silver candlesticks, in which were six lighted white wax-tapers. On each side of the altar two seats like thrones were raised; that to the right for the inquisitor and his council, and the other for the viceroy and his court.

At some distance from them, and opposite to the high altar, a little towards the door, another altar had been raised, on which two mass-books lay open.

From them to the church-gate a gallery was built about three feet wide railed in on each side; and on each side forms were placed for the criminals to sit on, with their respective godfathers, who sat down as they came into the church; so that those who came first into it, sat nearest to the altar.

Being seated in my place, I began to consider the order which those who came after me, were made to observe. I found that those who wore the dreadful Carrochas above-mentioned, walk-
ed

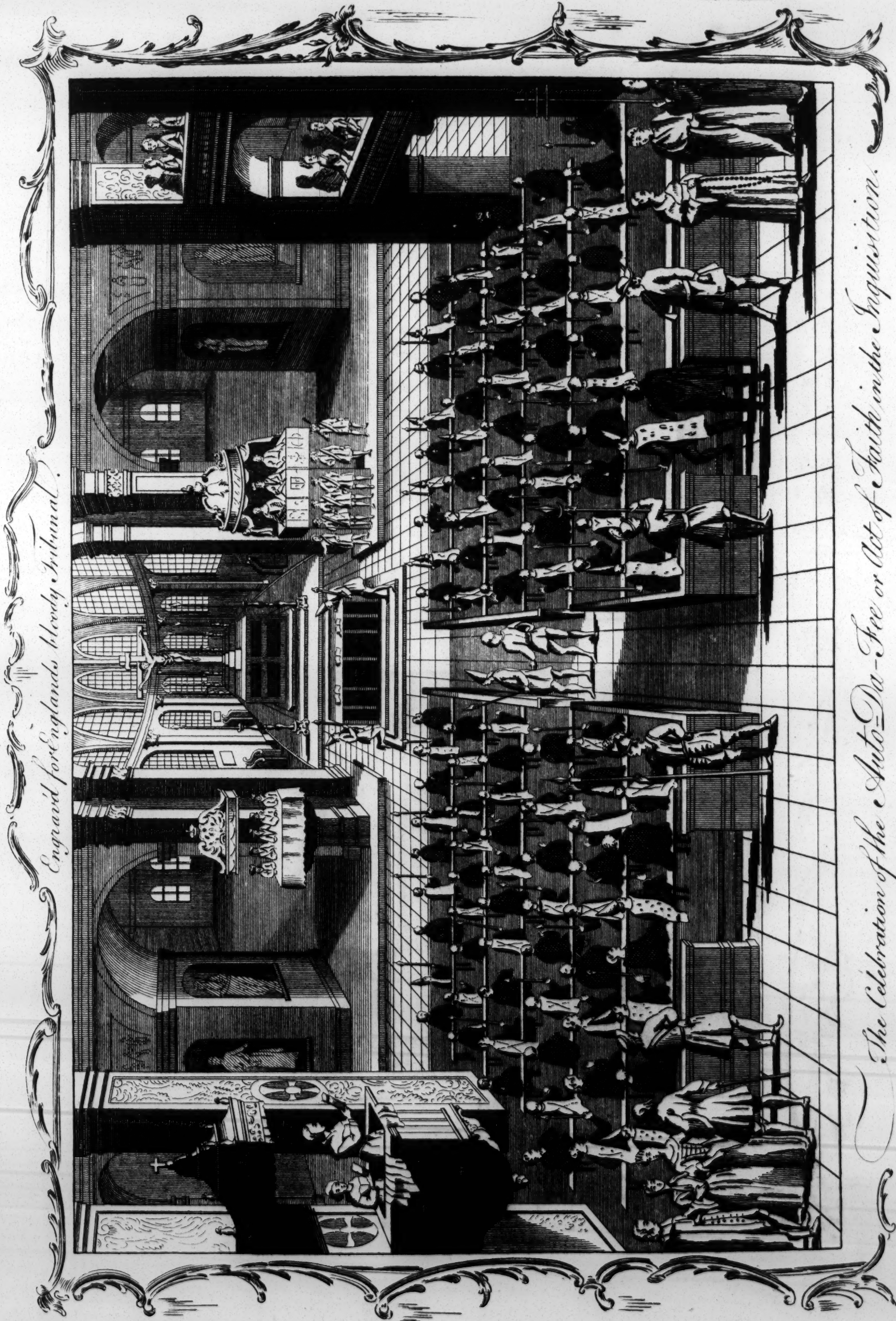
Engraved for England's Bloody Tribunal.



The Procession of the Inquisition for the burning of Heretics.







ed last in the procession : that immediately a large crucifix was carried, the face of which was turned to those who walked before it, and which was followed by two persons and four statues, that were carried, big as the life, and representing so many men, each of them fixed upon a long pole, and accompanied with so many boxes, each carried by a man ; which boxes were filled with the bones of those whom those statues represented.

By the Face of the Crucifix turned towards those who preceded it, the mercy that had been shewn them is denoted, by sparing their lives, though they had justly deserved to die ; and by the said Crucifix's being turned behind to those who followed it, is denoted, that those unhappy wretches are now lost to all hope. Thus every thing that relates to the Inquisition has a mysterious signification.

The dress of these unhappy persons inspired equal horror and pity. The living criminals, and the statues, were clothed in Samarras made of grey linen, painted full of devils, flames and firebrands, on which the criminal's head was painted both before and behind, with the sentence written below, containing in few words, and in large letters, his name, that of his country, and the crime for which he was to suffer. They also wore Carrochas, which, like the habit, were filled with flames and devils. The little trunks in which the bones of those who died were laid, and who had been prosecuted before, or after their decease, before or after their imprisonment, in order that their goods and chattels might

be confiscated, were also painted black, and covered with demons and flames.

These unhappy wretches being entered, in the gloomy manner above described, and seated in the places appointed them near the church-door, the inquisitor came, attended by his officers, and went and seated himself on the bench that stood to the right of the altar, during which, the viceroy and his court seated themselves on the left.

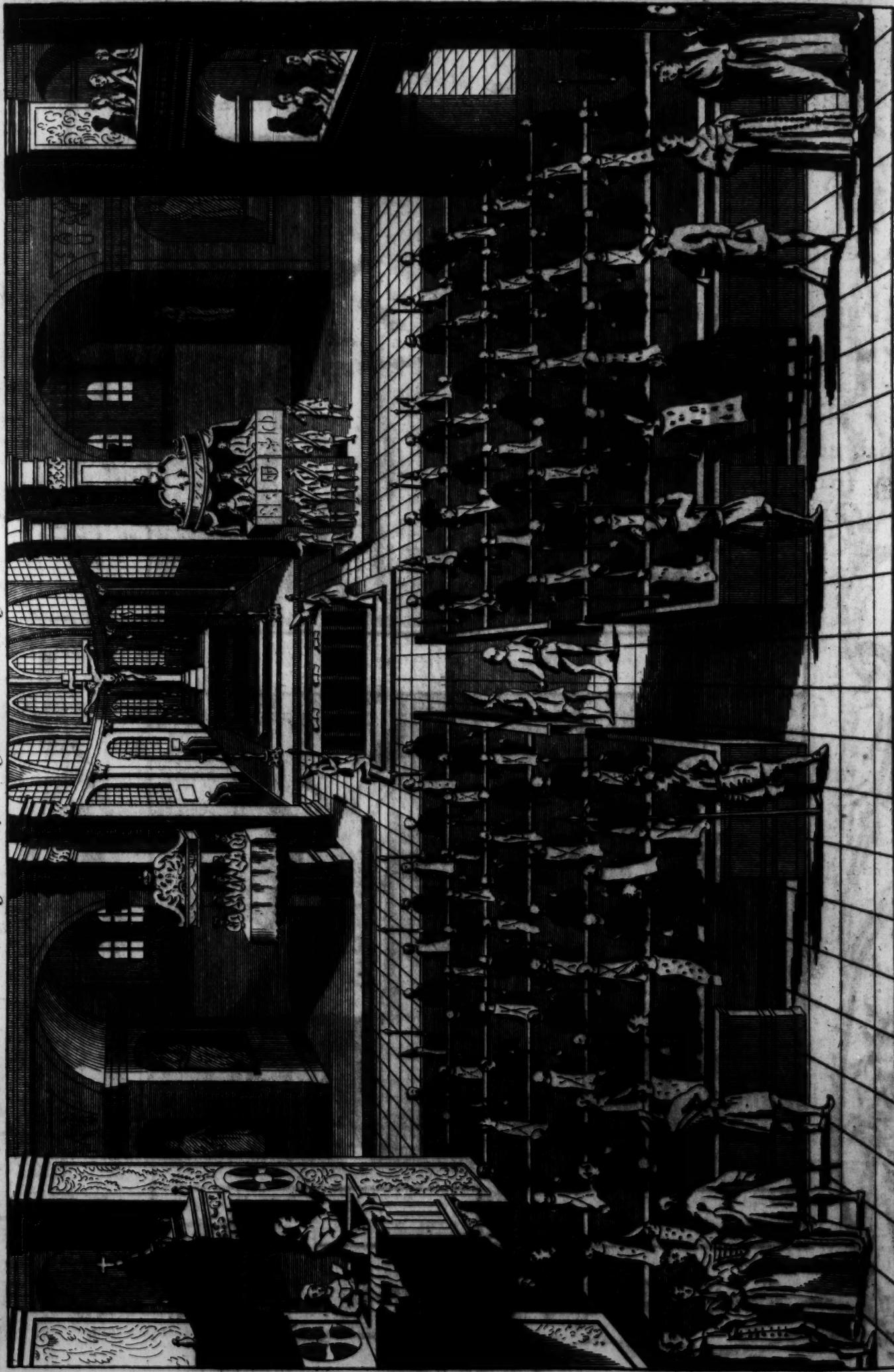
The crucifix was placed on the altar betwixt the six candelsticks, when every one being seated in his place, and the church crowded with people, the provincial of the Austin Friars went up into the pulpit, and preached for half an hour.

Notwithstanding my great anguish of heart, I observed that he compared the inquisition to Noah's ark ; but nevertheless, that he found this difference between them, viz. That the beasts who entered in the ark, came from thence after the flood with the very identical inclinations they had carried into it : but that the inquisition had this admirable property, to make so great a change with regard to those that were imprisoned in it, that many who were cruel as lions and tigers at their going in, came out from thence as meek and gentle as lambs.

Sermon being ended, two readers went alternately into the pulpit, where they read in publick the trials of the several criminals, and also their respective sentences.

The prisoner whose sentence was read was while that was doing, conducted by the alcaide to the middle of the gallery where

Engraving for England's Bloody Tribunal.



The Celebration of the Auto-da-Fé or Act of Faith in the Inquisition.

ed last in the procession : that immediately a large crucifix was carried, the face of which was turned to those who walked before it, and which was followed by two persons and four statues, that were carried, big as the life, and representing so many men, each of them fixed upon a long pole, and accompanied with so many boxes, each carried by a man ; which boxes were filled with the bones of those whom those statues represented.

By the Face of the Crucifix turned towards those who preceded it, the mercy that had been shewn them is denoted, by sparing their lives, though they had justly deserved to die ; and by the said Crucifix's being turned behind to those who followed it, is denoted, that those unhappy wretches are now lost to all hope. Thus every thing that relates to the Inquisition has a mysterious signification.

The dress of these unhappy persons inspired equal horror and pity. The living criminals, and the statues, were clothed in Samarras made of grey linnen, painted full of devils, flames and firebrands, on which the criminal's head was painted both before and behind, with the sentence written below, containing in few words, and in large letters, his name, that of his country, and the crime for which he was to suffer. They also wore Carrochas, which, like the habit, were filled with flames and devils. The little trunks in which the bones of those who died were laid, and who had been prosecuted before, or after their decease, before or after their imprisonment, in order that their goods and chattels might

be confiscated, were also painted black, and covered with demons and flames.

These unhappy wretches being entered, in the gloomy manner above described, and seated in the places appointed them near the church-door, the inquisitor came, attended by his officers, and went and seated himself on the bench that stood to the right of the altar, during which, the viceroy and his court seated themselves on the left.

The crucifix was placed on the altar betwixt the six candelsticks, when every one being seated in his place, and the church crowded with people, the provincial of the Austin Friars went up into the pulpit, and preached for half an hour.

Notwithstanding my great anguish of heart, I observed that he compared the inquisition to Noah's ark ; but nevertheless, that he found this difference between them, viz. That the beasts who entered in the ark, came from thence after the flood with the very identical inclinations they had carried into it : but that the inquisition had this admirable property, to make so great a change with regard to those that were imprisoned in it, that many who were cruel as lions and tigers at their going in, came out from thence as meek and gentle as lambs.

Sermon being ended, two readers went alternately into the pulpit, where they read in publick the trials of the several criminals, and also their respective sentences.

The prisoner whose sentence was read was while that was doing, conducted by the alcaide to the middle of the gallery where

where he stood, with a lighted wax-taper in his hand, till his sentence was read. And as all the prisoners are supposed to have incurred the penalty of the greater excommunication, after their trial and sentence have been read, the prisoner is carried to the foot of the high altar, on which the mass-books are laid; and here being ordered to kneel, he lays his hands on the book, and continues in this posture till every criminal has a mass-book before him.

Then the reader laying aside the trials, read a confession of faith, having first briefly exhorted the prisoners to repeat it after him with their hearts as well as mouths, and this being done, each prisoner returned back to his place, and the trials were again read.

I was called in my turn, when I found that my impeachment consisted of three heads.

The first, for having asserted the invalidity of baptism flaminis.

The second, for having said that images are not to be worshipped, and for having blasphemed a Crucifix, by saying that one of ivory, was no more than a piece of ivory; and

Thirdly, for having spoke with contempt of the Inquisition and its ministers; but above all, for the blackness of my intentions, when I affirmed these several things: in consideration whereof, I was declared excommunicate; and for reparation, my good and chattels were confiscated to the king's use, and myself banished from the Indies, and condemned to row in the Portuguese Gallies for

five years, and also to fulfil the other penances which should be particularly enjoined me by the Inquisitors.

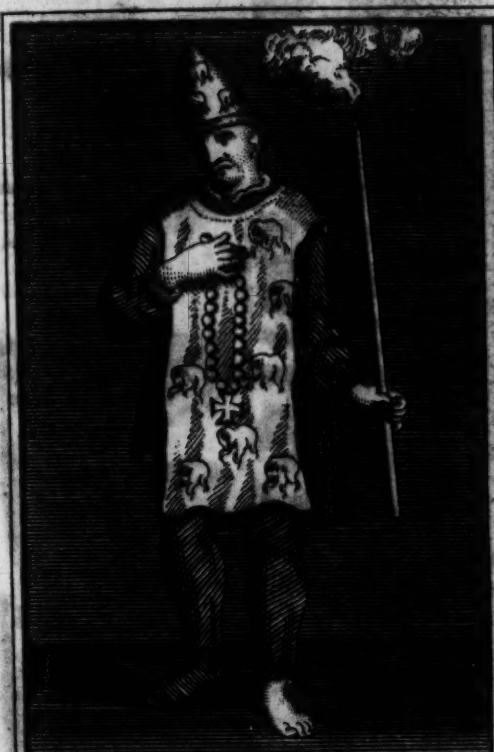
Of these punishments, none was so grievous to me as my being forced to leave the Indies, where I had made a resolution of travelling several years longer: however, this reflection was sweetened, when I considered that I was going to be released out of the clutches of the Inquisitors.

My confession of faith being read, I returned to my place, and made my advantage of the advice my turnkey had given me, not to refuse the bread which was offered me; for as the ceremony lasted the whole day, none of the criminals eat any thing that day but in the church.

After the trials of those who were pardoned were read, the Inquisitor left his seat, in order to put on the Albe and the Stole; when being accompanied with about twenty priests, each having a switch in his hand, he came into the middle of the church, where, after having said several prayers, we were absolved from the excommunication, which it was pretended we had incurred, by virtue of a stroke on the back, which these priests gave to each of us with the switch.

I cannot forbear relating a circumstance, to shew how grossly superstitious the Portuguese are with regard to every thing that relates to the Inquisition; which is, that during the procession, and all the time I continued in the church, my godfather would never answer me, for fear of being involved in the same censure with myself; but as soon as I was absolved

*Engraved for England's
Bloody Tribunal.*



*The Habit worn by Penitents who
by Confession escape the Flames
after sentence is pronounced.*



*The Habit worn by Penitents who by
Confession escape the Flames
after sentence is pronounced.*



*A Woman condemned by the
Inquisition to be Burnt alive.*



*The Habit of a Relapse or Impen-
itent going to be Burnt.*

where he stood, with a lighted wax-taper in his hand, till his sentence was read. And as all the prisoners are supposed to have incurred the penalty of the greater excommunication, after their trial and sentence have been read, the prisoner is carried to the foot of the high altar, on which the mass-books are laid; and here being ordered to kneel, he lays his hands on the book, and continues in this posture till every criminal has a mass-book before him.

Then the reader laying aside the trials, read a confession of faith, having first briefly exhorted the prisoners to repeat it after him with their hearts as well as mouths, and this being done, each prisoner returned back to his place, and the trials were again read.

I was called in my turn, when I found that my impeachment consisted of three heads.

The first, for having asserted the invalidity of baptism *flaminis*.

The second, for having said that images are not to be worshipped, and for having blasphemed a Crucifix, by saying that one of ivory, was no more than a piece of ivory; and

Thirdly, for having spoke with contempt of the Inquisition and its ministers; but above all, for the blackness of my intentions, when I affirmed these several things: in consideration whereof, I was declared excommunicate; and for reparation, my good and chattels were confiscated to the king's use, and myself banished from the Indies, and condemned to row in the Portuguese Gallies for

five years, and also to fulfil the other penances which should be particularly enjoined me by the Inquisitors.

Of these punishments, none was so grievous to me as my being forced to leave the Indies, where I had made a resolution of travelling several years longer: however, this reflection was sweetened, when I considered that I was going to be released out of the clutches of the Inquisitors.

My confession of faith being read, I returned to my place, and made my advantage of the advice my turn-key had given me, not to refuse the bread which was offered me; for as the ceremony lasted the whole day, none of the criminals eat any thing that day but in the church.

After the trials of those who were pardoned were read, the Inquisitor left his seat, in order to put on the Albe and the Stole; when being accompanied with about twenty priests, each having a switch in his hand, he came into the middle of the church, where, after having said several prayers, we were absolved from the excommunication; which it was pretended we had incurred, by virtue of a stroke on the back, which these priests gave to each of us with the switch.

I cannot forbear relating a circumstance, to shew how grossly superstitious the Portuguese are with regard to every thing that relates to the Inquisition; which is, that during the procession, and all the time I continued in the church, my godfather would never answer me, for fear of being involved in the same censure with myself; but as soon as I was absolv-
ed

*Engraved for Englands
Bloody Tribunal.*



The Habit wore by Penitents who by Confession escape the Flames after sentence is pronounced.



The Habit wore by Penitents who by Confession escape the Flames after sentence is pronounced.



A Woman condemned by the Inquisition to be Burnt alive.



The Habit of a Relapse or Impenitent going to be Burnt.







Engraving for England's Bloody Tribunal.

The Place & manner of Execution of Persons condemn'd by the Inquisition.

ed, he embraced me, gave me snuff, and told me he then looked upon me as his brother, since the church had loosed me.

The ceremony being ended, and the inquisitor returned to his seat, the prisoners who were to be burnt, were made to advance forward. There were a man, a woman, and the images of four men deceased, with the boxes in which their bones were laid: The man and woman were black Indians and christians, accused of magick, and condemned as relapsed; but in reality were no more wizards than those who condemned them.

Of the four images, two represented men convicted of magick, and the other two, two men, both new Christians, accused of turning Jews; one whereof died in the inquisition, and the other in his own house, and had been buried many years before in his parish-church.

However, being accused after his death of embracing the Jewish principles, as he died very rich, the inquisitors had caused his body to be taken out of the grave, in order to burn his bones in the Act of Faith.

The trials of these unhappy persons were read, which all ended with these words, viz. *That it not being in the power of the holy office to pardon them, because of their relapsing into their errors or their impenitence, and being indispensably obliged to punish them with the utmost rigour of the laws, they therefore delivered them over to the flames.*

While these last words were pronouncing, a serjeant from the secular powers advanced forward, and took

N^o XVIII.

possession of these unfortunate persons, who before had been struck gently on the breast by the alcaide, to shew that they were abandoned by the inquisitors.

In this manner the Act of Faith ended; and whilst the condemned criminals were carried to the river-side, where the viceroy and his court were assembled, and where the piles on which they were to be burnt, had been prepared the day before; while these things, I say, were doing, we were carried back to prison, but without observing any order as we walked.

Tho' I did not see them executed, yet, as I had a full account of it from persons who had been present at several of these executions, I shall give a description thereof in few words.

When the condemned prisoners are come to the place where the lay-judges are assembled, they are asked what religion they chuse to profess at leaving the world; but don't make the least mention of their trial, which is supposed to have been fair, and that they were very justly condemned, the inquisition being looked upon as infallible.

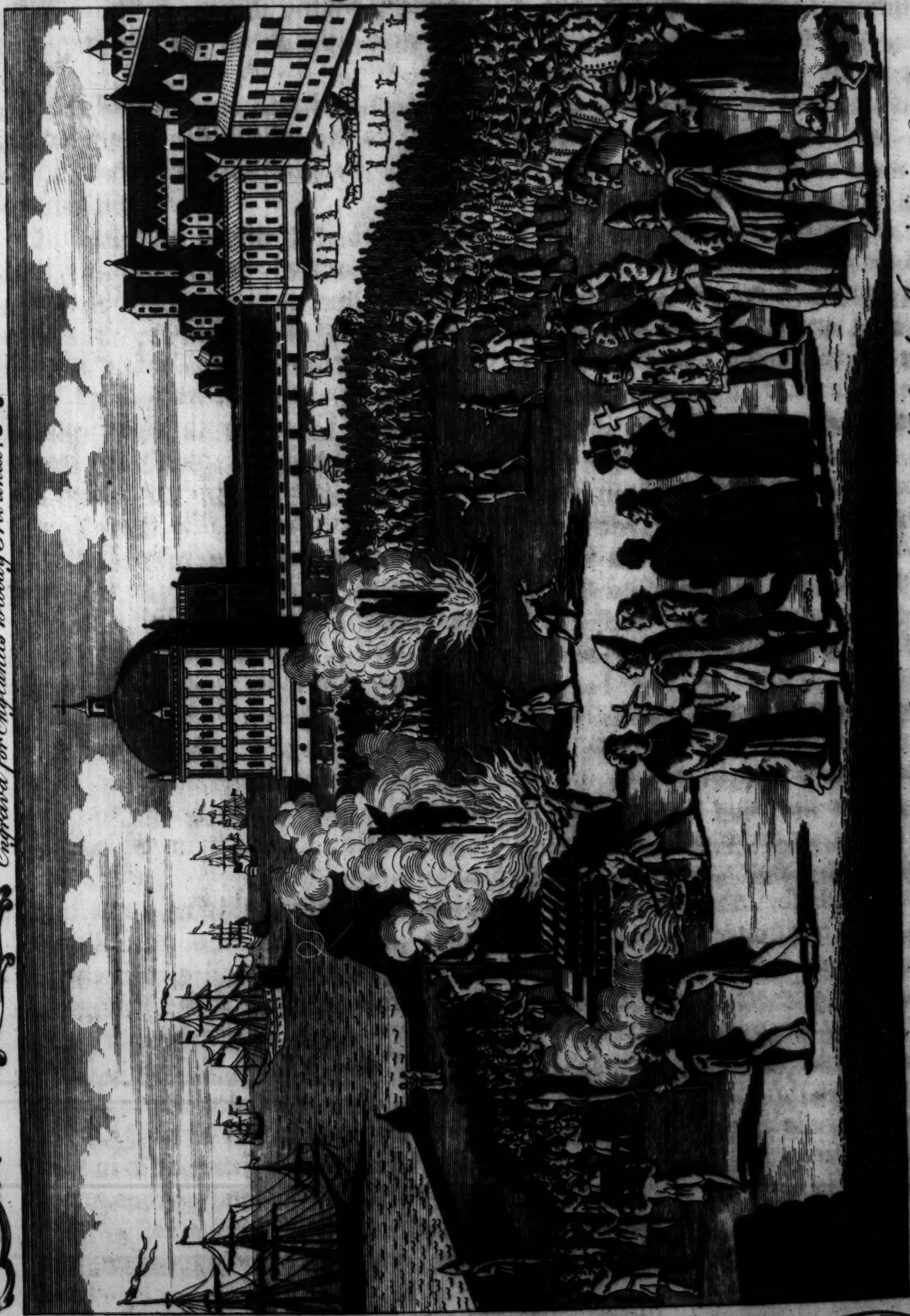
Having answered this only question that is asked them, the executioner lays hold of them, and ties them to stakes, where they are at first strangled, in case they die christians; but in case they persist in professing judaism or heresy, they then are burnt alive: however, this happens so rarely, that there is scarce one instance of it in four acts of faith, tho' several persons generally suffer on these occasions.

The day after the execution, the

4 R

pictures

Engraved for England's Bloody Tribunal.



The Place & manner of Execution of Persons condemn'd by the Inquisition?

ed, he embraced me, gave me snuff, and told me he then looked upon me as his brother, since the church had doosed me.

The ceremony being ended, and the inquisitor returned to his seat, the prisoners who were to be burnt, were made to advance forward. There were a man, a woman, and the images of four men deceased, with the boxes in which their bones were laid: The man and woman were black Indians and christians, accused of magick, and condemned as relapsed; but in reality were no more wizards than those who condemned them.

Of the four images, two represented men convicted of magick, and the other two, two men, both new Christians, accused of turning Jews; one whereof died in the inquisition, and the other in his own house, and had been buried many years before in his parish-church.

However, being accused after his death of embracing the Jewish principles, as he died very rich, the inquisitors had caused his body to be taken out of the grave, in order to burn his bones in the Act of Faith.

The trials of these unhappy persons were read, which all ended with these words, viz. *That it not being in the power of the holy office to pardon them, because of their relapsing into their errors or their impenitence, and being indispensably obliged to punish them with the utmost rigour of the laws, they therefore delivered them over to the flames.*

While these last words were pronouncing, a serjeant from the secular powers advanced forward, and took

N^o XVIII.

possession of these unfortunate persons, who before had been struck gently on the breast by the alcaide, to shew that they were abandoned by the inquisitors.

In this manner the Act of Faith ended; and whilst the condemned criminals were carried to the river-side, where the viceroy and his court were assembled, and where the piles on which they were to be burnt, had been prepared the day before; while these things, I say, were doing, we were carried back to prison, but without observing any order as we walked.

Tho' I did not see them executed, yet, as I had a full account of it from persons who had been present at several of these executions, I shall give a description thereof in few words.

When the condemned prisoners are come to the place where the lay-judges are assembled, they are asked what religion they chuse to profess at leaving the world; but don't make the least mention of their trial, which is supposed to have been fair, and that they were very justly condemned, the inquisition being looked upon as infallible.

Having answered this only question that is asked them, the executioner lays hold of them, and ties them to stakes, where they are at first strangled, in case they die christians; but in case they persist in professing judaism or heresy, they then are burnt alive: however, this happens so rarely, that there is scarce one instance of it in four acts of faith, tho' several persons generally suffer on these occasions.

The day after the execution, the
4 R pictures

pictures of the executed criminals are carry'd into the church of the Dominicans. Their heads only are represented to the life, with firebrands under them, with their names, those of their fathers and their country, and the crime for which they suffered, with the day of the month, and year of their execution.

In case the criminal had relapsed into this guilt, the following words are writ under his picture, *Morreo quemado por Hereje relapso*, i. e. that he was burnt as an heretick relapsed.

If he persevered in his error, after having been accused but once, the words *por Hereje conumas*, are written under his picture; but there are few of these.

In fine, if after having been accused but once, by a sufficient number of witnesses, he persists in asserting his innocence, and dies in professing the christian religion, then there is under his picture, *Morreo quemado por hereje convitto negativo*, i. e. he was burnt as a heretic convict, but did not confess; and of the latter there are great numbers.

Now 'tis certain, that out of an hundred who die as negatives, ninety-nine are not only innocent of the crime imputed to them, but chose to die, rather than falsely confess themselves guilty of a crime. For 'tis not natural to suppose, that was a man sure to be pardon'd in case he would confess, that he would persist in his innocence, and chuse rather to be burnt than to own a truth, the confession of which would save him.

These terrible portraits are hung up

in the Nave, and over the great gate of the church, as so many illustrious trophies sacred to the glory of the holy office; and when this side of the church is fill'd, they also crowd the wings near the gate with them. In the great church of the Dominicans at Lisbon, which is not far from the inquisition, there are several hundred of these melancholy paintings.

I was so wearied and dejected at my return from the act of faith, that I was almost as desirous of going back to my cell, as I had been a little before to come out of it.

My Godfather accompanied me to the hall, and the alcaide having carried me into the gallery, I went and shut myself up whilst he was looking after the rest.

Being got in, I threw myself upon the bed till my supper should be brought me, which consisted only of bread and figs, the hurry of the day not allowing the officers to get any thing else.

I slept however, much better this night than I had done for a considerable time before; but the moment day appeared, I was impatient to know my fate.

About six, the alcaide bid me give him back the dress I had worn in the procession, which I willingly returned him; and at the same time offered him the San benito, but he would not receive it, I being to wear it on all Sundays and festivals, till I had completed my sentence.

About seven, breakfast was brought me, and a little after I was ordered to pack up my things, and to be in readiness

ness against my being called out. I obey'd this last order with all possible care and dispatch; when about nine a turnkey opened my door, ordered me to take up my bundle upon my shoulders, and to follow him to the great hall, whither the greatest part of the prisoners were already come.

Having staid some time here, I saw about twenty of my fellow-prisoners, who had been sentenced to be whipt the day before, which had just then been executed upon them by the hands of the common hangman, through all the streets in the city.

Being thus assembled, the inquisitor came in, when we all fell on our knees to receive his blessing, after having kiss'd the ground he walked upon. Orders were afterwards given to such blacks as had few or no clothes, to carry those of the whites.

Such of the prisoners as were not christians, were immediately sent to the places whither they had been condemned; some of them into banishment, others to the galleys or the house where powder is made, called, Casa de Polvera; and the christians, whether blacks or whites, were carried to a house hired for that purpose in the city, there to be instructed for some time.

The blacks lay in the parlours and galleries, and the whites were put into a separate apartment, where we were confined all night, but had liberty to range the whole house over in the day time and to speak with any body.

The whites and blacks were catechised separately every day, and mass was daily celebratd, at which we all

assisted, as also at morning and evening prayer.

During my stay in this house, I was visited by a religious dominican, my friend, whom I had known at Daman where he was prior. The good father, who was oppressed with years and sickness, no sooner heard of my being set at liberty, but he immediately visited me in a sedan. He bewailed my ill fate with tears, and embraces, telling me that he had been in great terror for my sake; that he frequently inquired into the state of my health, and my affairs, of the father, procurator of the prisoners, his friend, and of the same order; that he could obtain no answer for a considerable time; and that at last, after many entreaties, all he could get out of him, was, that I was still alive.

The sight of this good friar gave me great consolation, and the necessity I was under of leaving the Indies was a trouble to us both. He had the humanity to visit me several times, when he requested me to return to the Indies as soon as I should be set at liberty, and sent me provisions of various kinds for the voyage, which otherwise I could never have procured.

After I had lived in this house till the 23d of January, we were again conducted into the hall of the inquisition when each of us was called in his turn to the board of the holy office, there to receive from the hands of the inquisitor, a paper containing the penances to which we were respectively sentenced: I went thither in my turn when laying my hands on the gospels, I was ordered to kneel down, and to pro-

promise not to reveal any of those particulars, which had happened in the inquisition during my imprisonment.

The judge afterwards gave me a paper signed by himself, containing the following list of penances.

1. During the three years to come, he shall confess and communicate: the first Year, every month; and the two following, at Easter, Whitsuntide, Christmas, and the Assumption of our lady.

2. He shall assist at mass and sermons all Sundays and festivals, in case he has opportunity for so doing.

3. During the said three years, he shall daily repeat five times the Pater-noster and Ave Maria, in honour of the five wounds of our Saviour Christ.

4. He shall not engage in friendship with hereticks, or persons whose faith is in the least suspected, which may in any manner prejudice his salvation.

5. He shall keep inviolably secret, all he has either seen, said, or heard; as also whatever has been transacted with himself, either at the board, or other places of the holy office.

Of the several Kinds of TORTURES.

WE come now to the most shocking and disagreeable part of the work, namely, to describe the dreadful tortures the poor wretches are made to undergo, when doomed to them by the sentence of this Bloody tribunal.

The place of torture in the Spanish Inquisition is generally underground, in a dark room, which is entered by several doors.

A tribunal is placed in it, where the inquisitor, inspector, and secretary sit. The candles being lighted, the person to be tortured is brought in. The executioner is covered all over with a black linen garment down to his feet; his head and face hid with a long black cowl, with two holes in it to see through. All this is to strike the miserable wretch with the greater horror, when he sees himself in the hands of one who looks like the devil himself.

Mean while the bishop and inquisitor, who generally are both present, endeavour to persuade the prisoner freely to confess the truth. If he refuse, they order the officer to strip him, which is done in an instant.

They tell him, If he confesses, he will not be put to death, but only be made to swear he will not return to the heresy he hath abjured. But if neither threatenings nor promises avail, he is tortured more lightly or grievously, according to the nature of his crime; and during his torture, is frequently interrogated upon those articles for which he is put to it.

Proper tortures must be appointed, such as are borne of ancient christians, and must be bound by oath to conceal their secrets.

The judges also protest, that if the persons should happen to die under his tortures, or lose any of his limbs, they are not to be charged with it, but the criminal himself, who would not confess the truth.

An

An heretick may be interrogated not only concerning himself, but likewise his companions and accomplices, his teachers and disciples.

A person also suspected of heresy, and fully convicted, may be tortured on another account, namely, to discover his companions and accomplices in the crime. That is, when he boggles, and it is half proved at least that he was actually present with them, or hath such companions and accomplices in his crime; for in this case he is not tortured as a criminal, but as a witness.

But he who makes a full confession of himself, is not tortured on another account: Whereas if he be a negative, he may, to discover his accomplices and other hereticks, though he be fully convicted himself, and it be half proved that he hath such accomplices.

Mean while, the notary takes down every thing in the process, the tortures inflicted, what matters the criminal were questioned about, and his answers.

If these tortures draw no confession from him, they shew him other kinds, which they tell him he may suffer, unless he confess the truth. If he still continues resolute, they may, to terrify him, assign the second or third day to continue, not to repeat the torture, till he hath undergone all those kinds of them to which he is condemned.

There are five degrees of torture, viz.

1. The being threatened to be tortured.

Nº 181

2. Being carried to the place of torture.

3. By stripping and binding.

4. The being hoisted up on the rack.

5. Squaffation.

Stripping is performed without any regard to humanity or decency; men, women and even virgins, though ever so chaste and virtuous, must submit to it. They are first stripped to their shifts, which are likewise taken off, and then have strait linen drawers put on them, and their arms naked up to their shoulders.

Squaffation is thus performed. The prisoner's hands are bound behind his back, and weights tied to his feet, and then he is drawn up on high, till his head touches the pulley. In this posture he is kept hanging for some time, that by the greatness of the weight hanging at his feet, all his joints and limbs may be dreadfully stretched, and on a sudden he is let down with a jerk, by slackening the rope, but stopt before he comes quite to the ground, by which terrible shaking his arms and legs are all disjoined, which puts him to the most exquisite pain, and his whole body stretched most intensely and cruelly. Of this kind of torture, the following is an example.

Mr. Webster, an Englishman, but unhappily educated in the church of Rome, was an inquisitor; but being shocked at the cruelties he saw exercised there, made his escape to England. One of these acts of cruelty was as follows.

As a nobleman, a friend of his, who

4. S.

was

was just married, was walking in his garden with his lady; two Capuchin friars passed by with their feet and heads bare, and in the mortifying dress of their order.

When they were gone to some little distance, and, as he thought out of hearing, he expressed to his wife his surprize, that any person could be so far infatuated, as to believe such a particular dress could be meritorious in the sight of God.

Unhappily for him, he was over-heard by the friars, who made their report to the inquisition. Mr. Webster as one of the inquisitors, was ordered to take a sufficient guard, which they always had waiting, to bring his unfortunate friend before them. It would have been vain for him to have expressed the reluctance he inwardly felt: for the least signs of it might have proved fatal to himself.

About the middle of the night, he and his attendants appeared before the nobleman's door; when, upon their knocking, a servant looked out of the window, and enquiring who was there, was answered, the Holy Inquisition.

Upon this, knowing the consequence of a refusal, he hastened down, opened the door, and conducted them into the bed-chamber, where the new-married couple were fast asleep.

The first who waked was the lady, who seeing such a crew of ruffians in the room, screamed out, for which she was saluted by one of them with a blow on the face, that made the blood gush out.

Mr. Webster was much enraged at this, and asking the fellow what authority he had for such an unparallelled

piece of cruelty, threatened him severely, and afterwards had him punished in an exemplary manner.

This waked the husband, who being very much surprized at what had happened, casting his eyes on Mr. Webster, cried out, "Ah, my friend, "is it you?" Yes, replied he, it is; and you must immediately rise and follow me. This he soon complied with.

Accordingly he was conducted to the Inquisition, where he was told, he was certainly guilty of some great crime, and that he had a week given him to recollect himself what it was, and so accuse himself.

All that time he was confined in a dungeon, and fed with nothing but bread and water, in order to weaken him, and render him less able to undergo the torture.

At the end of the week he was brought, in the night, before the infernal tribunal; and so altered, that he was scarce known to be the same: and upon his declaring that he was not conscious of any thing culpable, he was immediately led to the torture, which was thus inflicted on him.

By means of four cords, which came over four pullies at each corner of the room, he was hoisted up to the cieling, where, by a sudden jerk, all his bones were dislocated.

After he had hung some time in this deplorable condition, the inquisitor-general, thinking he had not suffered enough, commanded them to slaken the cords, in order to let him fall with a shock to the ground.

This, after what was done before, is thought to be one of the greatest

est torments that human nature is capable of sustaining. But when they came to inflict it, they found the unhappy man was already dead, upon which they buried him in a private manner; and sent a note to his wife, desiring her to offer up prayers for his soul, in all the churches in Rome.

The same gentleman likewise gives us an instance of another kind of torture, which he thus relates.

Information having been given to the inquisition, that a gentleman had been guilty of speaking disrespectfully of their office, all imaginable diligence was used to discover him; and advertisements fixed up at Rome, and other places, describing him to be a tall black man, with an impediment in his speech.

One of their emissaries happening to be at Florence, in the public walks, met with a person, whom he thought answered the description.

Accordingly he spared no pains to insinuate himself into his acquaintance; and succeeded so far, that the gentleman finding him to be a stranger, offered to shew him the principal curiosities of the place; and entertained him at his house, in a free and hospitable manner.

After some time, the stranger told him, that he hoped he would suffer him to return the obligation, by accompanying him to Rome, and passing some days with him at his seat, in the neighbourhood of that city, where he found the gentleman had never been.

Accordingly they set out together, but instead of carrying him to any house of his own, he led him directly to the palace of the inquisition at Ma-

cerata, where, after bringing him to the great hall, he desired him to amuse himself with the paintings there; and excused himself for his leaving him a little, to give the necessary orders in the house.

Whilst he was thus admiring the grandeur of the place, and suspecting, from the richness of the furniture, that he had not treated his friend with the respect that was due, he observed several persons peeping one by one at the door, and staring him full in the face.

Upon this, seeing no sign of his companion's return, he began to suspect some treachery, and was just stepping out, when a person came up to him, and enquiring where he was going, told him, that no body was suffered to depart thence; that he was now in the hall of the inquisition, and must certainly have been guilty of some great crime, or he would not have been brought thither; so that he must take up his abode there.

Immediately he was thrust down into the dungeon; where, after being fed for a week with bread and water, he was brought up in the middle of the night to a room hung with black, where the council of the inquisition was sitting (one of which was Mr. Webster himself) where he was told by the inquisitor-general, that he must certainly have been guilty of some great offence; for the holy inquisition never accused any one rashly; so that he must consider what it was, and impeach himself.

Upon his protesting his innocence, he was prepared for the torture, which was inflicted in this manner.

The unhappy man was stripped naked,

naked, and by means of four ropes, which ran upon as many pullies, at each corner of the room, his arms and legs were extended, within one degree of breaking; and he was laid upon his back, with an iron spike fixed under him.

In this condition he lay for some time in extreme anguish; but still refusing to accuse himself, he was remanded back to his dungeon; where he had not been long before the inquisitor having dispatched an express to Rome with their suspicion, that from his resolution and other circumstances, he could not be the man they imagined; received for answer, That they need give themselves no further trouble about him, for that they had discovered the true offender.

Upon which this gentleman was discharged after they had given him an oath of secrecy. But the hardships under which he had laboured, and the torments he had suffered, had so far deprived him of the use of his faculties, that he continued the remainder of his life senseless and distracted, in the neighbourhood of Macerata.

Another kind of torture is executed by a wooden bench, which they call the wooden horse, made hollow like a trough, so as to contain a man lying on his back at full length; about the middle of which there is a round bar laid across, upon which the back of the person is placed, so that he lies upon the bar, instead of being let into the bottom of the trough, with his feet much higher than his head.

As he is lying in this posture, his arms, thighs, and shins, are tied round

with small cords or strings, which being drawn hard, and placed at little distances from each other, cut into the very bones, so as to be no longer discerned.

Besides this, the torturer throws over his mouth and nostrils a linen cloth, so that he is scarce able to breathe, and in the mean while, a stream of water like a thread, not drop by drop, falls from on high, upon the person lying in this miserable condition, and so easily sinks down the thin cloth to the bottom of his throat so that there is no possibility of breathing, his mouth being stopped with water and his nostrils with the cloth, so that the poor wretch is in the same agony as persons ready to die, and breathing their last.

When this cloth is drawn out of his throat, as it often is, that he may answer to the questions, it appears like pulling his bowels thro' his mouth.

There is another kind of torture peculiar to this tribunal, which they call the Fire.

They order a large chaffing-dish, full of lighted charcoal, to be brought in, and held close to the soles of the tortured person's feet, greased over with lard, that so the heat of the fire may more easily pierce thro' them.

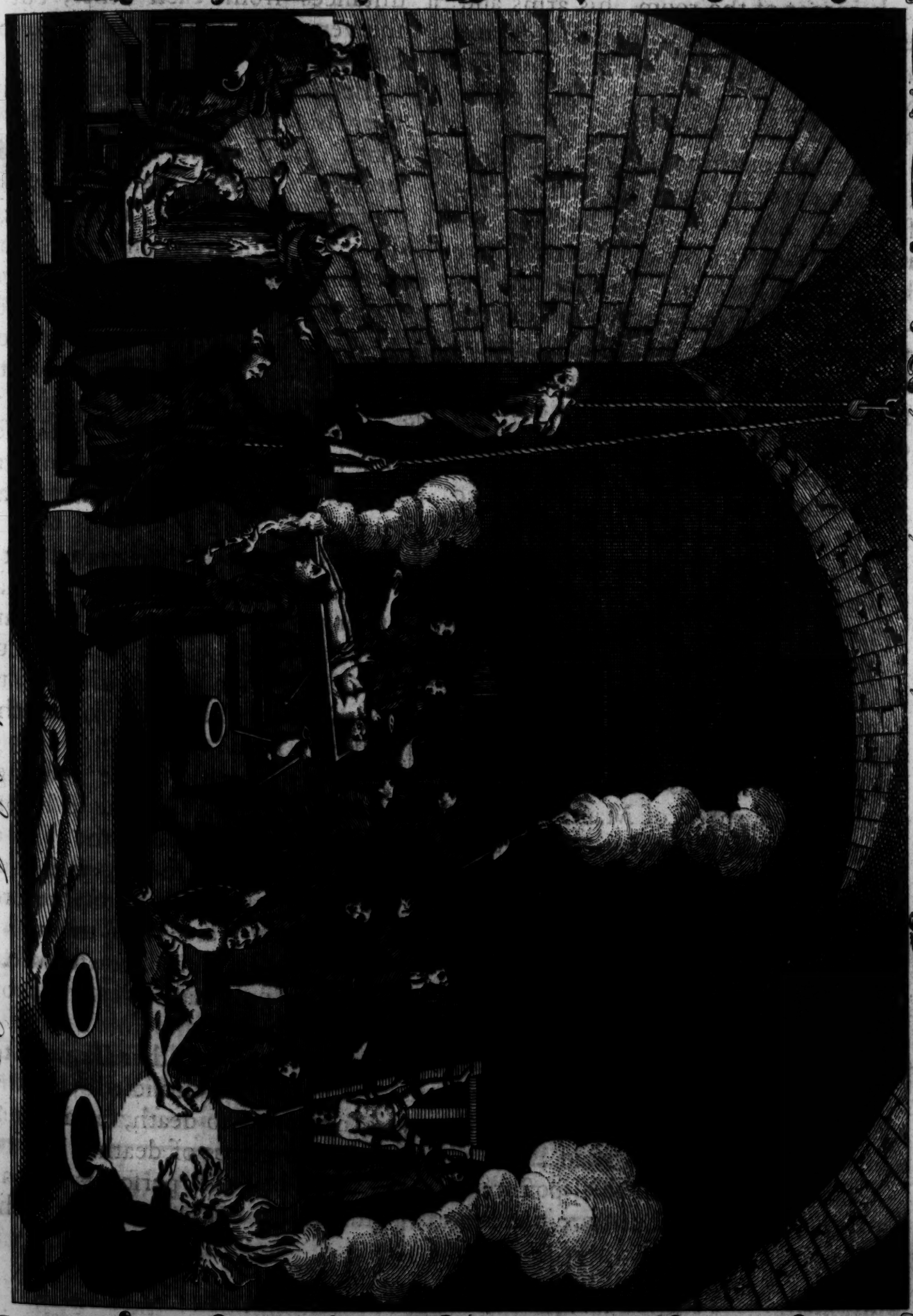
This is inquisition by torture, when there is only half full proof of their crime.

However, at other Times, tortures are sometimes inflicted upon persons condemned to death, as a punishment preceding that of death.

If when the person is decently tortured, he confesses nothing, he is allowed

ENGLAND: BLOODY TRIBUNAL

and by means of tortures, with steel cords or fustians, which



Engraved for England: Bloody Tribunal

Various Tortures Used in Courts of the Inquisition.

naked, and by means of four ropes, which ran upon as many pullies, at each corner of the room, his arms and legs were extended, within one degree of breaking; and he was laid upon his back, with an iron spike fixed under him.

In this condition he lay for some time in extreme anguish; but still refusing to accuse himself, he was remanded back to his dungeon; where he had not been long before the inquisitor having dispatched an express to Rome with their suspicion, that from his resolution and other circumstances, he could not be the man they imagined; received for answer, That they need give themselves no further trouble about him, for that they had discovered the true offender.

Upon which this gentleman was discharged after they had given him an oath of secrecy. But the hardships under which he had laboured, and the torments he had suffered, had so far deprived him of the use of his faculties, that he continued the remainder of his life senseless and distracted, in the neighbourhood of Macerata.

Another kind of torture is executed by a wooden bench, which they call the wooden horse, made hollow like a trough, so as to contain a man lying on his back at full length; about the middle of which there is a round bar laid across, upon which the back of the person is placed, so that he lies upon the bar, instead of being let into the bottom of the trough, with his feet much higher than his head.

As he is lying in this posture, his arms, thighs, and shins, are tied round

with small cords or strings, which being drawn hard, and placed at little distances from each other, cut into the very bones, so as to be no longer discerned.

Besides this, the torturer throws over his mouth and nostrils a linen cloth, so that he is scarce able to breathe, and in the mean while, a stream of water like a thread, not drop by drop, falls from on high, upon the person lying in this miserable condition, and so easily sinks down the thin cloth to the bottom of his throat so that there is no possibility of breathing, his mouth being stopped with water and his nostrils with the cloth, so that the poor wretch is in the same agony as persons ready to die, and breathing their last.

When this cloth is drawn out of his throat, as it often is, that he may answer to the questions, it appears like pulling his bowels thro' his mouth.

There is another kind of torture peculiar to this tribunal, which they call the Fire.

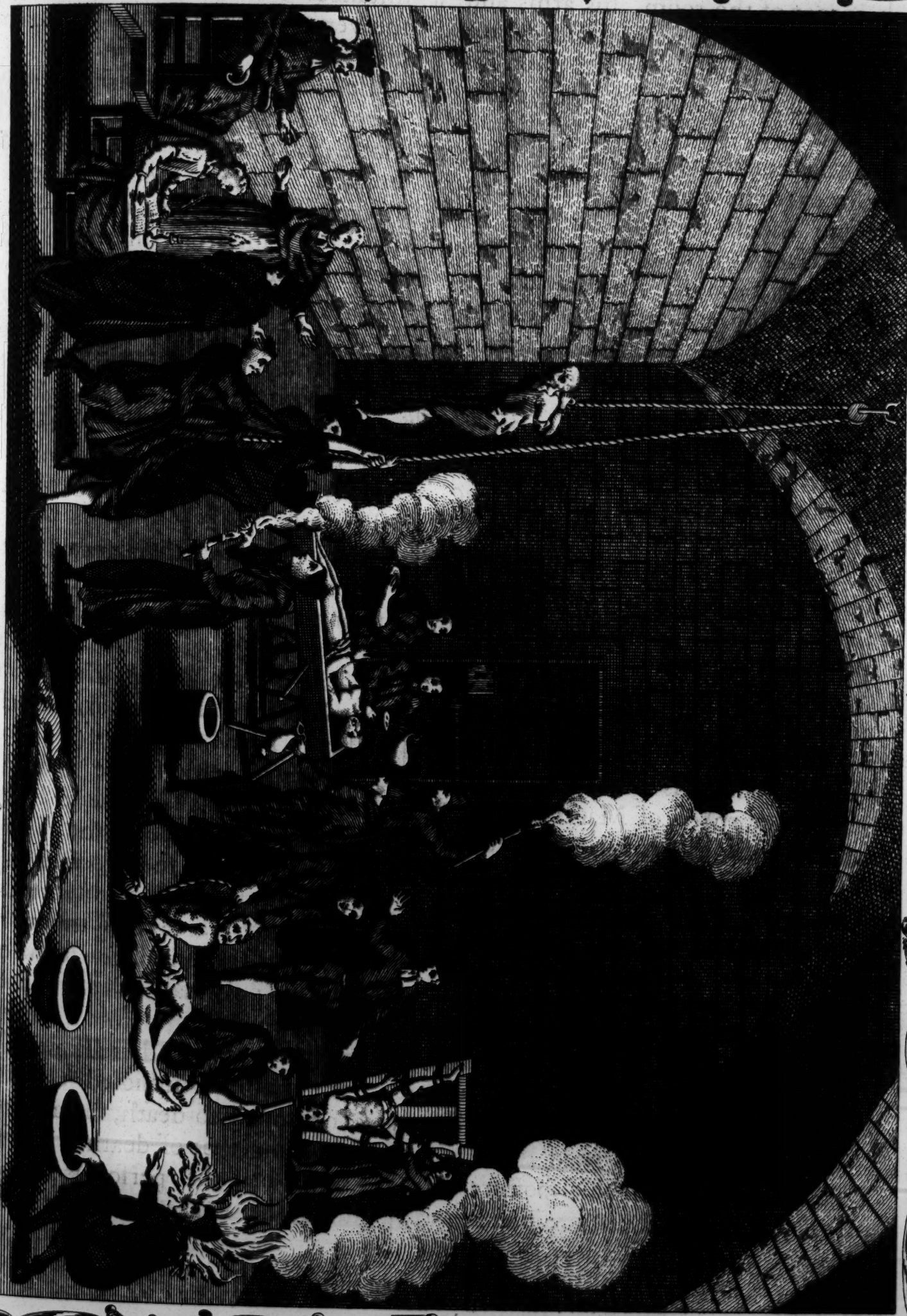
They order a large chaffing-dish, full of lighted charcoal, to be brought in, and held close to the soles of the tortured person's feet, greased over with lard, that so the heat of the fire may more easily pierce thro' them.

This is inquisition by torture, when there is only half full proof of their crime.

However, at other Times, tortures are sometimes inflicted upon persons condemned to death, as a punishment preceding that of death.

If when the person is decently tortured, he confesses nothing, he is allowed

Prepared for England's Bloody Tribunal &c.



Various Tortures Used in Spots of the Inquisition!



lowed to go away free ; and if he demands of his judges to be cleared by sentence, they can't deny him ; and they pronounce, that having diligently examined the merits of the process, they find nothing of the crime of which he was accused, legally proved against him.

But if, when under the question, he confesses, 'tis written in the process ; after which he is carried to another place, where he has no view of the tortures, and there his confession made during his torments is read over to him, and he is interrogated several times till the confession be made.

When the prisoner is carried to audience, they make him pass by the door of the room where the torture was inflicted, where the executioner shews himself in the frightful habit before described, that by seeing him, he may be forced to feel, as it were, over again his past torments.

The cases in which they proceed to the torture are various. But this is certain, that they never proceed so far, unless there be defect of other proofs, and they think the truth can't be otherwise discovered.

Therefore they first give the criminal a copy of his process, and take his answer to all the articles exhibited against him ; and if after all he can't make his innocence plainly appear, nor the witnesses fully convict him, then they apply the torture to oblige him to confess.

In like manner, if he is caught contradicting himself, and at the same time there are proofs sufficient for the torture, both these things must be added in his sentence ; or if only one

Nº 18.

of them happens, it must be inserted just as it is.

But farther : it must be carefully and distinctly inserted at large by the notary in the acts, whether the person interrogated answered with resolution, or in a trembling manner, what signs he discovered in his face, whether paleness, or tears, or laughter, or sweat, or trembling, because in case of an appeal, the superior judge, who can't look on the criminals and witnesses personally, but only as they are described in writing, can't come to the knowledge of these particulars, unless they are described at large by the first judge.

There is a case, however, in which a person may be tortured without any proofs or copy given, viz.

When the person under inquisition is present, and will not answer. For then he is to be tortured, not to extort a confession, but an affirmative or negative answer.

Likewise, if a person under inquisition doth not appear within the due term, and is thereupon declared guilty of contumacy, and afterwards comes to purge himself from such contumacy, he may, without any other proofs, be tortured on account of it.

When the fame is either vehement, or great, or slight, the quality of the persons and fact are to be considered. For if the fact be great, and the person of great worth, 'tis necessary that this fame should either be of the whole city, or at least the greater part of it.

But if the fact be inconsiderable, and restrained to a certain number of persons, who most probably are acquainted with it, the evidence of a

4 T

major

major part of them is enough to prove the same.

As if a bishop, living with his canons, should be defamed for fornication, such infamy would be sufficiently proved by the major part of those canons. But if the fact be very small, and the person mean, the major part of his neighbourhood is enough.

In this case, the crime is said to appear so far as to inflict the torture, when there is an half full proof, or proof sufficient for the torture. Of these proofs there are several.

First inconsistency, not indeed of any kind, but such only as regards the main substance of the crime, and in a matter which it can't be presumed should be forgotten in so little a while, which is left to the judge to determine; and when the criminal himself doth not appear to be very stupid and forgetful.

Secondly, when any one is defamed for heresy, and 'tis farther proved that there is a witness against him who can testify from his own knowledge, or that there is one or more vehement or violent proofs.

Thirdly, if there is one witness against him who testifies from his own knowledge, and at the same time there is one or more vehement or violent proofs against him.

Or if it be found that there are against him several vehement or violent proofs of heresy, without any infamy, or witness from his own knowledge. But when these proofs are vehement, or sufficient for the torture, it is left to the determination of the judge.

Formerly the torture was inflicted

by lay judges, according to the constitution of Innocent IV. But as by this means secret matters were often divulged, and the faith injured, it was judged more convenient that the whole cognizance and full discussion of these crimes, which are merely ecclesiastical, should be confined to the inquisitors, who, with the bishops, were therefore empowered to torture criminals; and that if at any time they should happen to contract any irregularity, they should mutually dispense with one another.

Some criminals are so crafty, that when put to the torture, they instantly confess their fault, and in twenty-four hours retract their confession when they should confirm it, and when tortured again, confess again, and retract again, repeat the same as often as they tortured.

A criminal must not be condemned for a confession drawn out by torture, unless he afterwards perseveres in it. 'Tis the same in law, if extorted by fear, or dread of impending torments.

This is done, when the criminal is carried to the place in which the torture is inflicted, and there stripped of his clothes, bound, or so terrified by the judges, as that he had great reason to believe the torture would be inflicted: for, 'tis not enough if the judge frighten him but slightly in another place, unless it be such a fear as may affect a person of resolution.

But if he persists in his confession, owns his fault, and asks pardon of the church, he is condemned as guilty of heresy by his own confession, but as penitent. But if he obstinately persist
in

in heresy, he is condemned, and delivered over to the secular arm to be punished with death.

If the accused person is found to have fallen into heresy, or there is otherwise evidence proved against him, upon account of which he is obliged to abjure, as lightly or vehemently suspected of heresy, he must not be tortured on this account; but if besides this he denies some things not sufficiently proved, and there be proofs sufficient to put him to the question, and he accordingly is tortured, but confesses nothing, he is not to be absolved, but is to be proceeded against according to the things proved, and must be commanded to abjure either as suspected, or found guilty, as the merits of the process require. Or if he confesses any thing by torture, he must be forced also to abjure it.

Remarkable Adventures of a young Lady, confined in the Inquisition; as related by herself.

THAT the mind of the reader may be somewhat relieved from that melancholy, which such a series of tragical stories must have involved it, we shall relate the following odd circumstance relating to the inquisitors themselves; which will shew, that notwithstanding they punish others with the most relentless cruelty for the least breach in their faith; yet they

themselves in private, are far from observing the strictest morality in their actions.

In the year 1706, after the battle of Almanza, the Spanish army being divided in two bodies, one of them marched through the kingdom of Valencia to the frontiers of Catalonia, commanded by the duke of Berwick and the other, composed of the French auxiliary troops, fourteen thousand in number, went to the conquest of Aragon, whose inhabitants had declared themselves for king Charles III.

The body of French troops was commanded by his highness the Duke of Orleans, who was generalissimo of the whole army.

Before he came to the city, the magistrates went to meet him, and offered the keys of the city, but he refused them, saying, he was to enter it thro' a breach; and so he did, treating the people as rebels to their lawful king: And when he had ordered all the civil and military affairs of the city, he went down to the frontiers of Catalonia, leaving his lieutenant general, Mon. de Jofreville governor of the town.

But this governor being a mild tempered man, he was unwilling to follow the orders left with him, as to the contribution money; so he was called to the army, and the lieutenant-general, Monsieur de Legal, came in his place.

The city was to pay a thousand crowns a month, for the duke's table, and every house a pistole, which by computation made up the sum of eighteen thousand pistoles a month, which

which were paid eight months together; besides this the convents were to pay a donative proportionable to their rents: The college of Jesuits were charged two thousand pistoles, the Dominicans one thousand, Augustins one thousand, Carmelites one thousand, &c.

Monfieur de Legal sent first to the Jesuits, who refused to pay, saying, that it was against the ecclesiastical immunity; but Legal, not acquainted with those sort of excuses, sent four companies of grenadiers to be quartered in their college at discretion.

The fathers sent immediately an express to the king's confessor, who was a Jesuit, with complaints about the case: but the grenadiers made more expedition in their plundering and mischief, than the courier did in his journey: so the fathers seeing the damage all their goods had already sustained, and fearing some violence upon their treasure, went and paid Monfieur Legal the two thousand pistoles as a donative.

Next he sent to the Dominicans. The friars of this order are all familiars of the holy office, and depending upon it; they excused themselves in a civil manner, saying, they had no money, and if Monfieur de Legal had a mind to insist upon the demand of one thousand pistoles, they could not pay him without sending to him the silver bodies of the saints.

The friars thought by that to frighten Monfieur de Legal, and if he was so resolute as to accept the offer, to send the saints in a procession, and raise the people, by crying out Heresy, Heresy!

De Legal answered the friars, that he was obliged to obey the duke's orders, and so he would receive the silver saints. So the friars, all in a solemn procession, with lighted candles in their hands, carried the saints to the governor Legal; who as soon as he heard of this public resolution of the friars, ordered immediately four companies of grenadiers to line the streets on both sides, before his house, and to keep their fuses in one hand, and a lighted candle in the other, to receive the saints with the same devotion. And though the friars endeavoured to raise the people, no-body was so bold as to expose themselves to the army.

Legal received the saints, and sent them to the mint, promising the father prior to give him what remained above the thousand pistoles. The friars being disappointed in their projects of raising the people, went to the inquisitors to desire them to release their saints out of the mint, by excommunicating Monfieur de Legal, which the inquisitors did upon the spot: and the excommunication being drawn and signed, they gave strict orders to their secretary to go read it before Monfieur de Legal, which he did accordingly. And the governor, far from flying in a passion, with a mild countenance, took the paper from the secretary, and said, Pray tell your masters the inquisitors, that I will answer them to-morrow morning. The secretary went away fully satisfied with Legal's civil behaviour; who the same minute, without reflecting upon any consequence, called his own secretary,

tary, and bid him to draw a copy of the excommunication, putting out the name of Legal, and inserting, in its place, The holy inquisitors.

The next morning he gave orders for four regiments to be ready, and sent them along with his secretary to the inquisition, with command to read the excommunication to the inquisitors themselves, and if they made the least noise, to turn them out, open all the prisons, and quarter two regiments there.

The inquisitors were never more surprized than to see themselves excommunicated by a man that had no authority for it; and began to cry out *War against the heretical Legal*; this is a publick insult against our Catholick faith. To which the secretary answered, Holy Inquisitors, the king wants this house to quarter his troops in, so walk out, immediately; and as they continued in their exclamations, he took the inquisitors with a strong guard, and carried them to a private house designed for that purpose; but when they saw the laws of military discipline, they begged leave to take their goods along with them; which was immediately granted, and the next day they set out for Madrid to complain to the king; who gave them a slight answer, saying, *I am very sorry for it, but I cannot help it; my crown is in danger, and my grandfather defends it, and this is done by his troops, if it had been done by my troops, I should have applied a speedy remedy; but you must have patience till things take another turn.*

The secretary of Monsieur de Legal,
N^o 18.

according to his orders, opened the doors of all the prisons, and then the wickednesses of the inquisitors were detected: Four hundred prisoners got liberty that day; and among them sixty young women were found very well dressed, who were in all human appearance, the number of the three inquisitors Seraglio, as some of them afterwards acknowledged.

But this discovery, so dangerous to the holy tribunal, was in some measure prevented by the archbishop, who went to desire Monsieur de Legal to send those women to his palace, and that his grace would take care of them. And in the mean time he ordered an ecclesiastical censure to be published against those that should defame by groundless reports the holy office of the inquisition. The governor answered, he would be willing to assist his grace in any thing he could; but as to the young women, it was not in his power, the officers having hurried them away; as indeed it was not, for the French officers were all glad to get such fine mistresses.

As I travelled in France some time after, I met with one of those women at Rochfort; in the same inn I went to lodge in, who had been brought there by the Son of the master of the inn, formerly a lieutenant in the French service in Spain, who had married her for her extraordinary merit and beauty. She was daughter of counsellor Balabriga. I had known her before she was taken up by the inquisitors orders; her father died of grief, without the comfort of revealing the cause of his trouble, even

to his confessor. So great is the dread of the inquisition there!

I was very glad to meet one of my country-women in my travels: and as she did not remember me, especially in my disguise, she took me for an officer.

I resolved to stay there the next day to have the satisfaction of conversing with her, and to get a plain account of what we could not know in Zaragoza, for fear of incurring the ecclesiastical censure published by the bishop.

Her father and mother-in-law, to shew the respect for their daughter's countryman (Mr. Faulcalt, her spouse being now gone to Paris) invited me to a handsome supper; after which I begged the Favour of her to tell me the reason of her imprisonment; of her sufferings in the inquisition, and of every thing she knew relating to the holy office: to which she readily consented, and gave me the following account.

I went one day with my mother to visit the counsels of Attarafs, and I met there Don Francisco Torrejon, her confessor and second inquisitor of the holy office. After we had drank chocolate, he asked me my age, my confessor's name, and so many intricate questions about religion, that I could not answer him. His serious countenance frightened me; and as he perceived my fear, he desired the counsels to tell me, that he was not so severe as I took him to be. After which he caressed me in a most obliging manner; he gave me his hand, which I

kissed with great respect and modesty; and when he went away, he told me, *My dear child, I shall remember you till the next time.*

I did not mind the sense of the words; for I was unexperienced in matters of gallantry, being at that time but fifteen years old. Indeed he did remember me; for the very same night, when we were in bed, hearing a hard knocking at the door, the maid that lay in the same room with me went to the window, and asking who was there? I heard say, The holy inquisition. I could not forbear crying out, Father, Father, I am ruined for ever!

My father got up, and inquiring what the matter was? I answered him with tears, The Inquisition. He for fear that the maid should not open the door as quick as such a case required, went himself, like another Abraham, to open the door, and to offer his dear daughter to the fire of the inquisitors; after which he put in my mouth a bit of a bridle, to shew his obedience to the holy office, for he thought that I had committed some crime against religion; for the officers giving me only Time to put on my petticoat and a mantle, took me down in the coach, and without allowing me the satisfaction of embracing my dear father and mother, they carried me into the inquisition.

I thought I should have died that very night; but when they carried me into a noble room, well furnished, I was quite surprized. The officers left me there, and immediately a maid came in, with a salver of sweet meats, and

and cinnamon water, desiring me to take some refreshment, before I went to bed. I told her I could not; but that I should be obliged to her if she could tell me whether I was to die that night or not? **Die!** (said she) you do not come here to die, but to live like a princess, and you shall want for nothing in the world, but the liberty of going out: so pray be not afraid, but go to bed, and sleep easy, for to-morrow you shall see wonders in this house; and as I am chosen to be your waiting-maid, I hope you will be very kind to me.

I was going to ask some questions, but she told me, she had not leave to tell me any thing more till the next day, only that no body should come to disturb me; and now (said she) I am going about some business, but I will come back presently, for my bed is in the closet near yours: So she left me for a quarter of an hour.

The great amazement I was in took away the free exercise of my senses to such a degree, that I had not power to think either of my afflicted parents, or the danger I was in.

In this suspension of thought, the maid returned, and lock'd the chamber door after her; Madam (said she) let us go to bed, and be pleas'd to tell me at what time in the morning you will have the chocolate ready. I ask'd her name, and she told me it was Mary. Mary, for God's sake (said I) tell me, whether I come to die or not? I have told you, Madam, replied she, that you come to be one of the happiest ladies in the world: So observing her reservedness, I asked no more

questions that night, but went to bed.

The fear of death prevented me from shutting my eyes, so that I rose at break of day; Mary lay till six o'clock, and was surprized to find me up; however, she said little, but in half an hour she brought me, on a silver plate, two cups of chocolate and biscuits; I drank one cup, and desired her to drink the other, which she did. Well, Mary, said I, can you give me any account of the reasons of my being here? Not yet Madam, said she; have a little patience. With this answer she left me, and an hour after came again, with a fine holland shift, a holland under-petticoat, finely laced round, two silk petticoats, and a little Spanish waistcoat, fringed all over with gold, and combs, ribbands, and every thing suitable for a lady of higher quality than I; but my greatest surprise was, to see a gold snuff box, with the picture of Don Francisco Torrejon in it.

Then I soon understood the meaning of my confinement; so I considered with myself, that to refuse the present would be the occasion of my immediate death; and to accept it was to give him too great encouragement against my honour. But I found, as I thought, a medium in the case; so I said to Mary, pray give my service to Don Francisco Torrejon, and tell him, that as I could not bring my clothes along with me last night, honesty permits me to accept of those clothes which are necessary to keep me decent; but since I take no snuff, I beg his lordship to excuse me, if I do not accept his box.

Mary

Mary went to him with this answer, and came again with a picture, elegantly set in gold, with four diamonds at the four corners of it, and told me, that his lordship had mistook, and that he desired me to accept that picture.

While I was musing what to do, Mary said, pray madam take my poor advice, accept the picture, and every thing he sends you; for consider, if you do not comply with every thing he has a mind for, you will soon be put to death, and no-body can defend you: but if you are obliging to him, he is a very complaisant gentleman, and will be a charming lover, and you will be here like a queen: he will give you another apartment with fine gardens, and many young ladies shall come to visit you: So I advise you to send a civil answer, and desire a visit from him, or else you will soon repent it. O dear God! cry'd I; must I abandon my honour, without remedy; if I oppose his desire, he will by force obtain it.

So, full of confusion, I bid Mary to give him what answer she thought fit: She was very glad of my humble submission, and went to give Don Francisco an account of it.

In a few minutes she returned with great joy, to tell me, that his lordship would honour me with his company at supper; in the mean time he desired me to mind nothing, but how to divert myself, and to give Mary my measure for some new clothes, and order her to bring me every thing I could wish for.

Mary also added, Madam, I may

now call you my mistress, and must tell you, that I have been in the holy office, these fourteen years, and know the customs of it very well; but as silence is imposed upon me, under pain of death, I cannot tell you any thing but what concerns your person: So, in the first place, do not oppose the holy father's will; secondly, if you see some young ladies here, never ask them any questions; neither will they ask you, and take care that you never tell them any thing; you may come and divert yourself among them at such hours as are appointed: you shall have musick, and all sorts of recreations; three days hence you shall dine with them; they are all ladies of quality, young and merry; you will live so happy here, that you will not wish to go abroad; and when your time is expired, then the holy father will send you out of this country, and marry you to some nobleman.

Never mention your name, nor Don Francisco's, to any; if you see here some young ladies you have been acquainted with, no notice must be taken, nor nothing talked of but indifferent matters.

All this made me astonished, or rather stupified, and the whole seemed to me a piece of enchantment. With this lesson she left me, saying she was going to order my dinner; every time she went out she lock'd the door.

There were but two windows in my room, and they were so high, that I could see nothing through them; but hunting about, I found a closet, with all sorts of historical and profane books; so I spent my time till dinner in

in reading, which was some satisfaction to me.

In about two hours time she brought in dinner, at which was every thing that could satisfy the most delicate appetite. When dinner was over, she left me alone, and told me, if I wanted any thing I might ring the bell, and call. So I went to the closet again, and spent three hours in reading. I think really I was under some enchantment; for I was in a perfect suspension of thought, so as to remember neither father nor mother.

Mary came and told me, that Don Francisco was come home, and that she thought he would come to see me very soon, and begged of me to prepare myself to receive him with all manner of kindness.

At seven in the evening Don Francisco came, in his night-gown and cap; not with the gravity of an inquisitor, but with the gaiety of an officer. He saluted me with great respect, and told me at the same time, *that his coming to see me, was only to shew the value he had for my family; and to tell me, that some of my lovers had procured my ruin for ever, having accused me in matters of religion; that the informations were taken, and the sentence pronounced against me, to be burnt to death in a dry pan, with a gradual fire; but that he out of pity and love to my family had stopped the execution of it.*

Each of these words was a mortal stroke to my heart; I threw myself at his feet, and said, *Ab, seignior, have you stopped the execution for ever? —*

N^o 18

That only belongs to you to stop it, or not, said he, and with this he wished me a good night.

As soon as he went away, I fell a crying; but Mary came and asked me what could oblige me to cry so bitterly? — *Ab, good Mary,* said I, *pray tell me what is the meaning of the dry pan, and gradual fire? For I expect to die by it.* — *O, madam,* replied she, *never fear; you shall see ere long the dry pan and gradual fire. But they are made for those that oppose the holy father's will. Not for you that are so good to obey it.* — *But pray, was Don Francisco very obliging?* — *I do not know,* said I, *for his discourse has put me out of my wits; he saluted me with great civility; but he left me abruptly.* — *Well,* said Mary, *you do not yet know his temper; he is extremely kind to people that are obedient to him; but if they are not, he is as unmerciful as Nero; so for your own sake, take care to oblige him in all respects; and now, dear madam, pray go to supper, and be easy.* But the thoughts of the dry pan troubled me so much, that I could neither eat nor sleep that night.

Early in the morning Mary got up, told me, that no-body was yet stirring in the house, and that if I would promise secrecy, she would shew me the dry pan, and gradual fire. So taking me down stairs, she brought me into a large room with a thick iron door, and within it was an oven burning at that time, and a large brass pan upon it, with a cover of the same, and a lock to it.

In the next room, there was a great wheel covered on both sides with thick

thick boards ; and opening a little window in the centre of it, she desired me to look with a candle on the inside of it. There I saw all the circumference of the wheel was set with sharp razors.

After that she shewed me a pit full of serpents and toads, She said, *Now my good mistress, I'll tell you the use of these three things.*

The dry pan is for hereticks, and those that oppose the holy father's will and pleasure. They are put naked alive into the pan, and the cover of it being locked up, the executioner begins to put a small fire in the oven, and by degrees augmenteth it, till the body is reduced to ashes.

The second is designed for those that speak against the pope, and the holy fathers ; for they are put within the wheel ; and the little door being locked, the executioner turns the wheel till the person is dead.

And the third is for those who condemn the images, and refuse to give due respect and veneration to ecclesiastical persons ; for they are thrown into the pit, and so become the food of serpents and toads.

Then Mary said to me, that another day, she would shew me the torments for public sinners ; but I was in so great an agony at what I had seen, that I desired her to shew me no more places ; so we went to my room, and she again charged me to be very obedient to all the commands Don Francisco should give me, or I might be assured, if I was not, I must undergo the torments of the dry pan.

I conceived such an horror of the

gradual fire, that I was not mistress of my senses ; so I promised Mary to follow her advice. If you are in that disposition, said she, leave off all fear, and expect nothing but pleasure and satisfaction. Now let me dress you ; for you must go to with a good-morrow to Don Francisco, and to breakfast with him.

Having said this, she conveyed me through a gallery into his apartment ; he was still in bed, and desired me to sit down by him, and ordered Mary to bring the chocolate two hours after.

When she was withdrawn, he immediately declared his inclinations in so ardent a manner, that I had neither strength or power to oppose him ; and so by extinguishing the fire of his passion, I was freed from the dry pan.

When Mary came with the chocolate, I was very much ashamed to be seen in bed with him ; but she coming to the bed-side where I was, and kneeling down, paid me the homage as if I had been queen, and served me first with a cup of chocolate, desiring me to give another cup to Don Francisco, which he received very graciously. After breakfast she went away. We discoursed for some time of various things ; but I never spoke a word, but when he desired to answer him : So at ten o'clock Mary came again and dressed me.

We left Don Francisco in bed, and she carried me into another chamber very delightful and better furnished than the first ; for the windows were lower, and I had the pleasure of seeing the river and gardens.

Mary

Mary then told me, that the young ladies would come and pay me their compliments before dinner, and would take me to dine with them; and begged me to remember her advice. She had scarce finished these words, before I saw a troop of young beautiful ladies, finely dressed, who all one after another came to embrace me, and to wish me joy.

My surprise was so great, that I was unable to answer their compliments; but one of them seeing me so silent, said to me, *Madam, the solitude of this place will affect you in the beginning, but when you begin to feel the pleasures and amusements we enjoy, you will quiet your pensive thoughts. Now we beg of you the honour to come and dine with us to-day; and henceforth three days in a week.* I returned them thanks, and so went to dinner.

That Day we had all sorts of exquisite meats, delicate fruits, and sweetmeats. The room was long, with two tables on each side, and another at the front of it; and I reckoned in that day fifty-two young ladies, the eldest of them not exceeding twenty-four years of age. Six maids served the whole number of us; but Mary waited on me alone.

After dinner we went up stairs into a long gallery, where some of us played on Instruments of musick, others at cards; and some walked about for three or four hours together.

At last Mary came up ringing a bell, which was, as they informed me, the signal to retire into our rooms. But Mary said to the whole company, la-

dies, to-day is a day of recreation, so you may go into what rooms you please till eight o'clock. They all desired to go to my apartment with me. We found in my anti-chamber a table, with all sorts of sweetmeats upon it; iced cinamon, almond milk, and the like.

Every one did eat and drink; but nobody spoke a word touching the sumptuousness of the table, or concerning the inquisition, or the holy fathers. So we spent our time in merry, indifferent conversation, till eight o'clock, and then every one retired to their own room.

As soon as they were gone, Mary let me know that Don Francisco waited for me; so went to his apartment; and supper being ready, we sat down, attended only by Mary. After it was over, she went away, and we to Bed. Next morning she served us with chocolate, which after we had drank, we slept till ten; at which time we got up.

When I returned to my own chamber, I found ready two suits of cloaths of rich brocade, and every thing else suitable to a lady of the first rank. I put on one, and when I was quite dressed, the ladies came to wish me joy, all dressed in different cloaths, much richer than before.

We spent the second and third day in the same recreation; Don Francisco continuing in the same manner with me. But on the fourth morning, after drinking chocolate, Mary told me, that a lady was waiting for me in her own room, and with an air of authority desired me to get up. Don Fran-

Francisco saying nothing to the contrary, I obeyed, and left him in bed. I thought this was now to give me some new comfort, but I was very much mistaken; for Mary conveyed me into a lady's room not eight foot long, which was a perfect Prison; and told me this was my room and this young lady my bed-fellow, and without saying any more, she left me there.

What is this, dear Lady, said I! Is it an enchanted place, or hell upon earth? I have lost father and mother, and what is worse, I have lost my honour, and my soul for ever. My new companion, seeing me like a mad woman, took me by the Hands, and said, Dear sister, for this is the name I will henceforth give you, forbear to cry and grieve; for you can do nothing by such extravagant behaviour, but draw upon yourself a cruel death; your misfortunes and ours are exactly of a piece; you suffer nothing that we have not suffered before you; but we dare not shew our grief for fear of greater evils; pray take courage, and hope in God, for he will surely deliver us out of this hellish place; but be sure you shew no uneasiness before Mary, who is the only instrument either of our Torments or Comfort: Have patience till we go to bed, and then I will tell you more of the matter, which I hope will afford you some comfort.

I was in a most desperate condition; but my new sister Leonora prevailed so much upon me, that I overcame my vexation before Mary came again to bring our dinner, which was very different from what we had for three days before.

After dinner another maid came to take away the plate and knife, for we had but one for us both; after she had gone out and locked up the door, *Now my dear sister (said Leonora) we shall not be disturbed again till eight at night; so if you will promise me upon your hopes of salvation, to keep secret, while you are in this house, all the things I shall tell you, I will reveal all that I know.* I threw myself at her feet, and promised all that she desired: upon which, without further Ceremony, she began as follows:

My dear Sister, you think your case very hard; but I assure you, all the Ladies in this house have already gone thro' the same; in time you shall know all their stories, as they hope to know yours. I suppose Mary has been the chief Instrument of your fright, as she has been of ours, and I warrant she has shewn you some horrible places, tho' not all, and that at the only Thought of them, you were so much troubled in your mind, that you have chosen the same way we did, to redeem yourself from death.

By what has happened to us, we know that Don Francisco has been your Nero; for the three colours of our cloaths are the distinguishing tokens of the three Holy Fathers; the red silk belongs to Don Francisco, the Blue to Guerrero, and the Green to Aliaga: for they always give the three first of these colours to those ladies that they bring hither for their use. We are strictly commanded to make all demonstrations of joy, and to be very merry for three days, when a young lady comes first here, as we did with you, and you must do with others: but afterwards

we live like prisoners, without seeing any living soul but the six maids, and Mary who is the house-keeper. We dine all of us in the hall three days in a week.

When any one of the holy Fathers has a mind for one of his Slaves, Mary comes for her at Nine of the clock, and carries her to his apartment; but as they have so many, the turn comes it may be but once in a month, except for those that happen to please them more than ordinary, and they are sent for often.

Some nights Mary leaves the door of our rooms open, and that is a sign that one of the fathers has a mind to come that night; but he comes so silent, that we do not know whether he is our patron or not.

If one of us happens to be with child, she is removed into a better chamber, and she sees no-body but the maid till she is delivered. The child is taken away, and we do not know where it is carried.

I have been in this house six years, and was not fourteen when the Officers took me from my father's house: I have had one child here. We have at present fifty-two young ladies, and we lose every year six or eight; but we do not know where they are sent. We always get new in their places; and sometimes I have seen here seventy-three ladies at once.

Our continual torment is to think, that when the holy fathers are tired of one, they put her to death; for they never will run the hazard of being discovered in their villainy: So tho' we cannot oppose their commands, yet we continually pray to God to pardon those ills we are forced to commit, and to deliver us out of their hands; so my dear sister, arm yourself with patience, for there is no other Remedy.

N^o XIX.

This discourse of Leonora prevailed on me to appear outwardly easy before Mary. I found every thing as she told me. And in this manner we lived together eighteen months, in which time we lost eleven ladies, and we got nineteen new ones.

I knew all their stories, which are too long to tell you to-night; but if you will stay here this week, you will not think your time lost. I promised to stay with a great deal of pleasure, but begged her to finish her own story, which she did as follows.

After eighteen months, one night Mary came in, and ordered us to follow her down stairs, where we found a coach waiting, into which she forced us to go, and this we thought the last night of our lives; however, we were carried to another house, and put into a worse room than the former, where we continued, till we were miraculously delivered by the French officers.

Mr. Faulcant, happily for me, opened the door of my room, and from the moment he saw me, shewed me great civility; he took Leonora and me to his own lodgings, and, after hearing our stories, for fear things should turn to our disadvantage, he dressed us in Men's cloaths for the greater safety, and sent us to his father's. So we came to this house, where I was kept for two years, as the old man's daughter, till Mr. Faulcant's regiment being broke, he came home, and two months after married me.

Leonora was married to another officer; they live in Orleans, which being in your way to Paris, I hope you will pay her a visit; my husband is

4 Y

now

now at court, soliciting for a new commission; he will be very glad of your acquaintance. Here the lady concluded her adventures in the inquisition.

What a shocking reflection must this story produce in the mind of the reader! to think that there are wretches so base as, under the sanction of religion, not only to rob their fellow-creatures of their existence in the most tormenting manner; but what is still dearer to them—their honour.—From such diabolical principles, Good God deliver us!

As charity has ever been deemed one of the most shining ornaments of the Christian Life, and is so strongly recommended by the command and example of the great author of our religion; the following extract will point out to the impartial reader how far that religion deviates from the principles of the gospel, which inculcates and encourages such damnable practices.

The pope's dreadful curse: being the form of excommunication of the church of Rome; taken out of the ledger-book of the church of Rochester, now in the custody of the dean and chapter there written by Ernulfus the bishop.

BY the authority of God Almighty the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and of the holy canons, and of the undefiled virgin Mary, the mother and patroness of our Saviour, and of all the celestial

virtues, angels, arch-angels, thrones, dominions, powers, cherubims and seraphims, and of the holy patriarchs, prophets, and of all the apostles, and evangelists, and of the holy innocents, who in the sight of the holy lamb, are found worthy to sing the new song, and of the holy martyrs, and holy confessors, and of the holy virgins, and of all the saints, and together with all the holy and elect of God: we excommunicate and anathematise him or them, malefactor or malefactors—and from the threshold of the holy church of God Almighty we sequester them, that he or they may be tormented, disposed, and delivered over with Dathan and Abiram, and with those who say unto the Lord, *depart from us, we know not thy ways.* And, as fire is quenched with water, so let the light of him or them be put out for ever more, unless it shall repent him or them, and they make satisfaction. Amen.

May the father, who created man, may the Son, who suffered, for us curse him or them: may the Holy Ghost, who was given to us in baptism, curse him or them: may the holy cross, which Christ for our salvation, triumphing over his enemy, ascending, curse him or them: may the holy eternal virgin Mary Mother of God, curse him or them: may St. Michael, the advocate of holy souls, curse him or them: may all the angels and arch-angels, principalities and powers, and all the heavenly host, curse him or them: may the laudable number of patriarchs and prophets, curse him or them: may St. John, the fore-runner and Baptist of Christ, curse

curse him or them : May St. Peter and Paul, and St. Andrew, and all other Christ's apostles, together with the rest of his disciples, and four evangelists, who by their preaching converted the universal world, curse him or them : May the holy and wonderful company of the martyrs and confessors, who by their holy works are found pleasing to God Almighty, curse him or them : May the holy choir of the holy virgin, who for the honour of Christ have despised the things of the world, curse him or them : May all the saints, who from the beginning of the world, to everlasting ages, are found to be the beloved of God, curse him or them : May the heavens and earth, and all the holy things remaining therein, curse him or them : May he or they be cursed, wherever he or they be, whether in their house or in the field, or in the highway, or in the path, or in the wood, or in the water, or in the church : May he or they be cursed in living, in dying, in eating, in drinking, in being hungry, in being thirsty, in fasting, in lying, in working, in resting, in pissing, in shitting, and in bloodletting : May he or they be cursed inwardly and outwardly : May he or they be cursed in the hair of his or their head : May he or they be cursed in his or their brain : May he or they be cursed in the top of his or their head, in their temples, in their forehead, in their ears, in their eye-brows, in their cheeks, in their jaw-bones, in their nostrils, in their fore-teeth, or grinders, in their lips, in their throat, in their shoulders, in

their wrists, in their arms, in their hands, in their fingers, in their breast, in their heart, and in all the interior parts to the very stomach ; in their reins, in their groin, in their thighs, in the genitals, in the hips, in the knees, in the legs, in the feet, in the joints, and in the nails : May he or they be cursed in all their joints, from the top of the head to the sole of the feet : May there not be a soundness in him or them.

May the son of the living God, with all the glory of his majesty, curse him or them ; and may heaven, with all the powers that move therein, rise against him or them, to damn him or them, unless it shall repent him or them, or that he or they shall make satisfaction, Amen. Amen. so be it.

This curse was re-published in the year 1746, to shew what was to be expected from the Pope, if he came to be supreme head of the church of this nation.

Having thus described the horrid persecutions as well as the most *diabolical artifices*, committed by these *pretenders to religion*, on their fellow-creatures, we shall now proceed, agreeable to our promise, to insert the lives of those *eminent reformers*, to whom we are indebted for the enjoyment we now possess under the *protestant religion*.

The

The Life of JOHN HUSS, D. D. Pastor of a Church near Prague, in Bohemia: who having the Emperor's safe-conduct went to the Council of Constance, but was condemned by that Council for maintaining the Doctrines of the Reformation; and, as a Martyr for them, was burnt to death in the Year 1415.

JOHAN HUSS was born at Hussinecz, a village near Prague, in Bohemia, of religious parents; who though not in affluent circumstances, took care to train him up early in religion and learning. He profited much at school, and went to the university of Prague, where he proved a famous preacher.

While he was a student at Prague, he read Wickliff's books; from which he was first enlightened, and took courage to defend his evangelical doctrines.

While the Wicklivites were persecuted and dispersed, the seeds of the reformation were more widely spread. Their doctrine was carried into Bohemia, where it took deep root.

What Doctor Wickliff was in England, Dr. John Huss was in Bohemia: he with courage defended his doctrine against the papists, and was a martyr in the cause of religion.

Queen Anne, the wife of king Richard II. of England, was daughter to the emperor Charles IV. and sister to Wencislaus, king of Bohemia. She

was a pious princess, and favoured Wickliff's doctrines. She died in 1394, and after her death several of Wickliff's books were carried by her attendants into Bohemia, and proved a means of promoting the reformation there.

The books of Wickliff's were likewise carried into Bohemia by Peter Payne, an Englishman, one of his disciples; but Sbynko, the archbishop of Prague, ordered the members of the university to bring him Wickliff's books: and he burnt two hundred volumes of Wickliff's works, very finely written, and adorned with costly covers and gold bosses, for which reason they are supposed to have belonged to the nobility and gentry of Bohemia.

Peter Payne was principal of Edmund-Hall, in the university of Oxford, where he was distinguished for his great abilities, and his opposition to the friars. He was a good disputant, and confuted Walden, a carmelite friar, about pilgrimages, the eucharist, images and relicks; for which he was obliged to quit the university, and fly into Bohemia, where he contracted an acquaintance with Procopius, and published some books wrote by Wickliff, which were greatly esteemed by Huss, Jerom, and the greatest part of the university of Prague.

Huss has distinguished himself in the university, where he taught grammar and philosophy. He had applied himself to the study of the holy scriptures and the Latin fathers.

Two godly noblemen built a church at Bethlehem, and in the year fourteen

teen hundred he was chose pastor thereof, and fed his people with the truths of the gospel, and not with the pope's decrees and other human invention.

In the year fourteen hundred and one he was chosen dean of the university of Prague; and in four hundred and nine, by the consent of all the university, he was chosen rector of it. He continued in the exercise of his ministry with great zeal, diligence, and faithfulness, about twelve years, in preaching and instructing his people in the sound principles of religion, which he confirmed by the holy scriptures, and adorned by a holy and exemplary life.

John Hufs heartily embraced the doctrine of Wickliff, and declared that the members of the university had a right to read all sorts of books without any molestation.

The archbishop of Prague informed pope Alexander the fifth, that the doctrine of Wickliff began to take root in Bohemia: upon which the archbishop obtained a bull, whereby the pope gave him a commission to prevent the publishing of Wickliff's doctrine in his province.

The archbishop, by virtue of this bull, condemned the writings of Wickliff; proceeded against four doctors, who had not delivered up the copies of that divine, and prohibited them, notwithstanding their privileges to preach in any congregation. Dr. Hufs with some other members of the university, made their protestations against these proceedings; and on the twenty-fifth of June, fourteen hundred

N^o 19

and ten, entered a new appeal from the sentences of the archbishop.

This affair was carried before pope John XXIII, who granted a commission to cardinal Colonna to cite John Hufs to appear personally at the court of Rome to answer the accusations laid against him of preaching both errors and heresies. Dr. Hufs desired to be excused from a personal appearance, and was so greatly favoured in Bohemia, that king Wincislaus, the queen, the nobility, and the university, desired the pope to dispense with such an appearance; as also that he would not suffer the kingdom of Bohemia to lie under the accusation of heresy, but permit them to preach the gospel with freedom in their places of worship.

Three proctors appeared for Dr. Hufs before cardinal Colonna. They endeavoured to excuse the absence of Hufs, and declared they were ready to answer in his behalf. But the cardinal declared Hufs contumacious, and excommunicated him accordingly. The proctors appealed to the pope, who appointed four cardinals to examine the process. These commissioners confirmed the former sentence, and extended the excommunication not only to Hufs, but also to all his disciples or followers.

Then the popish clergy, and some of the persons of distinction, opposed Hufs being thus excommunicated. And Wincislaus, the king of Bohemia, banished him; but he was entertained in the country, and protected at Hufinez, where he preached in the parish church, and some places adjacent, against

4 Z

gainst the pride, idleness, cruelty and avarice of the court of Rome and clergy, multitudes of persons attending his ministry : he confuted the popish doctrine of works being meritorious. And sometimes he went and preached at his church at Bethlehem.

The great and noble Sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, had spoken boldly in several parliaments against the popish corruptions in the christian faith and worship, and had frequently represented to the kings Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, the great abuses committed by the clergy.

This nobleman, at the desire of Dr. Hufs, caused all the works of Wickliff to be wrote out, and dispersed in Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal, and other parts of Europe. But that good man, who had wrote several discourses concerning a reformation of discipline and manners in the church, was forsaken by Henry V. and fell a sacrifice to the cruelty of the Romish priests. He was condemned in fourteen hundred and thirteen, by the archbishop of Canterbury, as an heretic, and at last sent to the tower by the king, who had an affection for him.

He escaped from his confinement, and was concealed in Wales four years; and after many fruitless attempts of his enemies, was at last taken and brought to London. The clergy being then in great power, he presently foresaw what would follow.

St. Giles's fields was the place appointed for this dreadful execution ; where he, as an heretic, was hung up

in chains upon a gallows, and fire being put under him, he was burnt to death.

His behaviour was great and courageous ; he exhorted the people to follow the instructions which God had given them in the scriptures, and admonished them to disclaim those false teachers whose lives and conversations were so contrary to Christ, and repugnant to his holy religion.

England was filled with cruel scenes of persecution, which extended as far as Germany and Bohemia, were these two eminent persons, Dr. Hufs and Jerom of Prague, were marked out to suffer death in the cause of religion.

The council of Constance was assembled the sixteenth of November, 1414, to determine the dispute between the three persons that contended for the papacy ; their names were John, Gregory, and Benedict.

Constance is one of the most Southern towns in Germany, situated on the confines of Switzerland. Hither from all parts of Europe princes and prelates, clergy and laity, regulars and seculars, flocked together. In the room of these three popes Martin was chosen. The next design was to apply remedies to the disorders of the church.

By these disorders nothing more was meant than Wickliff's heresy, as they called it ; and this affair took up a full moiety of the council's time. They condemned his tenets ; they burnt his books ; nay, they ordered his very bones to be dug up and consumed to ashes.

Dr.

Dr. Hufs was summoned to appear at Constance. The emperor Sigismund, brother and successor to Winceslaus, encouraged Hufs to obey the summons, and sent two gentlemen into Bohemia, to communicate the affair to Hufs himself. Hufs directly answered, *That he desired nothing more than to purge himself publicly of the imputation of heresy; and that he esteemed himself happy in so fair an opportunity of doing it, as the approaching council afforded.*

The emperor sent him a pass-port, with assurance of safe conduct, whereby he gave him permission to come freely to the council, and return from it again.

It was on October 15, 1414, that John Hufs began his journey towards Constance, accompanied with two Bohemian noblemen, the barons of Clum, who were among the most eminent of his disciples and followed their master merely through respect and love.

Hufs caused some playcards or writings to be fixed upon the gates of the churches in Prague, wherein he declared that he went to the council to answer all the declarations that were made against him. He made public declarations in all the cities through which he passed, that he was going to vindicate himself at Constance, and invited all his adversaries to be present.

The civilities, and even reverence, which he met with every where on his journey, exceeded his imagination. The streets and sometimes the very

roads were lined with people, whom respect, rather than curiosity, had brought together.

He was ushered into the towns with great acclamations; and it may be said that he passed through Germany in a kind of triumph. He could not help expressing his surprize at the treatment he met with; *I thought,* said he, *I had been an outcast. I now see my worst enemies are in Bohemia.*

At Nuremburg he was received with particular marks of distinction, the magistrates and clergy waited upon him in form; and being convinced of his innocence and integrity, assured him they had no doubt but they could dismiss him with honour.

These instances of respect he met with are worth mentioning, not only as they shew the veneration in which Hufs was held, but as they shew likewise how well disposed the Germans were, even at that early day, to a reformation. This scene was acted about one hundred years before the time of Luther, when in many places the evangelical doctrines of the reformation were openly professed in Germany.

He arrived at Constance in three weeks, on the third of November; where no one molesting him, he took private lodgings. Soon after Stephen Paletz came, who was employed by the clergy at Prague to manage the intended prosecution against John Hufs. Paletz was afterwards joined by Michael de Cassis on the part of the court of Rome. They declared themselves his accusers, and drew up

a memorial against him, which they presented to the pope and the prelates of the council.

Dr. Hufs, twenty-six days after his arrival, was ordered to appear before the pope and cardinals. It has been observed, that his appearing there was by the emperor's own request; but notwithstanding the safe-conduct, he was no sooner come within the pope's jurisdiction, than he was arrested, and committed prisoner to a chamber in the palace.

This violation of common law and justice was taken notice of by a gentleman, who urged the imperial safe-conduct: but the Pope observed, that he never granted any safe-conduct, nor was he bound by that of the emperor: the eighth session was held May the fifth, 1415, when the doctrines of Wickliff were condemned as heretical in forty-five articles.

This council ordered the remains of Dr. Wickliff to be dug up and burnt, with this particular caution, *If they could be discerned from the bodies of other faithful people.*

His ashes were cast into the Swift; that brook conveyed them into the Avon; the Avon into the Severn; the Severn into the narrow seas; and they into the main ocean.

Thus the ashes of Wickliff were the emblem of his doctrines, which are now received in many parts of the world.

Hufs was brought before some cardinals, upon his coming to Constance, to give an account of his doctrine: but he told them that he came to do it

before the council; yet if he was forced to do it before them, *He doubted not but Christ would strengthen him to choose death, and enable him to suffer for his glory, rather than to deny the truth, which he had learned out of the holy Scriptures.*

After an examination they committed him to a filthy prison, whereby he fell sick and was in great danger of death: in the mean time his adversaries preferred articles against him, wherein they had forged many things of their own head, and perverted his godly and orthodox sayings to a sinister sense, that they might have whereof to accuse him: and thereupon desired of the council that he might be condemned.

Dr. Hufs hearing of their cruel designs against him, moved that he might have an advocate, but that was denied him. While he was in prison, and had in some measure recovered his health, he wrote several books.

He was afterwards removed by the bishop of Constance to another prison, a castle on the other side of the Rhine, where in the day he had fetters put upon his legs, and every night he was tied by his hands to a rack against the wall: hereupon many noblemen of Bohemia petitioned for his release, at least to be upon bail; but their petition was not granted.

The petition of the nobles signified: *That Dr. John Hufs freely and of his own accord came to Constance under the emperor's safe-conduct, and that against law and reason he hath been imprisoned before he is heard, and at present is greatly tormented with hunger, thirst and*

Engraving for
Englands bloody
Tribunal.



Dr. Wickliffe's bones burnt 48 years after his death (by order
of the Council of Constance) & his Ashes cast into the River.



and fetters; though formerly at the council of Pisa, held in the year 1410, those who were declared heretics, were allowed their liberty. But Dr. John Hus, though neither convicted nor condemned, nor so much as once heard, has been imprisoned: and though the king of Bohemia and nobles, here present, have most earnestly desired and required that his safe-conduct might not be violated, and that the said Dr. John Hus might be publickly heard, he being ready to tender a reason of his faith: but the said John Hus is greatly distressed with fetters, and irons, and so weakened with hunger and thirst, that his life is in great danger: wherefore we most earnestly desire, that for the honour of the safe-conduct granted him by the king, and for the preservation of the honour of the kingdom of Bohemia, and of your own also, you will be pleased to enter upon the affair relating to John Hus, his life being in great danger by his imprisonment if it be longer delayed.

But notwithstanding this petition, his judges heard his enemies in his absence, and examined witnesses against him; they judged not his doctrine by the true touchstone of God's word, but by the popish canons.

But when the council would have condemned him without hearing, the emperor required that he should be first heard: and when he was brought before the council, they made a confused noise by railing at him, that he could not speak in his own defence. It is said when he was brought before them next day, there was a great eclipse of the sun, so that it was almost dark.

Nº 19.

When Hus saw the cruelty of his judges, the wickedness of his accusers, the falsity of the witnesses, and the rage of the council against him, and that they breathed forth nothing but fire and faggot, he kneeled down, and commended his righteous cause to the Lord Jesus Christ, begging forgiveness for his enemies; and he earnestly requested with tears, that the council would convince him of any error, and he would willingly retract it: but nothing prevailed, for they proceeded to condemn and degrade him; whereupon he kneeled down, and said, Lord Jesus Christ, forgive my enemies, by whom thou knowest I am falsely accused; forgive them, I pray, for thy great mercy's sake.

Many articles, not fewer than forty, were brought against him. The chief of them were extracted from his books; and some of them by very unfair consequence.

The following opinions, among many others which gave offence, were esteemed most criminal.

That there was no absolute necessity for a visible head of the church.

That the church was better governed in the apostolic times without one.

That the title of holiness was improperly given to man.

That a wicked Pope could not possibly be the vicar of Christ; that he denied the very authority on which he pretended to act.

That liberty of conscience was every one's natural right.

That ecclesiastical censures, especially such as touched the life of man, had no foundation in scripture.

5 A

That

That ecclesiastical obedience should have its limits.

That no excommunication should deter the priest from his duty.

That preaching was as much required from the minister of religion, as almsgiving from the man of ability; and that neither of them could hide his talent in the earth without incurring the divine displeasure.

The bishops appointed by the council, stripped John Hufs of his priestly garments, degraded him, and put a cap of paper on his head, on which devils were painted, with this inscription, *A ringleader of heretics.* And to justify their proceedings against him, because the emperor had given him his safe conduct, the council declared, *That faith was not to be kept with heretics.*

Our martyr was calm and composed under these indignities, a serenity and joy appearing in his countenance, whereby it appeared that he was graciously supported, and looked for eternal salvation through Jesus Christ.

The bishops delivered Hufs to the emperor, who put him in the hands of the duke of Bavaria. His books were burnt at the gate of the church, and he was led to the suburbs to be burnt alive.

When he came to the place of execution he fell on his knees, sang portions of psalms, looked steadfastly towards heaven, and said, *Into thy hands, O Lord, do I commit my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O most gracious and faithful God.*

When the chain was put about him at the stake, he said with a smiling coun-

tenance, *My Lord Jesus Christ was bound with a harder chain than this for my sake, and why should I be ashamed of this old rusty one?*

When the faggots were piled up to his very neck, the duke of Bavaria was officious enough to desire him to abjure. No, says Hufs, *I never preached any doctrine of any evil tendency; and what I taught with my lips, I now seal with my blood.* He said to the executioner, *That out of the ashes of the Goose (for Hufs signifies a goose in the Bohemian language) an hundred years after God would raise up a Swan, whose singing will make many to tremble.* This was fulfilled in Luther, that great reformer, an hundred years after.

The flames were then applied to the faggots, when the martyr sang an hymn with so loud and chearful a voice that he was heard through all the cracklings of the combustibles, and the noise of the multitude. He continued singing till the wind drove the flame and smoke into his face. For some time he was invisible.

When the rage of the fire abated, his body half consumed appeared hanging over the chain; which, together with the post, were thrown down, and a new pile heaped over them.

The duke of Bavaria ordered the executioner to throw all the martyrs clothes into the flames: after which his ashes were carefully collected, and cast into the Rhine.

After his death the Bohemians rose in arms; their general was Zisca, a stout and valiant man; and they had great success against the emperor and the papists.

The





Martyrdom of Jn. Hus, near Constance in Bohemia.

The memory of Dr. Hufs was much revered by the Bohemians, and the sixth of July, the day of his martyrdom, was for many years observed among them.

While he was in prison he wrote several treatises, and these were printed in one volume at Nuremberg, in 1558, as was also a second volume, containing a harmony of the four evangelists; many sermons and commentaries on several of the epistles in the New-Testament, &c.

This martyr, as well as his friend Jerom, may be considered, in some measure, as dying for the doctrines maintained by Wickliff, and transmitted to them from England.

JEROM of Prague, the companion of JOHN HUSS, who was condemned by the council of Constance for maintaining the doctrines of the Reformation, and, as a martyr for them, was burnt to death in the year 1416.

JEROM of Prague was the companion of Dr. Hufs, and may be said to be co-martyr with him; to whom he was inferior in experience, age and authority; but is said to be inferior to none of his time for abilities and learning.

Jerom was born at Prague, and educated in that university, where he was admitted master of arts, and promoted the doctrines of Wickliff in conjunction with Hufs. Jerom sought after knowledge in many of the consi-

derable universities in Europe, particularly in those of Prague, Paris, Heidelberg, Cologne and Oxford. He was every where esteemed for his happy elocution, which gave him great advantages in the schools, where he defended what Hufs had advanced.

At Oxford, which seems to have been the last seat of learning which he visited, he became acquainted with the works of Wickliff, and being a person of uncommon application, he translated many of them into his native language, having with great pains made himself master of the English tongue.

At his return to Prague he professed himself an open favourer of Wickliff, and finding that his doctrines had made a considerable progress in Bohemia, and that Hufs was the great promoter of them, he became an assistant to him in the great work of reformation.

When Hufs went to the council of Constance, Jerom, we are told, very earnestly exhorted him to bear up firmly in this great trial; and in particular to insist strenuously upon the corrupt state of the clergy, and the necessity of a reformation: he added, that if he should hear in Bohemia, that Hufs was over-powered by his adversaries, he would immediately repair to Constance, and lend him what assistance he was able.

He promised only what he fully intended. He no sooner heard of the difficulties in which his master was engaged, than he set out for Constance, notwithstanding Hufs wrote very pressing letters, insisting upon his putting off

off the design, as dangerous and unprofitable.

He arrived at Constance on the 4th of April 1415, about three months before the death of Hufs. He entered the town privately; and consulting with some of the leaders of his party whom he found there, he was easily convinced, that he could be of no service to his friend. He heard that his arrival at Constance had taken air; and that the council intended to seize him.

As this was the situation of things, he thought prudent to retire. Accordingly the next day he went to Iberling, an imperial town about a mile from Constance.

From that place Jerom wrote to the emperor, and professed his readiness to appear before council if that prince would give him a safe-conduct. But Sigismund had the honesty to refuse him one. Jerom then tried the council; but could obtain no favourable answer.

In this troublesome situation he put up papers in all the public places of Constance, particularly upon the doors of the cardinals houses, in which he professed his readiness to appear at Constance, in the defence of his character and doctrine, both which he heard had been greatly defamed; and declared, that if any error should be proved against him, he would with great readiness retract it; begging only that the faith of the council might be given for his security.

These papers obtaining no answer, he set out upon his return to Bohemia. He had the precaution to

carry with him a certificate signed by several of the Bohemian nobility then at Constance, testifying that he had used all prudent means in his power to procure a hearing.

But he did not thus escape. At Hirfaw he was seized by an officer of the duke of Sultzbach; who, though he acted unauthorised, made little doubt of the council's thanks for so acceptable a service. The duke of Sultzbach having Jerom now in his power, wrote to the council for directions. The council expressing their obligation to the duke, desired him to send the prisoner immediately to Constance. The Elector-palatine met him, and conducted him in triumph into the town; himself riding on horseback, with a numerous retinue, who led Jerom in fetters, by a long chain, after him.

He was brought immediately before the council. Here a citation was read to him, which, it was said, had been posted up in Constance, in answer to the papers he had sent from Iberling: and he was questioned about his precipitate flight from that town. To this he answered, that he had waited a reasonable time for an answer to his paper, but had never heard of it, he would have returned to Constance, though he had been upon the confines of Bohemia.

The rectors of the universities of Cologne and Heidelburgh made great complaints of the heresies which Jerom had maintained in those places. Many voices burst out from ever quarter, *Away with him; burn him, burn him*

him. Jerom looked round the assembly with an air of serenity, and cried out aloud, *Since nothing can satisfy you but my blood God's will be done.* Thus ended his first hearing. He was carried from the assembly into a dungeon under the custody of a guard, till it could be determined how to dispose of him. He was afterwards conveyed to a strong tower, where his hands being tied behind his neck, he was left to languish in that painful posture, during the space of two days, without any aliment but bread and water.

These severities, and others, which were inflicted upon him, were intended to force a recantation from him; a point which the council exceedingly laboured. Nothing, in the way either of promising or threatening, was omitted, which, it was thought, might be effectual to that end.

His confinement brought on him a dangerous illness, and endeavours were used to bring him to a recantation: and immediately after the death of Hufs, all the circumstances of that shocking affair were laid before him, in order to work upon him: but his resolute answers afforded them little hope of success. He was three times brought before the council, and retired master of himself to the horrors of his dungeon.

We are told that after he had been in prison a year, wanting seven days, he was brought before the council, on the twenty-third of September, who required him to make a recantation of the doctrines of Wickliff,

N^o 19.

and to assent to the condemnation of Hufs; which it is said he did, by reading a paper before the council: partly for fear of death, and to be delivered from imprisonment, chains, hunger, sickness, and even torture, which he had endured through a succession of many months.

He was sent back to prison, and guarded by soldiers, but not so strongly chained as before. In May, in the year 1416, Jerom was again called before the council. He rejoiced at an opportunity of acknowledging that shameful dejection, which hung so heavy upon him. When he was brought before the council he was charged with adherence to the doctrines of Wickliff. He declared, with great eloquence, that fear only had induced him to retract doctrines which from his heart he maintained: that he had done injustice to the memory of these two excellent men, John Wickliff and John Hufs, whose examples he revered, and in whose doctrine he determined to die. He concluded with a severe rebuke to the clergy; the depravity of whose manners, he said, was now very notorious.

Poggius, the Florentine, being a man of some eminence, and an adversary to the cause of Jerom, his testimony is to be the more regarded: in a letter to his friend at Rome he says, *To confess the truth, I never knew the art of speaking carried so near the model of ancient eloquence. It was amazing with what force of expression, with what fluency of language, and with what excellent reasoning Jerom*

answered.

answered his adversaries; nor was I less struck with the gracefulness of his manner, the dignity of his action, and the firmness and constancy of his whole behaviour. It grieved me to think so great a man was labouring under so atrocious an accusation. For myself I enquire not into the merits of it; resting satisfied with the decision of my superiors. He said, if that holy martyr John Hufs used the clergy with disrespect, his censures were not levelled at them as priests, but as wicked men. He saw with indignation those revenues which had been designed for charitable ends, expended upon pageantry and riot. He had been confined three hundred and forty days in a dungeon; the severity of which usage he complained of, but in the language of a great and good man.

They proceeded to pass sentence upon him, by which he was condemned for having held the errors of Wickliff, and for apostatizing. He was immediately, in the usual stile of popish affectation, delivered over to the civil power. As he was a layman he had no ceremony of degradation to undergo. They prepared a cap of paper painted with red devils, and it being put upon his head, he said, Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he suffered death for me, a most miserable sinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon his head, and I, for his sake, will willingly wear this cap.

In going to the place of execution he sung some hymns; and when he came to the place where John Hufs had been burnt, he kneeled down and prayed fervently. He was bound

to a post, where they had made an image of John Hufs. When the executioner went behind him to set fire to the pile, Come here, said the martyr, and kindle it before my eyes, for if I had been afraid of it, I had not come to this place, having had so many opportunities offered me to escape it.

The city of Constance admired his constancy and christian magnanimity in suffering death. At the giving up the ghost, he said, Hanc animam in flammis offero, Christe, tibi. This soul of mine in flames of fire, O Christ, I offer thee.

From this account of the trial and death of Jerom, it seems as if the leading members of the council were determined, at any rate, to put him to death. We cannot otherwise see the reason of bringing him to a second hearing. They had already obtained a triumph over him.

A second trial made that again doubtful, which his recantation had decided in their favour. But it hath been the notorious practice of the church of Rome, in her dealings with those they reckon capital offenders, to put them first to shame, and afterwards to death.

Wickliff, Hufs and Jerom of Prague and Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, suffered greatly for maintaining the doctrines of the gospel, in order to deliver us from the darkness and tyrannical power of popery. Wickliff was first persecuted, but the three last were burnt to death for the cause of religion.

The Wicklivites in England, and the

the Hussites in Bohemia, were very numerous : there was little difference in their doctrine, and the severity which the council of Constance had shewn to Wickliff, Hufs, and Jerom, greatly offended the majority of the people of both nations.

It is to be much lamented that ignorance, impiety and a contempt of the gospel prevail greatly at this day ; particularly that those in our island in prosperous circumstances and high stations, give so bad an example to inferiors and to their own servants.

May God pour out his spirit and give an earnest desire to hear and attend to the gospel, that it may be the power of God to their salvation thro' our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Life of MARTIN LUTHER, D. D. the famous Reformer in Germany ; who being an Augustine-Monk, separated from the Church of Rome, about the year 1517, preached and wrote against their errors, and was the Founder of a general Reformation from Popery. He was born at Islebon, in Saxony, in 1483, and died there in 1546, aged sixty-three Years.

THE conduct of the dignified clergy throughout all Europe, had long given great scandal to the world. The bishops are said to have been grossly ignorant ; they seldom resided in their dioceses, except to riot at high festivals : and all the effect

their residence could have, was to corrupt others by their ill example.

They followed the courts of princes, and aspired to the greatest offices. And the abbots and monks, as history tells us, were wholly given up to luxury and idleness. We are told that the inferior clergy were no better ; and, not having places of retreat to conceal their vices in, as the monks had, they became of more public notoriety.

We are also told, that all ranks of the clergy were so despised and hated that the world was very apt to be prejudiced against their doctrines, for the sake of the men whose interest it was to support them. And the worship of God was so defiled with much gross superstition ; that, without great inquiries, all ranks of men were easily convinced that the church stood in great need of a reformation.

This corruption was more evident when the works of the fathers began to be read ; in which the difference between the former and latter ages of the church very evidently appeared. A blind superstition had come in the room of true piety ; and when by its means the wealth and interest of the clergy were highly advanced, the popes had upon that established their tyranny ; under which not only the meaner people, but even the crowned heads themselves had long groaned.

All these things providentially concurred to make way for the advancement of the reformation.

Wickliff, Hufs, and others, had sowed the seeds of the reformation, which Luther nourished with so much warmth

warmth, that they shot up with amazing vigour.

The scandalous extolling of the pope's indulgences and pardons, gave the first occasion to Luther to inquire into the doctrines of the church of Rome, and the selling them in a public manner gave him so great offence that he published many propositions against them.

MARTIN LUTHER was born at Isleben, a town in the county of Mansfield, in the circle of Upper-Saxony, on the tenth of November, 1483. His father's name was John Luther, a refiner of metals; and his mother was named Margaret Lindeman; she was eminent for her piety, for the fear of God, and for being much given to prayer.

His parents trained him up in the knowledge and fear of God, and sent him to school; and though at this time the darkness of popery had much obscured the light of the gospel, yet it pleased God to preserve in the schools the catechisms, containing the principles of religion, the use of singing psalms, and some forms of prayer.

When Luther was fourteen years of age he was sent to the public school of Magdeburg, where he continued one year. When he had finished his grammar studies, he was sent to the university of Erfurt in Thuringia, where he was admitted master of arts in 1503, being then twenty years old. He chiefly applied to the study of the civil law, and intended to practice at the bar; from which he was

diverted by an uncommon event. As he was walking in the fields with a friend, he was struck by a thunder-bolt, which threw him to the ground, and killed his companion: whereupon Luther resolved to withdraw from the world, and enter into the order of the Hermits of St. Augustine. He made his profession in the monastery of Erfurt, where he afterwards took priests orders.

After this Luther falling sick, and being threatened with death, an old priest came to visit him, and said, *Sir, be of good courage, your disease is not mortal: God will raise you up to afford comfort to many others.* Which also came to pass; who largely discoursed with him about justification by faith, and explained the articles of the creed to him, much to his edification.

He then perceived the meaning of St. Paul's words, where he says, *we are justified by faith.* He then consulted the expositions of many writers upon that apostle, and saw through the vanity of those interpretations which he had read before, and were taught by the schoolmen. He compared the sayings and examples of the apostles; and also studied Augustine's works, wherein he found the doctrine of justification by faith confirmed. He likewise read the books of Occam, which he preferred before those of Thomas Aquinas and Scotus.

In 1508, the university of Wittenburg, in the duchy of Saxony, was established under the direction of Staupitius, whose good opinion of Lu-

Luther occasioned him to send for him from Erfurt to Wittenburgh, where he taught philosophy, and began to examine the divinity then taught in the schools.

Three years after he was sent to Rome on an affair of the convents of the Augustines quarreling with their vicar-general, and Luther was chosen by the monks to maintain their cause at Rome, where he observed the behaviour of the [pope, and the manners of the Roman clergy: He heard mass said by them at Rome in such a manner, that he detested them; and at the communion-table he heard courtisans boast of their wickedness. Luther was successful in his business at Rome, for which he was made doctor and professor of divinity on his return to Wittenburg.

Staupitius was very desirous that he should take the degree of doctor: He said to him, *that God had many things to bring to pass in his church by him.* Luther was graduated doctor at the expence of Frederic elector of Saxony, who *had heard him preach, well understood the quietness of his spirit, diligently considered the vehemency of his words, and had in singular admiration those profound matters which in his sermons he rightly and exactly explained.*

After this, he began to expound the epistle to the Romans and the Psalms, where he shewed the difference between the law and the gospel: He refuted the great error of justification by works, that was then predominant in the schools, and set forth in their sermons: And his behaviour agreed

N^o 12.

with his doctrine; his words seemed to come from his heart, and not from his lips only. Then he began to study the Greek and Hebrew languages, that, by drawing the doctrine from the very fountain, he might declare his judgment with more authority.

We come now to the tempestuous times between the Reformed and the Romanists. The year 1517 was the 356th from the reformation of religion in France by the Waldenses; and 146th from the ministry of John Huss, who opposed the errors of popery in Bohemia, and the 36th year from the condemnation of doctor Wessalia, who taught at Worms. The papal power was very extensive and seemed very strongly established, when on a sudden such a contest arose, as ended in a great part to Europe's separating from the church of Rome, and afterwards in their protesting against the errors and incroachments of that church.

Valdo was the founder of the Waldenses abovementioned. He began to spread his doctrine at Lions in France, from whence he was banished, and retired with his followers to the mountains of Savoy. They believed that prayers for the dead were useless and superstitious; they denied the authority of priests, and did not regard confession. They led pure and holy lives, and asserted that they were the true church, and that the church of Rome held and taught a great number of errors.

The Romish priests called the Waldenses heretics, and their priests were:

5 C

per-

persecuted: Their posterity now inhabit the valleys of Piedmont, called the Vaudois.

Pope Leo X. succeeded Julius II. in 1513. The magnificent church of St. Peter at Rome was begun by Julius II. and required very large sums to finish it; but Leo was greatly desirous of having it compleated, notwithstanding he had contracted many debts before his pontificate, and the treasure of the apostolic chamber was exhausted.

To bear the expence of finishing that fine edifice, Leo had recourse to some extraordinary means of raising money, which he was advised to do by selling indulgences; this method the court of Rome on former occasions had experienced to be to her advantage, in raising troops and money against the Turks.

Leo therefore, in 1517, published general indulgences through all Europe, in favour of those who would contribute any sum to the building of St. Peter's church.

Several persons were sent into different countries to preach up, and put off these indulgences, and to receive money for them.

The collectors persuaded the people, that those who gave to the value of about ten shillings sterling, should at their pleasure deliver one soul from the pains of purgatory: but, if it was less, they preached that it would profit them nothing.

The pope employed the Dominicans in this scandalous work in Germany, at which the Augustinians were sorely disgusted, and pretended that the office of retailing indulgences be-

longed to them. Tezelius a dominican openly sold the pope's indulgences about the country.

Luther was greatly offended at the impious sermons of this shameless dominican; and being zealously desirous to maintain true religion, he published ninety-five propositions against indulgences, which so enraged Tezelius, that he declaimed against Luther, and published contrary propositions, and even burnt openly Luther's propositions and the sermon he had wrote against indulgences. This caused the students of Wittenburg also to burn his propositions.

Some say, that Leo X. (whose fordid traffic, to which he reduced the distribution of indulgences, gave birth to Luther's reformation) spoke honorably of this Reformer at the beginning.

Tezelius composed fifty propositions about the authority of the pope, which he said *was supreme and above the universal church, and a council: That there are many catholic truths, which are not in the holy Scriptures; that the truths defined by the pope are catholic; and that his judgment in matters of faith is infallible.*

Luther wrote with great moderation in the beginning of this important dispute; but Tezelius treated him with much bitterness, as an heresiarch or arch-heretic.

The former had great parts and knowledge: the latter was so ignorant that he could not write his own answer, which was said to be drawn up for him by Conradus Wimpina, the divinity professor at Francfort.

Lu-

Luther was protected by the elector of Saxony; but Tezelius had more authority by his offices, under the pope, of commissioner and inquisitor; tho' he was a man of such profligate morals that he had been condemned to die for adultery at Inspruck, and was pardoned at the intercession of the elector of Saxony.

Tezelius stirred up the archbishop of Magdeburg, and others, against Luther, who boldly answered all their writings.

The emperor Maximilian, on the fifth of August, 1518, wrote to pope Leo X. and desired him to stop these dangerous disputes, by his authority; assuring him that he would execute in the empire whatever his holiness should appoint.

The pope ordered the auditor of the apostolic chamber to cite Luther to appear at Rome within sixty days, that he might give an account of his doctrine to the auditor, and the master of the palace, to whom he had committed the judgment of the cause.

The pope, on the twenty-third of August, wrote a letter to the elector of Saxony, desiring him to give Luther no protection, but to put him into the hands of cardinal Cajetan, his legate in Germany: assuring him that if Luther was innocent he would send him back absolved; and if guilty, he would pardon him upon his repentance.

The elector of Saxony was unwilling that Luther should appear personally at Rome; and the university of Wittenburg interceded with the Pope, who consented that the matter should be tried before Cardinal Catejan in

Germany. This prelate was a dominican, yet Luther met him at Augsbourg, in the month of October. Catejan asserted the authority of the Pope, and said that he was above a council. Luther denied it, and alledged the authority of the university of Paris. Luther delivered Catejan a formal protestation, in the presence of four imperial counsellors and a notary; wherein he declared, *That he had only sought after truth, and would not retract, without being convinced he was wrong: that he was satisfied he had advanced nothing contrary to the holy scriptures, the doctrine of the fathers, decretals of the popes, and right reason: that he had advanced nothing but what was sound, true and catholic: and that he would submit himself to the great determination of the church.*

The legate threatened Luther with the censures of the church if he would not retract, and sign his recantation. Luther knew that Catejan had orders to seize him, if he would not submit; and, therefore, on the sixteenth of October, he made an act of appeal, before a notary, wherein he vindicated himself, and declared, that he was oppressed and injured, and obliged to appeal from the Pope; for which purpose he demanded letters of mission; and protested he would pursue his appeal.

Luther told the legate, that as he had not deserved his censures, so he disregarded them; and then returned to Wittenburg, where he continued safe under the protection of the elector of Saxony; notwithstanding the legate desired that prince to send Luther to Rome,

Rome, or banish him out of his dominions.

But he was powerfully supported by the university of Wittenburgh, where he continued to teach the same doctrines, and sent a challenge to all the inquisitors to dispute with him there, under the sanction of a safe-conduct from his prince, and the most respectable hospitality from the university.

The Pope privately sought the life of Luther, who had published the declaration of his meaning in the propositions against indulgences, which he dedicated to the Pope.

He also published sermons concerning the virtue of excommunication, penance and preparation for the holy supper, with a meditation on our Saviour's passion. His doctrine spread, and gained new adherents every day; particularly, Zuinglius in Switzerland, Melancthon, Corolostadius, and Erasmus.

Melancthon wrote to Erasmus in these terms, *Martin Luther, who has a very great esteem for you, wishes for your approbation.* The reputation of Erasmus was so great, that if he had declared for Luther, he had carried almost all Germany with him: but Erasmus neither accused nor defended Luther, though he acknowledged that he recommended very excellent things which he wished had been done with more moderation.

Luther wrote to Erasmus, *to acknowledge him as a brother in Jesus Christ.* And Erasmus wrote to Luther, that his books made a great noise at Louvain; and that by excusing him he had made himself suspected; he

calls Luther, *dearest brother in Christ*: and concludes his letter with a prayer to Jesus Christ to communicate a larger portion of his spirit upon Luther, for his glory, and the good of mankind.

All this while Luther never thought of any alteration in any ceremonies; much less such a reformation and scrutiny into ceremonies as followed. He offered to be silent, but his adversaries continued to write against him, so that the disputes daily increased instead of being ended.

The Franciscans published two books against Luther, wherein they accused him of denying the supremacy of the Pope, and of maintaining that the Bohemians were better christians than those in the church of Rome. Luther refuted them, and asserted that St. Peter and the Pope were not above the apostles and bishops; since, according to St. Jerom, priests and bishops were the same thing in their primitive institution.

Frederic, elector of Saxony, was the patron and protector of Luther: but George, a prince of the same house, opposed Luther to the utmost of his power. The former desired Erasmus to give him his opinion concerning Luther; and Erasmus gave it in a jocular manner: but gravely told the archbishop of Mentz, that the monk condemned many things in the books of Luther as heretical, which were esteemed as orthodox in Bernard and Austin. Erasmus wrote also to cardinal Wolsey, that the life and conversation of Luther were universally commended and it was no small

pre-

prejudice in his favour, that his morals were unblameable, and that no reproach could be fastened upon him by calumny itself. *If I had really been at leisure, says Erasmus, to peruse his writings, I am not so conceited of my own abilities, as to pass a judgment upon the performances of so considerable a divine; though even children, in this knowing age, will boldly pronounce, that this is erroneous, and that heretical.*

Claude speaks of Luther, and wishes he had been more temperate in his way of writing; and that, with his great and invincible courage, with his ardent zeal for truth, with that unshaken constancy he ever manifested, he could have shewed a greater reserve and moderation: but these faults, which are most commonly complectional, prevent not our esteem of men, when in other respects, we perceive in them real piety and many virtuous qualifications, such as were seen to shine in Luther: and, perhaps, there was some particular necessity, at the commencement of the reformation to employ the strongest expressions, the better to awaken men from that profound slumber in which they had so long lain.

Erasmus, in 1516, wrote to Melancthon, that all the world agreed in commending the moral character of Luther; and wished that God might grant him success equal to the pains which he had taken. Melancthon was always mild and moderate, and had a sincere affection for Luther; but sometimes could not refrain from complaining of his haughty and im-

N^o XX.

perious temper, so that his best friends hardly knew how to bear with him at all times. However, Erasmus entertained hopes, that the attempts of Luther, and the great notice which had been taken of them, might at length be serviceable to true christianity.

Frederic of Saxony, one of the most virtuous and illustrious princes of the sixteenth century, was a friend to Luther and the reformation; and the protestants ought to have great reverence for his memory: when he might have been chosen emperor, he declined it. Erasmus wrote a letter to him, which was very favourable to Luther. Andrew Bodestine, from his native place called Cardostadius, defended the writings of Luther. Bucer was present when Luther maintained his doctrine before the Augustin friars at Heidelberg, and told Rhenanus, *that his sweetness in answering was admirable, and his patience in bearing incomparable; that Luther resembled the acuteness of St. Paul in resolving doubts; so that he brought them all into admiration of him, by his concise and nervous answer taken out of the storehouse of the holy scriptures.*

Luther was honourably entertained at Heidelberg by Wolfgang, the count Palatine: Erich duke of Calemberg espoused his cause, and shared in the danger and glory of all the undertakings of the emperor Maximilian, and was a great ornament to the house of Brunswick-Lunenberg. The reformation was early introduced into the lower and upper Saxony by their respective princes.

5 D

AA

A conference was appointed at Leipzig, to which Luther went, accompanied with Melancton. The dispute was carried on betwixt Luther and Eckius; thirteen propositions were extracted out of the writings of the former; the last and principal of which was against the supremacy of the pope.

This conference continued fourteen days: Luther opened it to the world by publishing a tract, intituled, *Resolutions of the propositions disputed at Leipzig*; in which he said, that Eckius had no cause to boast of the dispute, and had acknowledged that no trust ought to be put in indulgences.

Zuinglius began about this time to write against pardons and indulgences. Luther wrote a book *Of Christian liberty*: which he dedicated to the pope. He also addressed another book to the nobility of Germany, wherein he shook three of the principal bulwarks of popery, by opposing the doctrine, *That temporal magistrates were subject to the spirituality; that the pope is the only judge of the Scripture; and that he only can call a council.*

Luther shewed what things should be considered in councils; and asserted, that the pope yearly drained Germany of three millions of florins. He pointed out the necessity of reforming schools and universities; declared that heretics should be convinced by scripture, and not awed by fire; imputed the troubles of the emperor Sigismund to his breach of faith with Huss and Jerom; and exposed the inconveniencies resulting from the council of Constance.

The writings of Luther were exa-

mined at Rome, in a congregation of cardinals. They condemned forty-one propositions taken out of his works; they ordered him to appear in person at their tribunal; and agreed that his writings should be burnt.

The pope's bull was dated the 15th of June, 1520, which condemned the forty-one articles extracted from the writings of Luther, as heretical, false, and scandalous. Indulgences, the papal supremacy, freewill, purgatory, and the begging friars, were the principal things vindicated in this bull; and all christians were forbid, under the pain of excommunication, to defend any of the propositions that were thus condemned: Luther was admonished to revoke his errors by some public act, and to cause his books to be burnt within thirty days; otherwise he and his adherents should incur the punishment due to heretics.

Luther answered this bull by publishing a book called, *The captivity of Babylon*. In which he absolutely rejected indulgences: and asserted that the papacy was the kingdom of Babylon. He denied there were seven Sacraments. He affirmed, *That the Sacrament of the altar is the Testament of Jesus Christ, which he left when he died, to be given to all those who should believe in him: that this Testament is a promise of the forgiveness of our sins, confirmed by the death of the Son of God: that it is only faith in this promise which justifies, and the mass is intirely useless without that faith. He declared that the effect of baptism depended alone upon faith in the promise of Jesus Christ, of which the outward baptism is only a sign,*
sup-

supplied in infants by the faith of the church. He maintained that the remission of sins depends upon faith in the promise of Jesus Christ. He wondered that confirmation and ordination should be Sacraments, when they are no more than ecclesiastical ceremonies: neither would he allow marriage to be a sacrament, because there is no promise annexed to it, and the marriage of infidels is as binding as that of christians. And he rejected the usage of extreme unction, built upon the authority of the epistle of St. James, because he thought there was not any promise annexed to that unction.

Luther was fully persuaded of the necessity of justification by faith alone: which he looked upon as the foundation of the whole christian religion. When he first preached against the indulgences he seems not to have intended a separation from the church of Rome; but the violence of his adversaries, and the heat of the controversy, drew him so far into the dispute, that he carried it on with unparelled spirit: and came at last to fix upon those doctrines which have been ever since adhered to by the Lutheran churches with little variation.

Charles V. was crowned emperor in October 1520, and the elector of Saxony had obtained an open hearing to Luther; which the emperor appointed to be held at Worms, in January, 1521.

The diet of Worms assembled on the day appointed, when Jerom Alexander, the pope's nuncio, exerted all his interest and eloquence to persuade the emperor, and the princes of the empire, to put the bull against Lu-

ther into execution, without suffering him to appear, or hear his vindication. This diet however resolved that Luther should be summoned, and have a safe conduct; which was granted by the emperor.

The tragical end that John Hufs had met with at Constance in 1415, was remembered by the friends of Luther on this occasion. But he answered those who dissuaded him from appearing, *that he would go, though as many devils should oppose him, as there were tiles upon the houses of Worms.*

He was accompanied from Wittenburg by some divines, and one hundred horse: but took only eight horsemen into the city of Worms, where he arrived on the sixteenth of April; and when he stepped out of the coach he said, *God shall be on my side*, in the presence of a great multitude of people, whom curiosity had brought together to see the man who had made such a noise in the world.

The young reader is desired to remember that the diet is a convention of the states, or princes of the empire; the same thing in Germany and Poland, as a parliament in Great-Britain.

Some persuaded the emperor to deal with Luther as the council of Constance had done with John Hufs, but the emperor said that the public faith was not to be violated.

Luther, while he continued there, was visited by many princes, noblemen and divines. Eckius acted as prolocutor, and told Luther, that the emperor had sent for him, *to know whether he owned those books which bore*

bore his name; and if he intended to tract or maintain what was contained in them. Luther replied, with constancy; *That in some he treated only of piety and morality, in such a plain and evangelical manner, that his adversaries acknowledged they were innocent, profitable, and worthy to be read by all christians; that in others he had wrote against popery; and in a third sort against those private persons who opposed the truths which he taught; and he declared, that as a man he might err; and if any one could convince him by holy Scripture of any error, he was ready to revoke it, and burn his writings.* Eckius insisted that Luther would give a plain and direct answer, whether he would retract, or not? Luther replied, *That he was not obliged to believe the pope or his councils, because they erred in many things, and contradicted themselves; that his belief was so far settled by the text of scripture, and his conscience engaged by the word of God, that he neither could, nor would retract any thing; because it was neither safe, nor innocent, for a man to act against his conscience.*

Luther thus refused to recant at Worms, as he had done three years before at Augsburgh. The emperor ordered Luther to depart from Worms, and afterwards issued out an edict against him; but the elector of Saxony was resolved to protect him from the prosecution of the emperor and pope. Luther was purposely seized on the road by a troop of horsemen, and carried as if by violence to the castle of Wartburg, near Eisenach, where the elector concealed him ten months.

Luther called this retreat his Patmos; and wrote several useful treatises there, while his enemies employed reputed wizards to find out the place of his concealment.

The university of Wittenburg in Luther's absence, applied to the elector of Saxony to abolish the mass out of his dominions, shewing him the impiety of it, and that it was invented only four hundred years before, for the Pope's profit; to which, we are told, the prince gave them a very prudent and pious answer.

In the year 1522, Luther wrote to Melanchthon to provide him a lodging at Wittenburg; for he said, *That the translation of the bible would urge him to return:* he had translated a considerable part of the bible into the German tongue, and it was necessary for him to confer with learned men, and to have their help and assistance about it. In 1522, he printed the New-Testament in the German tongue, which he had translated while in his Patmos.

Luther laid aside his frier's habit in 1524; and married Catharine Bore, a lady of noble descent, who had formerly been a nun. In 1529, he published both his catechisms; the lesser in January, and the larger in October following.

In 1530, the emperor summoned a diet at Augsburgh, and gave the public faith for the security all men that would come to the diet to set forth an account of their belief; and the elector of Saxony appointed Luther, Justus Jonas, Pomeran and Melanchthon, to write the doctrines, which

which the Saxon churches and those which agreed with them, did profess. Luther comprehended the sum of this doctrine in seventeen articles, which being revised and methodised by Philip Melancthon, was afterwards called *The confession of Augsburch*. Luther conformed to that confession, and founded an university at Koningsburb in 1544, that the protestant religion might be introduced and established in Prussia; and all the professors were to be Lutherans.

The disturbance in Germany increasing every day, the emperor called another diet, which was held at Spiers in 1526. The emperor's deputies were for executing the edict of Worms; but the elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, were for holding a general council, and laid the foundation of an union for the reformation. The reformers obtained the name of Protestants at this diet of Spiers, on account of the public protestation they made against the errors of the church of Rome, and of appealing from the decrees of the emperor Charles V. to a general council.

Luther set out in January 1546 for his native country at Isleben, in the county of Mansfield; and at Hall in Saxony he lodged at the house of Justus Jonas: and passing over the river with Jonas and his own three sons, they were in danger of drowning, whereupon he said to Jonas, *Think you not that it would rejoice the devil very much, if you and I, and my three sons should be drowned?* He was honourably received by the count of

Mansfield, who sent an hundred horse to attend him to Isleben. He found himself very weak, but from January 29, to February 17, he preached sometimes in the church, and twice administered the Lord's supper; and ordained two to the work of the ministry: at his table he used holy conference, and was daily very fervent in his prayers.

The day before his death he dined and supped with his friends, discoursing of divers matters, and among the rest, gave his opinion that in Heaven we shall know one another, because Adam knew Eve at first sight. After supper his pain in his breast increasing, he went aside and prayed; then went to bed and slept: but about midnight being awakened with the pain, and perceiving his life was near an end, he said, *I pray that God may preserve the doctrine of his gospel among us; for the pope and the council of Trent have grievous things in hand.* After which he prayed thus, *O heavenly Father, my gracious God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou God of all consolation, I give thee hearty thanks that thou hast revealed to me thy Son Jesus Christ, whom I believe, whom I profess, whom I love, whom I glorify; whom the pope and the wicked persecute and dishonour. I beseech thee, Lord Jesus Christ, receive my soul. O heavenly father, though I be taken out of this life, and must lay down this frail body, yet I certainly know that I shall live with thee eternally, and that I cannot be taken out of thy hands: God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that*
 5 E who-

whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. "Lord, *"I render up my spirit into thy hands, and come to thee."* And again, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou, O God of truth, hast redeemed me. And so, as one falling asleep, and without any bodily pain that could be discerned, he departed this life, February 18, 1546, in the sixty-third year of his age. The elector of Saxony caused his body to be conveyed in a magnificent manner to Wittenberg, where he was honourably interred.

Luther left a widow, three sons, and two daughters. He was of a large stature; and had so sharp a sight that few could endure to look steadfastly upon him. He had a gentle and clear voice; was passionate, but soon appeased. He had an uncommon genius, a lively imagination, and was very pious: he was constant in defence of the truth, and from the confession thereof he could not be removed by either promises or threatenings.

When he was preparing for his journey to Isleben, he confessed to Melancthon that he had gone too far in the sacramentary controversy; upon which Melancthon persuaded him to explain his mind by publishing a book on that subject: but he answered. *Hereby I should bring a suspicion upon all my doctrines as faulty; but when I am dead, you may do as you see cause.* This seems to be something like retracting consubstantiation, which is the doctrine of the substan-

tial presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's-supper, together with the substance of the bread and wine; this doctrine is still maintained by the Lutherans.

Luther used to say, *that three things make a divine; meditation, prayer, and temptation. And, that these three things were to be done by a minister, to read the bible diligently, to pray earnestly, and always to be a learner. And that they were the best preachers who spoke as to babes in Christ, in an ordinary strain, popularly, and most plainly.* He said also *that in the cause of God, he was willing to undergo the hatred and violence of the whole world.*

His private life was very exemplary: at dinner and supper-time he used often to dictate sermons to others; and sometimes to correct sheets from the press.

He was very temperate both in eating and drinking: he used to fast whole days together, and sometimes to eat only a little bread and an herring. He avoided feasts as much as he could, that he might not mis-spend his time.

One saith of him, *That it was a great miracle that Luther, a poor frier, should be able to stand against the pope: And that he should prevail against him was greater: And after all, to die in peace, having so many enemies, was the greatest of all.*

And it is no less wonderful that he should escape so many dangers; for when a Jew was suborned to kill him by poison, Luther had warning of it before-hand, and the picture of the Jew

Jew sent him, whereby he knew him, and avoided the danger.

Luther writes concerning it thus, *There is here a certain Polonish Jew, that is hired with two thousand crowns to poison me. This is discovered to me by letters from my friends. He is a doctor of physick, and one that dares undertake and perform any villainy; he is of extraordinary subtlety and dexterity.*

His favourite doctrine was justification by faith alone, and not by works moral, legal, or evangelical; but it is to be observed, that he perpetually inculcated the absolute necessity of good works. And indeed Luther and other reformed Protestants, who maintain that fundamental doctrine of justification by faith alone, affirm that, where works are not to be found, there is certainly no true faith. True faith purifieth the heart, worketh by love, and over-cometh the world. Where true faith and real grace are in the soul, there will be good works; for a good tree bringeth forth good fruit.

He was powerful in prayer, and also in his sermons; and was graciously assisted by God in such a manner, that his hearers thought that he severally took notice of their particular cases and temptations. His friends asked him the cause of it. He said *That his own manifold temptations and experiences were the cause of it.*

He wrote thus concerning his own works, *Above all things I request the pious reader, and earnestly intreat him to read my books with judgment, and even with much pity. I desire him to remember that I was a frier and a mad papist, at first I was so much drowned*

in popish doctrines, that I was ready to have assisted in killing those who withdrew their obedience from the pope. I was serious in the cause, as one that trembled at the thoughts of the day of judgment, and from my heart desired to be saved.

He was by no means willing that any should be called after his name: for, said he, *the doctrine I preach is none of mine; neither did I die for any man: And we are called christians because we profess the doctrine of Christ.*

Melanchton said, *That Luther was a miracle among men: for whatsoever he saith, whatsoever he writes, pierces into the heart, and leaveth wonderful impressions on the hearts of men.*

He was of an excellent wit, of great courage, and of a magnanimous spirit. He preached God's word constantly and zealously. He spoke much against indulgences, and the pardons and bulls of the popes, sold by Texelius.

His works are printed in High-Dutch, or Latin. He translated the bible from the original into High-Dutch. He wrote several things against the pope and the use of indulgences.

Henry VIII. king of England, wrote against him in defence of the seven Sacraments; to which Luther wrote a reply. But his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians was his favourite work, which he used to call his wife.

He sets forth therein, in a scriptural and evangelical manner, the important doctrine of justification by faith, that the sinner is pardoned and accepted only on account of the righteousness.

teousness of Christ imputed to him, and received by faith alone.

He there sets forth the difference betwixt the law and the gospel; that the one serves to accuse and condemn, and is a schoolmaster to lead the sinner to Christ; and that the gospel is the remedy which discovers a way of salvation through Jesus Christ: *For the gospel is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth.* And that Christ is the Saviour and Redeemer of true believers; and his surety-righteousness, that is, his obedience and sufferings are the foundation of their pardon and acceptance with God; for Christ satisfied divine justice, and fulfilled the law for his people. He bore the curse for true believers, and he is *The end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.*

It was an act of great imprudence to publish such a collection as is in the *Colloquia Mensalia*; the subject of which is Luther's table-talk. Luther was not the author of that book, and the publication of it was the effect of an inconsiderate zeal.

The doctrine of this eminent divine, and great reformer, extended itself through Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and other countries. In general it agrees with almost all the protestant churches, saving in some few particulars. He was very zealous in maintaining the doctrine of justification by faith: for he believed it to be a most important doctrine, and said that it was an article that shewed a standing or falling church. He reduced the sacraments to two, namely, Baptism and

the Lord's Supper. He maintained the mass to be no sacrifice, and exploded the adoration of the host, auricular confession, meritorious works, indulgences, the worship of images, monastical vows, and the celibacy of the clergy. He opposed the doctrine of free-will, and maintained the doctrine of predestination. His first design, as before said, was only to preach and write against the use and abuse of indulgences, which very much offending the court of Rome, he proceeded from one point of doctrine to another, till a great number of the nobility, clergy, and laity, joining with him, the reformation of whole electorates and kingdoms was effected.

The protestant churches are much indebted to Luther, the instrument in the hands of God, for delivering us from popish darkness and errors. John Huss and Jerom of Prague were martyrs for the doctrines of the gospel, and Luther, after many difficulties, was honoured with success, in their being received and maintained in several countries.

May protestants be blessed with grace to value and improve the gospel that was conveyed to them through blood and great opposition. Amen.

JOHN CALVIN.

THIS eminent Reformer was born on the tenth of July, 1509, at Noyon, a city of France, in

godly persons, who held their private meetings at Paris. Calvin laid aside all his other studies, and wholly applied himself to that of divinity, and was prospered greatly therein. He was esteemed in the French congregations as one of the most able and best qualified men to teach and defend the doctrines of the reformation, which had lately been introduced into that kingdom. Nicholas Cope was then rector of the university of Paris, who had a speech to make on the first of November, 1532, in which, by the advice and assistance of Calvin, he spoke about religion more purely and clearly than usual.

This greatly displeased the members of Sorbonne and the parliament of Paris, insomuch that the rector was summoned to appear before them, but he fled out of the kingdom to Basil.

They also sent to apprehend Calvin in the college of Ferretet, but he escaped out of the window by the help of the sheets, and they seized his papers, among which were letters found that discovered several of his correspondents.

It pleased God to appease this storm against Calvin by the pious and prudent diligence of the queen of Navarre, the only sister of king Francis I. a princess of extraordinary talents, and much esteemed for her piety, wit, and the productions of her pen. She married, in 1527, Henry d'Albert II. king of Navarre, and would gladly have introduced into his dominions the reformed religion. The refor-

mers were protected under her patronage; and she wrote a book in French rhyme, called, *The mirror of the skillful soul*: which was censured by the college of Sorbonne. No mention was made in it either of male or female saints, merits, or any other purgatory than the blood of Jesus Christ. Many of the reformed clergy were maintained in schools at her expence, not only in France but also in Germany. She took extraordinary care to preserve and secure those that were in danger for the protestant religion, and to succour the refugees at Strasburg and Geneva. She sent for Calvin to court, treated him with great respect, and heard him gladly.

This princess was poisoned at Paris in 1572, a little before the bloody massacre in that city. Henry IV. of France was the son of this queen: this prince was a Calvinist by profession, which religion he loved: but temptation of a crown prevailed upon him to renounce the reformed religion, and to declare himself a Romanist.

Gratitude would not permit him to destroy the Calvinists, to whom he was indebted for his crown, and therefore he cherished and protected the protestants. It may not be thought improper to have given this short account of the family of Navarre, who protected Calvin, and promoted the reformed religion as taught by him.

After Calvin escaped out of the window from Paris, as before related, he retired to Xaintonge, where he gained the friendship of Lewis du Tillet, canon of Angoulesme, at whose request he composed christian exhortations

tions, which were read as homilies in some parishes, to accustom the people gradually to search after the truth. He went from Angoulême to Poitiers, where he drew after him new disciples, to whom he administered the sacrament in caves and grottoes.

He paid Stapulensis a visit at Nerac in Gascony, and returned to Paris in 1534, at the time that Rouffel and Coraldus were banished that city, and orders were issued for apprehending the reformers. Servetus was then at Paris, where that unhappy man dispersed his books against the sacred trinity; in which he was opposed by Calvin, who agreed to meet him: but Servetus would not appear at the appointed conference, being afraid of the very sight of Calvin.

Francis I. persecuted the reformers, and commanded eight of them to be burnt alive in the four principal parts of Paris.

This persecution made Calvin resolve to quit France as soon as he had published a treatise at Orleans concerning the Psychopannychia, against the error of the soul's sleeping after leaving the body to the day of judgment.

He chose Basil for the place of his retreat, where he was accompanied by his brother, Anthony Calvin, and Lewis du Tillet.

He soon contracted a particular friendship with Grynæus and Capito, with whom he studied Hebrew. He endeavoured to conceal himself, yet was forced to publish his institutions; which work greatly contributed to his reputation, and was dedicated to

Francis I. on August 1, 1536. It was afterwards translated into many of the European languages.

When Calvin had published this book, he took a journey into Italy, to wait on the duchess of Ferrara, the daughter of Lewis XII. She was a princess of exemplary piety, and a favourer of the reformation.

Calvin endeavoured to confirm her in the truths of the gospel; and on this account she had a great esteem for him all his life, and even after his death honoured his memory.

He soon set out for Basil, and was obliged, on account of the war, to go through the duke of Savoy's dominions.

This seemed a particular direction of providence, that designed him for Geneva; where he was kindly entertained by William Farrel, who prevailed with him, with great difficulty, to continue there; for when Farrel saw that persuasions alone would not prevail, he said to him, *Behold, I declare to you in the name of the Almighty God, that unless you will here become fellow-labourer in the work of the Lord, his curse will be upon you, as seeking your own, rather than the things of Jesus Christ.*

Calvin being much affected with these awful expressions of Farrel, who was seconded by Viret, submitted to the judgment of the presbytery and magistrates, by whose votes, together with the hearty approbation and consent of the people, he was chosen preacher and divinity professor. He complied with the latter, and would have declined the former, but he was obliged

obliged to undertake both functions ; which was in the year of our Lord 1536.

This year was also remarkable for a stricter league between Bern and Geneva, as also for the establishment of the gospel at Lausanne, where a free disputation was held between the Romanists and Protestants, at which Calvin was present.

Calvin was to the Genevese the father of their liberty, and the former of their church. The people solemnly agreed to a form of faith, and publicly renounced popery. He also compiled a short Catechism, which contained the principal points of religion, and was taught in Geneva ; and he endeavoured to reconcile the principal families to one another, which had been divided into several factions.

Hooker, in his preface to his ecclesiastical Polity, gives a great character of Calvin, as head of the Genevan discipline : *A founder it had, whom, for mine own part, I think incomparably the wisest man that ever the French did enjoy, since it enjoyed him.*

His bringing up was in the study of the civil law. Divine knowledge he gathered not by bearing or reading so much as by teaching others ; for though thousands were debtors to him, as touching knowledge in that kind ; yet he to none, but only God, the author of that blessed fountain, the book of life ; and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning, which were his guides : till being occasioned to leave France, he fell at length upon Geneva, which city the bishop and clergy thereof had a little before forsaken, as

some do affirm ; being of likelihood frightened with the peoples sudden attempt for the abolishment of the popish religion.

At the coming of Calvin thither, the form of their civil regiment was popular, as it continueth to this day ; neither king, nor duke, nor noblemen, have any authority or power over them ; but officers chosen by the people yearly out of themselves, to order all things with public consent. For spiritual government they had no laws at all agreed upon ; but did what the pastors of their souls could by persuasion win them unto.

Calvin considered how dangerous it was that the whole estate of that church should hang still on so slender a thread, as the liking of an ignorant multitude, if it hath power to change whatsoever itself liketh.

Wherefore taking unto him two of the other ministers, for more countenance of the action, albeit the rest were all against him, they moved and persuaded the people to bind themselves by solemn oath, first, never to admit the papacy among them again ; and secondly, to live in obedience unto such orders concerning the exercise of their religion, and the form of their ecclesiastical government, as those their true and faithful ministers of God's word had, agreeably to scripture, set down to that end and purpose.

The doctrines of the gospel were now entertained, and popery renounced, in Geneva ; but the profane courses they had been indulged in by the popish clergy, and the factious spirit in the great families, were not removed.

Therefore Calvin, assisted by his colleagues Farel and Caroldus, declared that

that both their gentle admonitions and serious exhortations being disregarded, they could not administer the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to persons at variance among themselves, and so much averse to ecclesiastical discipline.

Moreover the church of Geneva made use of leavened bread in the communion. They had also removed the baptismal fonts out of the churches; and abolished all festivals except the Lord's day, which was to be sanctified according to the fourth commandment.

But the churches of the canton of Bern disapproved of these three things; and by an act made in the synod of Lausanne, required that the use of unleavened bread or wafers, the baptismal fonts, and the festivals, should be re-established in Geneva.

Calvin, and the ministers of Geneva, were not willing to comply with these things, and desired a synod might be called at Zurick.

The syndics or magistrates of Geneva, summoned the people in 1538, and Calvin, Farrel, and Courant, presented themselves before the council, offering to make good their confession of faith. The syndics, being Romanists in their hearts, favoured the discontented party; and the council, under pretence of preserving the privileges and liberties of the city; and because Calvin and his two colleagues would not conform to the custom of Bern, in celebrating the communion, made an order to enjoin these three worthy servants of Jesus Christ to leave the city in three days.

When this decree was brought to
N^o 20.

Calvin, he said, *Truly, if I had served men, I should have had an ill reward: but it is well that I have served him who doth always perform to his servants what he hath once promised.*

Calvin had no maintenance from the city, and lived at his own expence. He went to Basil, and from thence to Strasburgh, where Bucer and Capito gave him many marks of their esteem. He was also carested by Hedio, and other pious and learned men, who procured him permission from the magistrates to set up a French church, of which he became the pastor, and had a competent maintenance allowed him there. He was also made professor of divinity, which frustrated the expectation of the see of Rome; as Calvin settled in a new place; and a new church was erected for the former subverted.

While Calvin was absent from Geneva cardinal Sodolet, bishop of Carpentras, wrote an eloquent letter to the inhabitants of that city, to exhort them to return into the bosom of the Romish church.

Calvin answered the letter in 1539; in which he manifested his affection for the church of Geneva, and disappointed the views which the cardinal had in his fine artful letter to that state.

The popes and ecclesiastics would have been so far from abandoning their beloved interests, founded upon ignorance and superstition, that they would have willingly established a bloody inquisition, not only in Italy and Spain, but in other countries, which would have tended to smother and extinguish

those lights of the gospel that began then to sparkle.

But it pleased God that Lutheranism gained such strength and stability, that it prevented the tyranny of an inquisition in Germany: and the reformation of Calvin secured the liberty of the other countries.

Luther, Calvin, Bucer, and other bright stars which shone in the reformed churches, were, by the blessing of God, made instruments of removing the darkness and ignorance of popery. The divines at Strasburgh desired Calvin to assist at the diet the emperor had called at Worms and Ratisbon in 1541, to see if it was possible to reconcile the differences in religion. He appeared there with Bucer, and conferred with Melancthon, who called him his divine.

The time was now come wherein God designed to shew mercy to his church at Geneva by establishing it, and by recalling Calvin. The Syndics who had promoted the decree of his banishment, were dead or banished; and the people were not before so willing to be rid of their faithful and pious pastor as they were now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment, and were unwilling to part with him, if serious and irresistible solicitations had not been used.

One of the town ministers, who saw in what manner the people were inclined for the recalling of Calvin, gave him notice of their affection in this sort: *The senate of two hundred being assembled, they all desire Calvin, that good and learned man, the minister of Christ.*

When Calvin understood this, he praised God, and judged it was the call of heaven. He said, *It is marvellous in our eyes; for the stone which the builders refused, was made the head of the corner.*

And this scripture seems to have been fulfilled at that time, *When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him,* Prov. xvi. 7. In his absence, he had persuaded them, with whom he was able to prevail, that though he more approved of common bread to be used in the eucharist; yet they should rather accept the other, than cause any trouble in the church about it.

The people saw that the name of Calvin was revered every day more and more; and that, with his fame, their infamy was also spread, who had ejected him with such rashness and folly. *Besides, as Hooker says, it was not unlikely but that his credit in the world might many ways stand the poor town in great stead: as the truth is, their minister's foreign estimation hath been the best stake in their hedge. But whatever secret respects were likely to move them, for contenting of their minds, Calvin returned, as it had been another Tully, to his own home.*

He re-entered Geneva on the 13th of September 1541, to the inexpressible satisfaction both of the people and of the magistracy; for the senate acknowledged the wonderful goodness and mercy of God towards them, in restoring him to them again. And the senate of Strasburgh having decreed that after a time he should return to them again, that of Geneva by their con-

constant application so far prevailed as to have the decree reversed, yet that the pension they had settled upon Calvin should be continued; but he could never be persuaded to receive it, for he seemed not to value the riches of this world.

He being thus restored to his church, and perceiving that the discipline agreeable to scripture was necessary, he intimated to them, that he could not comfortably exercise his ministry among them, unless, together with the doctrines of the gospel, they would establish the presbyterian government for the well regulating of the church.

In that government the pastor or minister of the church is the first elder, and others of the church are chosen to be lay-elders, and to have the government of the church in all matters of discipline. They also choose deacons, who are laymen: and their province is to take care of the poor of the church; and also to give their advice in the consistory, session or meeting of the church.

This model of church-government was drawn up and received by the church at Geneva, as agreeable to the holy scriptures.

After the same manner Mr. John Knox, an eminent minister of the gospel, and of an heroic spirit, settled presbyterian government in Scotland, which hath been wonderfully preserved to this time, notwithstanding the persecution and opposition made to it from Scotch Episcopalians, who have been also enemies to the protestant succession.

In Scotland the government of every particular church and parish is in the minister, lay-elders, and deacons, that sit in general in the session or consistory; twelve parishes, more or less, constitute a Presbytery, which is chiefly attended by the ministers in that division, but the lay-elders have a right to be present. These meetings are commonly every month: five or six presbyters, more or less, make a synod, which meets twice a year; and the national synod, or general assembly once a year. There may be an appeal from any of the three judicatories to the national assembly. There are near one thousand ministers in Scotland.

Calvin wrote a catechism in French and Latin, not much different from the former but larger, divided into questions and answers, which was well done, and met with such approbation and entertainment abroad, that it was translated into English, German, Dutch and Spanish, and even into Hebrew by Termelius, and into Greek by Henry Stevens.

He was a very diligent and labourious minister; every other Sabbath he preached twice. He read his divinity lectures on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. Every Thursday he assisted in the consistory, for the exercise of church discipline. On Friday he read a lecture for explaining some difficult places of scripture.

Moreover he wrote many commentaries on the holy scriptures, and answers to the adversaries to the truths of the gospel. He also wrote many letters of advice and directions in ma-

ny

ny important affairs, so that we may wonder how one man was able to go thro' so much business.

Calvin was greatly pleased with his colleagues Farel and Viret; for it was a very pleasant sight to see three men, so famous in the church, and agreeing in the work of the Lord, and yet so excelling in several gifts of the spirit.

Farel excelled in a certain greatness of mind, whose thundering sermons were often heard with trembling, and whose ardent prayers would appear to lift a man up into heaven.

Viret excelled in sweet eloquence, so that he seemed to chain his hearers to his lips.

Calvin was admired for his great judgment in divine things, whose grave and pithy sentences made a deep impression upon the minds of his hearers. Beza said, *That the gifts of these three men meeting in one, would make a complete preacher.*

Besides the above-mentioned labours of Calvin, he had the charge and care of a family, and of many foreign affairs; for God so blessed his ministry, that from all parts of the christian world he was sought to, partly for advice in matters of religion, and partly to hear him preach.

In his time there was in that city an Italian, an English, and a Spanish church, besides the churches of Geneva, so that the city of Geneva seemed too little to entertain all that came to it for his sake.

Both the ministers and people of Geneva engaged themselves to a per-

petual observance of the form of discipline settled by Calvin; tho' he was opposed, yet by his constancy, joined with much moderation, he overcame all difficulties, and shewed that the true doctrine and church-discipline were to be taken from the word of God. He surmounted all oppositions at Geneva, and also governed the protestants in France, who almost all adhered to the doctrine of Calvin, and received ministers from Geneva to preach in their congregations.

Calvin clearly rejected not only transubstantiation, but also consubstantiation; the former is maintained by the papists, namely, that the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's supper are changed into Christ's real body and blood: the latter by the Lutherans, namely, that the body and blood of Christ are substantially present, together with the substance of the bread and wine.

Calvin asserts that the body of Jesus Christ is really and substantially present in Heaven, and that it is united to us only by faith, in a spiritual manner, by the incomprehensible working of the Holy Spirit. He affirms, that these words, *This is my body*, ought to be understood in a figurative manner, and that the sign is there put for the thing signified, as when it is said, "This rock is Christ, and the Lamb is the passover, and circumcision is the covenant."

He did not differ much from Luther in other points of doctrine. He held the same principles as to the imputed righteousness of Christ, and our justification by faith receiving and relying

lying upon Christ, his blood and righteousness.

He also added, the impossibility of the faithful falling totally and finally from grace.

He likewise condemned more fully than the Lutherans the invocation of saints, the worship and use of images, celibacy of priests, holy-days, the sacrifice of the mass, the adoration of the eucharist, indulgences, the sacraments, except the eucharist and baptism, and in general all superstitious rites and ceremonies.

Calvin was intimidated at nothing, and settled the peace of Geneva. It would be difficult to believe, that in the midst of violent agitations at home he could take so much care as he did of the churches abroad, in France, England, Germany and Poland; and write so many books and letters. But there are incontestible proofs of it; for he lived in continual action, and almost constantly with his pen in his hand, even when sickness confined him to his bed, arising from his zeal for the continual good of the churches.

He was a man on whom God had conferred extraordinary talents, a great deal of wit, an exquisite judgment, a retentive memory, an able, and indefatigable and elegant pen, an extensive knowledge, and a great zeal for the truths of the gospel; but he could not escape slander abroad, nor opposition at home.

He was full thirty years old when he married Idelette de Bure, the widow of John Stordeur, a native of Liege, and was a means of her con-

N^o 20

version. He married at Strasburgh in 1540, by the advice of his friend Martin Bucer. She had children by a former husband, and also brought Calvin a son, who died before his father. She died in the beginning of 1543, to the great grief of Calvin, who continued a widower all the rest of his life.

The year 1545 was rendered infamous by that cruel and abominable edict which the parliament of Aquitain issued against the pious Waldenses, whereby the most unparalled barbarities were exercised upon those poor religious people, without any distinction of age or sex, even to the very burning of their towns.

The Waldenses or Vaudois were founded by Peter Vaud or Vaido, a rich merchant of Lions in France, in 1160, who found out several errors in the church of Rome, and began a reformation. The clergy excommunicated him, and persecuted some of his disciples, which occasioned them to quit Lions, and fly to the valleys of Piedmont, which have been ever since inhabited by their descendents, who still adhere to their doctrine. We have mentioned them in Luther's life.

Calvin was greatly afflicted for the sufferings of the Waldenses, to whom he had wrote consolatory letters a short time before, and sent them faithful pastors for instructing them in the doctrines and precepts of the gospel.

He wrote to the reformed in France to convince them that they acted in a pernicious manner; who pretended,

5 H

It

It was no sin to be present at the popish services, if they kept the true religion in their hearts. He told them, it was error condemned by the ancient fathers: and he strengthened his own opinion with those of Melancton, Bucer and Peter Martyr.

The city of Geneva had been visited by the plague, and very unhappy divisions began there in 1546. Calvin preached against the wickedness of the people, and at all times did the duty of a faithful minister.

In 1548, he wrote his *Antidote against the seven sessions of the council of Trent*. He also wrote commentaries upon six of St. Paul's epistles. When Calvin returned to Geneva, the senate published a decree, empowering the ministers to require of every family an account of their faith: and they ordered that no holy-days should be kept but that the sabbath be religiously observed.

Servetus, a Spaniard, greatly disturbed the protestant churches by two books which he wrote against the Trinity. He studied the civil law at Toulouse, in France, and it does not appear that there were any of his pernicious and blasphemous opinions received in France, till he published his books. Calvin kept up a long correspondence with Servetus, whom he endeavoured to reclaim from his errors.

Servetus had many years disturbed the churches by dispersing his erroneous books: he came to Geneva, where he was imprisoned, prosecuted, and put to death.

His accuser was Nicholas de la Fontaine: Servetus was brought to the

bar, and thirty-eight interrogatories were exhibited against him. The trial was postponed, and the magistrates of Geneva ordered Calvin to extract several propositions to thirty-eight articles, which the ministers of the church of Geneva declared to be full of impious blasphemies against God, and of other mad and prophane errors, altogether repugnant to the word of God, and the orthodox principles of that church.

The Helvetian churches being consulted, the Cantons declared that Servetus had revived the impious errors with which Satan formerly disturbed the church, and that he was an intolerable monster.

He was condemned to death, and to be burned alive with his books: which sentence was executed, and he died without shewing any signs of repentance.

The number of strangers visibly increased in Geneva, and the English were allowed to found a church of their own nation in the city: but when queen Elizabeth came to the throne, and revived the protestant religion, the English thanked the magistrates for their protection, and returned to their own country.

In 1550 Galeacius Caracciola, the noble marquis of Vico, in the kingdom of Naples, left his estate and family, and withdrew to Geneva, on account of religion.

Before his arrival, some persons spread a report that he came as a spy; but his great piety and exemplary behaviour gave an evident proof of the contrary.

Calvin

Calvin was afflicted with a quartan ague about the end of the year 1558, which continued about eight months: and this illness, and his indefatigable labours and study, so much weakened his body that he never intirely recovered his health again: yet he went on in his preaching and in his lectures, and was always employed night and day in dictating and writing letters; often saying, *That nothing was more troublesome to him than an idle life.* At this time he published the last edition of his institutions in French and Latin, and his excellent Commentary upon Isaiah.

The number of youth, who came from all parts to study at Geneva, increased so much that the old school was not large enough to contain them: the council therefore resolved to erect a new college for seven classes, and three professors of Hebrew, Greek, and philosophy, besides Divinity lectures, which Calvin read himself, to whom was joined the famous Theodore Beza.

In the year 1563 Calvin's disease increased; and it was surprising that his weak body, exhausted with so many labours, and worn out with so many diseases, should yet retain so strong and vigorous a mind.

He was often much employed in giving counsel to those that sought it, or in dictating to those that wrote for him. He sent two serious admonitions to the Polonians, to beware of those blasphemous persons who denied the sacred Trinity; and answers to messages from the brethren then met at the synod of Lions. And he tran-

slated his Commentaries upon the books of Moses out of Latin into French.

On the 6th of February 1563, Calvin preached his last sermon. He was faint, thin, and consumptive. When his ague left him, the gout took him in his right leg: then the cholic, and lastly the stone, which he did not perceive till a few months before his death. Though he was greatly afflicted, yet he never uttered an unbecoming word.

On the 27th of March he was carried in his chair to the senate, when he presented to them a new rector for the school: He then uncovered his head, and thanked them for all their favours, and particularly for their great care of him in his sickness: *For I perceive, said he, this is the last time I shall come into this place.* His voice failed him as he spoke, and, with many tears on both sides, they took leave of one another.

On the second of April, being the Lord's day, he was carried to the church, where Beza administered the sacrament to him. He made his will on the 25th; and after his will was confirmed he sent to speak once more to the senators, who came to him: *He thanked them for the many favours they had shewn him: and he declared that he had purely and sincerely taught the word of God intrusted to him: and he was fully assured that his labours in teaching it had not been displeasing to God.* And said, *I testify this the more willingly, both before God and you, because I doubt not but the devil, according to custom, will stir up wicked and*
waver-

wavering men to corrupt the sincere doctrine which you have heard from me, &c.

After speaking to them, he prayed to God to multiply his gifts and blessings upon them more and more, and to govern them by his holy Spirit, for the safety and good of the commonwealth. And giving his hand to every one of them they departed full of sorrow, as from their common father, with many tears.

On the 28th of April the ministers came to him, and he spoke to them: *Brethren, after my decease, stand fast in this work of the Lord, and be not discouraged, for the Lord will preserve this church and commonwealth against the threatening of their enemies. As soon as I came to this city the gospel was indeed preached, but affairs were very troublesome, &c.* He gave his hand to each of them, who departed from him with much sorrow and weeping.

On the twenty-seventh of May, being the day of his decease, he seemed to speak more strongly, and with less difficulty; but this was but lightning before death. About eight o'clock in the evening certain signs of present death appeared; and Beza having then left him, some went to acquaint him; and he presently returned, but found that he had yielded up his spirit to God, without the least struggling.

The night and the day following there was great weeping and lamenting all over the city. Many citizens and strangers desired to see him after he was dead, and among the rest queen Elizabeth's ambassadors, who being sent into France, were then at Geneva.

The next day his body was put in a coffin, and that evening he was buried. The senators, and almost the whole city followed the corps with many tears. He was buried in the common church-yard of the large palace, as he had desired, without any pomp, or tomb-stone afterwards.

ULRICUS ZUINGLIUS, *the Reformer of Switzerland.*

ZUINGLIUS was a cotemporary of Luther, and an eminent instrument of God in the great work of the reformation. He was of a good family, and born on the first of January, 1487, at Wildehausen, in the county of Tokenburg, which is a distinct republic in alliance with the Switzers or Helvetic Body.

He received the first rudiments of learning at Basil, where he was made Doctor in 1505: and the next year began to preach with such good success, that he was elected pastor of Glars, the chief town in the canton of that name.

He continued there till 1516, when the reputation he had acquired by his sermons, occasioned him to be called the Hermitage, a place famous for pilgrimages to the Virgin Mary.

He was soon after invited to Zurich, the capital of the canton so called, to undertake the principal charge of that city, and to preach the word of God among the Inhabitants.

It was about the year 1517, that Luther

Luther began to be famous. Zuinglius shewed himself at first very favourable to Luther, and recommended his books to his auditors, though he would not preach them himself.

But a Franciscan Friar being sent by the pope to publish indulgencies at Zurick, Zuinglius then followed the example of Luther, by declaiming powerfully against the friar and his indulgencies.

Hugh, bishop of Constance, believed that Zuinglius was displeased only with the abuse of these things, and exhorted him to proceed under his patronage. But Zuinglius went farther, and solicited that prelate, as also the papal legate in Switzerland, to favour the doctrine he intended to settle, which he called evangelical truth. They refused his proposals, and he opposed the popish ceremonies from the year 1519 to 1523, when he found an opportunity of establishing his own doctrine, and of abolishing the superstition of Rome.

Zuinglius conducted the Reformation in Switzerland with as much progress as Luther did that in Saxony, though he carried himself with more moderation and prudence: he propounded his doctrine in his sermons, which he preached four years successively in Zurick; and thereby prepared the minds of the people for its reception: but he would not attempt to make any alterations in the divine worship, without the concurrence of the magistrates; for which purpose he caused an assembly to be called by the

N^o XXI.

Senate of Zurick in January 1523, when he proposed several articles which were agreed to, some of which are as follow: *That the Gospel is the only rule of faith: the church is communion of saints: we ought to acknowledge no other head of the church but Jesus Christ: all traditions should be rejected: there is no other sacrifice but that of Jesus Christ upon the cross, and the mass is no sacrifice: we have need of no other intercessor with God, than Jesus Christ. The habits of Monks smell of hypocrisy. Marriage is allowed to all men, &c.*—with many more of the like nature, immediately levelled at the papistical errors.

It is easy to imagine, that after this, the doctrine of Zuinglius became general through the canton of Zurick; where also, after another assembly, the Reformation was carried still further: the Mass put down, relics taken out of churches, and other inventions of Popery abolished; while by preaching, writing, and publishing, Zuinglius manfully defended the evangelical truth.

There was nothing in which Zuinglius differed so much from Luther, as in the matter of the Lord's Supper.

Luther, it is evident by his doctrine of Consubstantiality, could not wholly abstract himself from the Roman Catholic doctrine. Zuinglius was more disengaged; he ordered, *That the holy table should be covered with a white cloth, on which were to be set the patine full of leavened bread, and vessels filled with wine; that the minister and deacons should stand by the table, where they*

they were to exhort the people to approach with reverence. After which one of the deacons should read the institution of the Lord's Supper, taken out of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; and another should repeat a part of the 9th chapter of St. John: that the minister should then read the creed, and exhort all the communicants to examine their own consciences, that they might not be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, by receiving them unworthily: that the minister and people should then kneel and say the Lord's prayer: after which, the minister should take the bread in his hands, and deliver the words of the institution of the Lord's supper, with an audible voice; then give the bread and wine to the deacons, who should distribute them to the people, while the minister should read the discourse which our Saviour had with his disciples before his passion, as related in the Gospel of St. John.

This was the form of administering the Sacrament, which Zuinglius appointed to be used. He maintained, in his doctrine concerning the Sacrament, that these words of Jesus Christ, *This is my body, this is my blood*, are to be understood thus: This signifies my body and blood: this bread and this wine are a figure of my blood; this is a testimony and pledge, that my body shall be delivered up, and broken for you upon the cross, and that my blood shall be shed for you.

From whence it follows, that not only the bread and wine exist after consecration; but also that the real body and blood of Jesus Christ are not

present in the Eucharist, and that the bread and wine are only a figure of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, communicated in a spiritual manner by faith.

Luther strongly opposed and wrote against this doctrine of Zuinglius, who answered him, and propagated his opinions very widely through Switzerland; opinions, which as they were more removed from, so were they far more offensive than those of Luther to the Papists.

In the year 1531, a civil war began in Switzerland, between the five Catholic Cantons, and those of Zurich and Bern.

The Zurichese were defeated in their own territories, with the loss of four hundred men. Zuinglius, who was desirous to let the world see he was ready to defend his doctrine as well by the sword as the pen, was killed in this action, at the head of a battalion, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

Great cruelty was shewn to his body, and it was attempted to be burnt. He was called the blessed servant and saint of God; and his doctrine was defended by his successor Henry Bullinger: but in 1538, by a treaty of accord, the disputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians were concluded.

The works of Zuinglius, in four volumes folio, with an apology for his doctrine, were published by Rodolphus Gualterius. The Switzers paid the utmost regard to his memory, and his remains were interred with all the pomp of a Grecian funeral for a man who

who had devoted his life to the service of his country. Zuinglius and Oecolampadius were more esteemed by the learned men of their times, than any other of the reformers, because they had more moderation. Erasmus was threatened with an attack from Zuinglius; and he declared, that he feared not ten Zuinglius's. Yet he did not care to engage in combat with this one Zuinglius about the Eucharist; and from the manner in which he spoke of the performance of Oecolampadius on that subject, it appears, that he thought it not so easy a matter to refute those divines.

Very true it is, that the struggles of the Reformers caused many disorders and threw a terrible persecution upon them and their successors; but it was through the fault of that church to which Erasmus wanted to remain united, and which would hear of no amendments. Nor is it to be forgotten, that Erasmus could easily have embraced the sentiments of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius, if his mother the church would have give him leave.

Zuinglius had good skill in music, and a love for it. He always studied standing, and was always a great student. He received a most courteous letter from Pope Adrian the Sixth, and might have had any favours, if he would have declared himself a friend to the see of Rome. But steady to truth and a good conscience, he

gave up all temporary emoluments; and his memory thereby is become dear to every lover of religion and liberty; which we and many other parts of Europe owe to the generous efforts of such reformers as himself, who boldly stood in the gap, and defended that cause, which is, of all others, most important to rational beings.

PHILIP MELANCTHON.

PHILIP Melancthon was born at Bretten, in the Palatinate upon the Rhine, on the sixteenth of February, in the Year 1493. He was the son of George Schwartzed, * a famous armourer in the time of Maximilian, to whose favour he greatly recommended himself, by making that Emperor a suit of armour, in which he fought, and easily conquered, one Claudius Batarus, an Italian bully, who sent him a challenge. The father of Melancthon died in the year 1508, and left him and a younger brother, whose name was George, to the care of their mother.

Melancthon gave very early marks of his great genius. The care of his education was chiefly committed to Beuterus, his grand-father's time being much taken up with the affairs of the Elector Palatines whom he

* This word in the German language signi-

fies black earth, which is the meaning also of Melancthon in the Greek.

served as engineer and commissary of the artillery. He studied first in the place of his nativity, at a public school, and then under a private tutor.

It being publicly known that his master was afflicted with a scandalous distemper, he was sent to Pfortsheim, a small city in the Marquitate of Baden, where there was a famous college: at this place he lodged with a relation, who was sister to the famous Reuchlin: this introduced him to the acquaintance of that learned man, whose esteem he soon obtained, and ever afterwards preserved.

From Pfortsheim he soon after went to Tübingen, and from thence to Heidelberg, where he was matriculated on the 23th of October, 1509. In this place he made such a considerable progress, that he was appointed Preceptor to the sons of Count Leonstein, and was made bachelor, though under fourteen years of age.

But being affronted at their refusing him the degree of master of philosophy, upon account of his youth, and finding the air of Heidelberg did not agree with his constitution, he left that academy, and returned to Tübingen, where he continued six years.

During this time he gave many and surprising proofs of his extensive capacity. He had a genius for poetry, and wrote a comedy, which he dedicated to Reuchlin, before whom it was acted, and met with general applause. He diligently attended the lectures of all the professors, and publicly explained most of the classics.

He assisted Reuchlin also in his quarrel with the monks, and applied himself greatly to the reading of the sacred scriptures. At this place he published some works, as first fruits, from which it sufficiently appeared what a crop might afterwards be expected.

He was so remarkable in 1515, that Erasmus then said of him, *Good God! what hopes may we not conceive of Philip Melancthon, who, as yet very young, and almost a boy, is equally to be admired for his knowledge in both languages! what quickness of invention! what purity of diction! what vastness of memory! what variety of reading! what modesty and gracefulness of behaviour!* an encomium this, which Melancthon well deserved. In 1518 he accepted the Greek professorship in the university of Wittenberg, which the recommendation of Reuchlin obtained for him from Frederic the Elector of Saxony. His inauguration speech was so extremely elegant, that it removed the contempt to which his low stature and meanness exposed him, and gained him universal admiration.

In this university he soon contracted an intimate acquaintance with Luther, who was professor of divinity there. They went together to Leipzig, to dispute with Eckius, in the year 1519.

Melancthon passed the following years under a complication of labours; writing many books, and making journeys to assist in the founding of colleges, and visiting churches; whenever his absence interfered with the read-

reading of his lectures, he always refused to receive his salary: a noble instance this, of the disinterestedness and generosity of his nature.

At this time there were many churches in Germany, where the Ethies of Aristotle took place of the refined morality of Christ Jesus, and were read publicly every Sunday. This shameful custom so much incensed Luther, that he absolutely rejected every part of Aristotle's philosophy; and advanced, that they could not reason according to the principles of this pagan, without forsaking the maxims of Jesus Christ. Melancthon treated the subject with much more moderation; and Gritzer, to combat the hatred which Luther expressed against the philosophy of Aristotle, opposed Melancthon to him and quoted a passage from an oration of his in praise of Aristotle, wherein he says, *Now I will add something concerning philosophy, why I judge that of Aristotle, to be the most useful in the church; it is agreed by all; that his logic is most necessary for us in the church, because Aristotle's method and order defines fitly, decides justly, connects aptly, judges and separates monstrous connections. Those who are ignorant of this art, tear the subject whereof they treat, as puppies tear rags; for I like to use Plato's similitude. Plato justly extols it, by calling it the fire which Prometheus brought from Heaven, to kindle a light in the minds of men, to enable them to judge rightly. But he nowhere gives the precepts of this art; we cannot therefore be without Aristotle's logic, as that of the stoics is not extant.* This

N^o 21.

quotation eminently shews the candour and moderation of his temper.

Melancthon professed his steadfastness to Luther, in an epistle he wrote to Erasmus, in answer to an apology he made for opposing Luther's doctrine, and never would forsake it. But as to the dissertation of Erasmus upon free-will, he, with his usual moderation, observes, *We are not at all shocked at it: for it would be mere tyranny, to hinder any man from giving his opinion in the church of Christ, concerning any points of religion. This ought to be free to every man, who will deliver his sentiments without passion and partiality; your moderation in that matter hath been applauded; and yet suffer me to tell you, that sometimes you bite too hard. But Luther is not easily provoked as not to bear dissent; and he promiseth to observe the same moderation in his reply. It is also your duty not to bring an odium upon a cause which the holy scriptures evidently favour. As you yourself have not as yet condemned it, if you attack it with vehemence, you will wound your own conscience: you know that we ought to examine, and not to despise prophecies.*

In 1525, we find Erasmus complaining that Melancthon laboured under an insomnia, or sleeplessness, a distemper common to studious people: and in the same epistle he says, that Frederic of Saxony had lately bequeathed Melancthon a thousand gold florins; a remarkable instance of the esteem and respect in which this prince held him, and an honour almost peculiar to this great man, it being as uncommon for princes to

5 K

leave

leave legacies to scholars, as for scholars to leave legacies to princes.

In March 1529, the emperor called the Dyet of Spires, where Melancthon attended among the other reformers, who had long disputes about religion with the Romanists; and were supported by the Elector of Saxony, and some other princes.

In this Dyet they obtained the name of Protestants, so called from the protestation they made against the doctrines of the Romanists. This protestation was signed by all the princes of the reforming party.

While Melancthon was at Spires, he made a little journey to Bretten, to see his mother. This good woman asked him, what she must believe, amidst these disputes? she repeated to him the prayers she was used to make, and which contained nothing that was superstitious: *Continue, says he, to believe and pray as you have done hitherto, and never trouble yourself about controversies.*

This, and many other sayings of Melancthon, plainly shew, that religious disputes were highly disagreeable to him; and that nothing but a sincere love of truth could have engaged him in them.

In June, 1530, the Dyet of Augsburgh was held. Melancthon was employed to draw up the Confession of Faith, which is called the Augsburg Confession. He drew up this confession out of the memoirs sent to the elector of Saxony. It cost him much trouble to reduce them to a proper form. He divided it into two parts: the first contained twenty-one articles,

upon the chief points of religion; as the unity of God, original sin, incarnation, justification, the gospel ministry, the church, the civil government, the day of judgment, free-will, the cause of sin, faith, good works, and the adoration of saints.

The other part was concerning the ceremonies and usages of the church, which the Protestants said were abused: such as the communion in both kinds, the marriages of priests, confession, abstinence from meat, monastic vows, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

This confession, after having been many times revised and corrected by Melancthon, was at last approved by Luther, who, according to Seckendorf, declared that he was very glad this occasion was offered, of letting the world see what he and his followers taught.

This confession was signed by the protestant princes, and read before the Emperor, in a special assembly of the empire. It was afterwards delivered to the Romish divines, to be examined; but no agreement could possibly be made.

It was at last determined, that a small number of persons, on both sides, should be chose, who might dispute amicably together, and consult if they could possibly find out some way of agreement.

Melancthon was one of those chosen by the protestant party. They met, and agreed upon fifteen of the twenty-one articles of the Augsburg confession. Melancthon, and the other Lutherans agreed to these points of doctrine, that men should not be said to be justified by

by faith alone, but by faith and grace : That good works are necessary : That reprobates are included in the church : That men have a free will : That the blessed Saints intercede for us, and may be honoured.

In the other seven articles they agreed, That the body and Blood of Christ are included in both elements ; and that they would not condemn the laity, who would receive the Eucharist only in one kind ; that the usual veneration should be given to the holy Sacrament : That the public mass should be celebrated with the usual ceremonies ; and that they should observe what is essential in the consecration : That the fasts on the Vigils might be still observed, and some holydays kept : That the bishops should hold their jurisdictions ; and that Popish priests, preachers, and other ecclesiastical persons should submit to them in spiritual matters ; and that their excommunications should not be contemned.

But the disputes ran so high concerning the mass, vows, and celibacy of priests, that the breach still continued as wide as ever. Melancthon's strong inclination to peace might have caused him to come nearer, had he been invested with full power ; but the rigid Protestants had been dissatisfied with his condescension, and ordered him to proceed no farther. An apology for the Augsbourg confession was afterwards published by this learned divine, but met with little approbation from the Romish party.

Servetus about this time published a book against the doctrine of the trinity, for which he was afterwards

burnt as a heretic. Melancthon, in 1533, wrote a letter to Joachim Camerarius, wherein he told him of Servetus and his books ; and says, with great judgment and candor, *Good God ! among posterity what tragedies will this question raise, whether the Logos, or word, be an hypostasis, substance, or person ; and whether the spirit is so likewise ? For my part, I have recourse solely to those words of scripture, that command us to invoke Christ, by ascribing the honour of divinity to him ; which carries along with it a great consolation to us ; but it is of no advantage to examine the real and proper distinction of the hypostasis, or person.* Advice this, which all those, who pretend to enter into the mode of the Deity's existence, would do well to follow.

Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. of England, much desired to see and converse with Melancthon ; his learning, piety, and moderation being highly celebrated throughout all Europe ; but neither of these Monarchs ever saw him.

The Lutherans could not agree with the Zuinglians, concerning the Sacrament, at the synod of Constance, in 1534 : nor at Basil and Eisenach, in 1536.

After this, there was a project of *A form of their union*, drawn up by Melancthon signifying that they acknowledged the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ were truly and substantially present, given and received in the Sacrament, with the bread and wine ; though there was no transubstantiation or inclosing the body of Jesus Christ in the bread, nor any durable union of
the

the body of Jesus Christ and the bread, when it is not used : for in giving the bread, it is the body of Jesus Christ by a sacramental union : so that, in distributing the bread, the body is present and given ; yet, when it is not in the use, but the bread is in the pyx, or is carried in procession, the body of Jesus Christ is not there. That the sacrament has no dependence on the worthiness of the minister : and that the body and blood of Christ are truly given to the unworthy, and received by them. To what absurdities were these wise and good men reduced, by endeavouring to make the most unreasonable doctrine reasonable.

In 1541, Melancthon assisted at the conference of Spire and Ratisbon, when the controversies between the Romanists and Protestants were warmly disputed.

At the former the Romanists chose Eckius, and the Protestants appointed Melancthon, to confer about the points in controversy : but after disputing three days, on Original sin, the conference was dissolved by order of the emperor.

In 1543, Melancthon went with the elector of Cologne, to assist him in introducing the reformation into his diocese : but this proved ineffectual. Melancthon had much of his time taken up by that affair of the Interim : he attended seven conferences upon this subject, in 1548, and wrote all the pieces that were presented there, as also the censure of that Interim.

About this time, Melancthon was again expected in England by King Edward VI. Upon hearing this, Bi-

shop Latimer said in one of his sermons before the King, *I hear say master Melancthon, that great clerk, should come hither : I would wish him, and such as he is, two hundred pounds a year : the King should never want it in his coffers at the year's end.*

Melancthon was one of the deputies whom Maurice elector of Saxony was to send to the council of Trent, in the year 1552. He waited some time at Nuremberg for a safe conduct : but he returned from thence to Wittenberg on account of the war, which was ready to break out. His last conference with the doctors of the Romish religion, was at Worms, in 1557.

This great and good man, wearied out with labour, and languishing under a weak state of body, breathed his last at Wittenberg, on the 9th of April, 1560, which was the sixty-third day of his sixty-fourth year : he was honourably buried in the church of the castle, and his funeral oration was spoken by Winslemius, a doctor of physic and professor of the Greek tongue.

Some days before he died, he wrote on a piece of paper, in two columns, the reasons why he ought not to be sorry for leaving this world ; one of the columns, contained the blessings death would procure him ; the other contained the evils from which death would deliver him.

The first column had six heads ;

First, that he should come to light.

Secondly, that he should see God.

Thirdly, that he should contemplate the Son of God.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, That he should understand those admirable mysteries, which he could not comprehend in this life.

Fifthly, why we are created such as we are.

Sixthly, what is the union of the two natures in Jesus Christ.

The second column had only two articles;

First, that he should sin no more.

Secondly, that he should no longer be exposed to the vexations and rage of divines.

Melancthon had two sons and two daughters, by a daughter of a Burgo-master of Wittenberg, whom he married in 1520, and buried in 1557. His daughter Anne was married to George Sabinus of Wittenberg, in 1536, when she was only fourteen years old.

Sabinus was one of the best poets of his time; and Erasmus, in 1534, had highly recommended him to Melancthon.

Sabinus and his wife, who was very handsome, and learned, understanding Latin extremely well, retired into Prussia, in 1543, to the great grief of Melancthon; and she died at Renisberg in 1547.

The temper of Sabinus and Melancthon did not well agree; the one was desirous to obtain civil employment, the other was fond of learned retirement: this raised some disputes between them. Melancthon's paternal affection appears very strong from the following story: a Frenchman found him one day holding a book in one hand, and rocking a cradle with the other; Melancthon seeing him

N^o 21.

surprized at this, made such a pious discourse to him concerning the duty of a father, and the state of grace which children are in with God, that this stranger went away much more learned than when he came in.

His learning, moderation, and piety are highly to be applauded. He spent the greatest part of his time in study, and wrote many books; the number of them is prodigious: a chronological list of them was publishing in 1582 by Rylius; and large extracts were made from his theological writings by Christopher Pezelius; this work, containing eight volumes in octavo, has been several times published at Neustat.

Melancthon finished few pieces, and published many imperfect; he found his writings were profitable to the youth, and he rather chose to print many of them, than to perfect a small number, as he preferred the advantage of the public to his own glory. And we may believe, that the happy genius wherewith he was naturally endowed, gave him some assurance, that his works would be esteemed, though unfinished.

His Latin verses much pleased Julius Scaliger; and his Latin catechism and his postiles were translated into the German by Gaspar Bruschiuss, poet laureat to Ferdinand king of the Romans. Luther wrote one day upon his table, "Res & verba Philippus; verba sine rebus Erasmus: ris sine verbis Lutherus; nec res nec verba Carolostadius."

His moderation was but ill suited to the time in which he lived, when

5 L

each

the body of Jesus Christ and the bread, when it is not used : for in giving the bread, it is the body of Jesus Christ by a sacramental union : so that, in distributing the bread, the body is present and given ; yet, when it is not in the use, but the bread is in the pyx, or is carried in procession, the body of Jesus Christ is not there. That the sacrament has no dependence on the worthiness of the minister : and that the body and blood of Christ are truly given to the unworthy, and received by them. To what absurdities were these wise and good men reduced, by endeavouring to make the most unreasonable doctrine reasonable.

In 1541, Melancthon assisted at the conference of Spires and Ratibon, when the controversies between the Romanists and Protestants were warmly disputed.

At the former the Romanists chose Eckius, and the Protestants appointed Melancthon, to confer about the points in controversy : but after disputing three days, on Original sin, the conference was dissolved by order of the emperor.

In 1543, Melancthon went with the elector of Cologne, to assist him in introducing the reformation into his diocese : but this proved ineffectual. Melancthon had much of his time taken up by that affair of the Interim : he attended seven conferences upon this subject, in 1548, and wrote all the pieces that were presented there, as also the censure of that Interim.

About this time, Melancthon was again expected in England by King Edward VI. Upon hearing this, Bi-

shop Latimer said in one of his sermons before the King, *I hear say master Melancthon, that great clerk, should come hither : I would wish him, and such as he is, two hundred pounds a year : the King should never want it in his coffers at the year's end.*

Melancthon was one of the deputies whom Maurice elector of Saxony was to send to the council of Trent, in the year 1552. He waited some time at Nuremberg for a safe conduct : but he returned from thence to Wittenberg on account of the war, which was ready to break out. His last conference with the doctors of the Romish religion, was at Worms, in 1557.

This great and good man, wearied out with labour, and languishing under a weak state of body, breathed his last at Wittenberg, on the 9th of April, 1560, which was the sixty-third day of his sixty-fourth year : he was honourably buried in the church of the castle, and his funeral oration was spoken by Winslemius, a doctor of physic and professor of the Greek tongue.

Some days before he died, he wrote on a piece of paper, in two columns, the reasons why he ought not to be sorry for leaving this world ; one of the columns, contained the blessings death would procure him ; the other contained the evils from which death would deliver him.

The first column had six heads ;

First, that he should come to light.

Secondly, that he should see God.

Thirdly, that he should contemplate the Son of God.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, That he should understand those admirable mysteries, which he could not comprehend in this life.

Fifthly, why we are created such as we are.

Sixthly, what is the union of the two natures in Jesus Christ.

The second column had only two articles ;

First, that he should sin no more.

Secondly, that he should no longer be exposed to the vexations and rage of divines.

Melancthon had two sons and two daughters, by a daughter of a Burgo-master of Wittenberg, whom he married in 1520, and buried in 1557. His daughter Anne was married to George Sabinus of Wittenberg, in 1536, when she was only fourteen years old.

Sabinus was one of the best poets of his time ; and Erasmus, in 1534, had highly recommended him to Melancthon.

Sabinus and his wife, who was very handsome, and learned, understanding Latin extremely well, retired into Prussia, in 1543, to the great grief of Melancthon ; and she died at Renisberg in 1547.

The temper of Sabinus and Melancthon did not well agree ; the one was desirous to obtain civil employment, the other was fond of learned retirement : this raised some disputes between them. Melancthon's paternal affection appears very strong from the following story : a Frenchman found him one day holding a book in one hand, and rocking a cradle with the other ; Melancthon seeing him

N^o 21.

surprized at this, made such a pious discourse to him concerning the duty of a father, and the state of grace which children are in with God, that this stranger went away much more learned than when he came in.

His learning, moderation, and piety are highly to be applauded. He spent the greatest part of his time in study, and wrote many books ; the number of them is prodigious : a chronological list of them was publishing in 1582 by Rylius ; and large extracts were made from his theological writings by Christopher Pezelius ; this work, containing eight volumes in octavo, has been several times published at Neustat.

Melancthon finished few pieces, and published many imperfect ; he found his writings were profitable to the youth, and he rather chose to print many of them, than to perfect a small number, as he preferred the advantage of the public to his own glory. And we may believe, that the happy genius wherewith he was naturally endowed, gave him some assurance, that his works would be esteemed, though unfinished.

His Latin verses much pleased Julius Scaliger ; and his Latin catechism and his postiles were translated into the German by Gaspar Bruschius, poet laureat to Ferdinand king of the Romans. Luther wrote one day upon his table, " Res & verba Philippus ; verba sine rebus Erasmus : ris sine verbis Lutherus ; nec res nec verba Carolostadius."

His moderation was but ill suited to the time in which he lived, when

5 L

each

each party hated the other with the most bitter hatred ; yet his candor seems to have blunted the edge of severe rancour, since he held the professor's chair forty years, without ever being assured, as he himself declares, that he should not lose it before the end of the week.

His piety and resignation appears from what he said, in answer to the menaces his enemies made, to drive him out of his country. " I am not dejected, says he, at the cruel clamour of my enemies, who have threatened they will not leave me a footstep in Germany ; but I commit myself to the son of God ; if I am driven away alone, I am determined to go to Palestine ; and in those lurking places of Jerom, by calling upon the Son of God, to write clear testimonies of that divine doctrine, and in death, to recommend my soul to God."

In a word, he seems to have been, if not the greatest, the best man of his time, from the humanity of his temper, the candour of his sentiments, and the exemplary holiness of his life.

MARTIN BUCER,
the MODERATE REFORMER.

THIS reformer was born at Schelestadt, a town of Alsace, in the year 1491. At the age of seven he took the religious habit in the order of St. Dominic, and, with the leave of the prior of his convent, went to Heidelberg to learn logic and philosophy.

Having applied himself afterwards to divinity, he made it his endeavour to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew. About this time some of Erasimus's pieces came abroad, which he read with avidity. Meeting afterwards with certain tracts of Luther's, and comparing the doctrine there delivered with the sacred scriptures, he began to entertain doubts concerning several things in the popish religion.

His uncommon learning and his eloquence, which was assisted by a strong and musical voice, together with his free censure of the vices of the times, recommended him to Frederic, the elector palatine, who made him one of his chaplains.

In 1523, he was admitted into the number of the reformed preachers in Strasbourg, and subscribed a book with them, which they published in 1524, setting forth the reasons, which induced them to renounce popery ; but he wrote some tracts in 1527, in defence of the Zuinglians against Brentius and Pomeranus, who were Lutherans.

He assisted in the year 1529, as deputy of the church of Strasburgh, in the conferences of Marpurg, where they endeavoured to pacify the dissensions between the Lutherans and Zuinglians.

The Sacramentarians presented their confession of faith at the diet of Augsburgh in 1531. It was drawn up by Bucer and Capito, and approved by the senate of Strasburg : they held that men are only justified by the merits of Jesus Christ, and faith ; but that

that faith ought to be attended with charity; and they allowed only of two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

About this period the Lutherans and Zuinglians were divided with respect to the Lord's Supper, and separated on that account. The former denied having any union with the sacramentarians; nor were these able to bear the opinion of Luther: but there was a third party gathered out of both, who were sensible that they were not obliged to hold up their divisions, and also persuaded them that their opinions were not so different, as was commonly thought, and that they might easily unite. Bucer, then a minister at Strasburgh, was at the head of his party, and undertook, purely out of a desire of reconciling the Lutherans and Zuinglians, to draw up such a confession of faith as both sides might approve.

The task was difficult to perform: Luther, and his followers had always asserted that the body and blood of Christ were really with the bread and wine, in the eucharist. Zuinglius and his adherents on the contrary held, that the bread and wine were only signs of the body and blood of Christ.

Though these two propositions were thus directly contrary, Bucer found out a medium, which he thought might satisfy both parties; namely, that the bread and wine remained the same substance that they were before consecration, without any change: but, that by receiving them the substance of the real body and blood of Christ were spiritually,

and by faith received: he made use of the same kind of expressions as were employed by the four imperial cities Strasburg, Constance, Memminghen, and Landau, and presented by them to the diet of Augsburg. He also made the same declaration to Luther, to persuade him that the Sacramentarians were not of a contrary opinion to him about the eucharist; but Luther knew the opinion of the Zuinglians, and gave no credit to Bucer's assertion, accordingly he wrote a very severe letter to the senate of Francfort on the occasion: in which after clearly shewing the difference between his own doctrine and the Zuinglian, he charges the Zuinglians with equivocation and dissimulation: adding, that if any one knows his minister to be a Zuinglian, he had better remain his whole life without the Sacrament than take it at his hands.

To this letter the ministers of Francfort returned an apology, wherein they applied the expressions used by Bucer, and affirmed that believers receive the true body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and do really eat and drink it for the nourishment of their souls: that though the bread and wine are not changed in their own nature: yet it cannot be said that there is nothing in the Lord's Supper except them: but that it is the Sacrament of the true body and blood which God has given us for the nourishment of our souls.

The Zuinglians on the contrary suspected that Bucer was departed from their opinion; this suspicion he was forced to remove by assuring them, that

that he was of the same opinion which he maintained at Bern : he added, that he certainly knew, and could prove, that the doctrines of Luther and Zuinglius differed only in terms ; and that the presence of the body of Jesus Christ, which Luther asserted in the Lord's Supper, was not contrary to the opinion of Zuinglius.

The ministers and magistrates of the reformed Swiss cantons met at Basil, in January 1536, to draw up a confession of faith. Bucer and Capito went thither, and proposed an union with the Lutherans, assuring them that Luther was much relaxed with regard to the Zuinglians, and desired nothing more than to come to an agreement with them ; and therefore he prayed them, so to moderate the expressions of their confession of faith, which they were about to draw up, especially in the articles respecting the eucharist, and the efficacy of the sacraments, as that they might forward the union by omitting such words as might occasion a contest.

This they partly obtained of the ministers from the confession of faith which they had composed. They owned that the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper were not mere signs, but composed of signs, and things signified : that water was the sign in Baptism, and the thing signified was regeneration and adoption : that in the eucharist, the bread and wine are the signs, and the thing signified is the communion of the body of Christ received by faith : that the body and blood of Christ are offered to the faithful in the Lord's Supper,

that Jesus Christ may live in them, and they in him ; not that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are naturally united to the bread and wine, or included in the elements, or carnally present : but because they are symbols by which we have a real communion with the body and blood of Christ to nourish the soul spiritually.

This confession of faith was also approved in a second assembly of the magistrates and ministers of the protestant cantons, held at Basil in March the same year.

Upon these declarations it was agreed, that an answer should be sent to Luther, which was drawn up and read two days after in the assembly. The Switzers were very careful it should be expressed, that in their joining with Luther, they would not change their opinion of the Lord's Supper ; for they declared they did not enter into that union, till they were assured by Bucer and Capito, that Luther approved their confession of faith made at Basil, with the exposition which they had given of it ; and because he had declared to them that Jesus Christ was at the right hand of his Father, and did not come down in any manner into the Lord's Supper ; and that he did not grant any presence of Jesus Christ in the eucharist, nor any manducation contrary to the christian faith.

They also declared, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ were received and eaten in the Lord's Supper, but only so far as they were truly taken and received by faith : and that they would not recede from their opi-

opinion of faith, and their declaration : that as Luther was of the same opinion, they were filled with extreme joy that they might live in peace and union with him, and keep up this agreement, avoiding all discord.

Bucer, on all occasions, spoke more strongly than the other ministers upon the merit of good works ; and if he varied from himself in that point, it is to be imputed to the difficulties which he met with in the matter, or to the improvement he made as he grew old.

He gave this last reason in excuse of himself, when he found that some people were offended that he was not sufficiently uniform in his works. Reason and charity require to believe that he acted in all this according to his own persuasion, and not out of policy.

His commentary on the second Psalm is sufficient to shew, that the Protestants and Romanists might easily agree on the subject of good works, would they but banish scholastic chicanery and party animosity.

Bucer, in his discourses and writings, always made profession of Lutheranism, accommodated to the new opinion of England. It was a false assertion that he made a separate sect. He continued always united with one of the protestant communions ; tho' the stricter sort of each part did not approve his moderation, or remissness, as it was termed.

The friends of Calvin accused him of introducing a new kind of popery, which they called Bucerism; in opposition to Calvinism. This consist-

ed principally in his approving episcopacy. But Calvin denied that he ever laid it to Bucer's charge ; and only wished that he would not give a handle for calumny, while he followed the middle way, which was manifest from all his writings ; especially from the form of reformation prescribed to Herman, archbishop of Cologne, and what he wrote for the reformation in England.

As Bucer came nearer to the church of Rome than Luther, Calvin departed farther from it than Luther ; so that there arose two denominations besides Lutheranism ; viz. Bucerism and Calvinism.

Calvin confessed that Bucerism was more tolerable than Calvinism, if the matter was not to be tried by the scriptures ; and that Bucer studied peace too much ; whereas he himself measured all things by truth. These are his words to Bucer : " You have no occasion to make any excuse to me that you are not erecting a new popery : but I would have your integrity so well known to all the world, as that no room might be left for suspicion. It is also unnecessary for you to endeavour not to take in any thing of Calvinism. If we might vary from the scripture, I know very well how much more tolerable Bucerism is than Calvinism."

Calvin, by letter, exhorted Bucer to order matters in such a manner, as that the reformation of England might be well purged of all remains of popery : letting him know, that if he neglected pains, he would never be able to wipe out the ill suspicions which several had conceived of his

inclining to both sides. "This particularly I recommend to you, says he, that you free yourself from envy, which you know you labour under without cause, among several persons; who always are calling you the author and approver of indifferent councils. I know that this suspicion is so deeply rooted in the minds of some people, that you will scarce be able to remove it, though you omit nothing; and some there are who slander you, not out of mistake, but mere malice."

"In short, this evil is, as it were, destined for you, and you will hardly be able to escape it; you must, however, be cautious not to give the ignorant occasion to think ill of you, nor a handle to the wicked to reproach you."

It does not appear how far Bucer availed himself of these admonitions: yet Calvin testifies, that he expected great things from him, had not death taken him away too soon.

Archbishop Cranmer, who had settled Bucer at Cambridge, wrote to him for his opinion upon the point in dispute between his grace, and Dr. Hooper, who had accepted the king's nomination to the bishopric of Gloucester, yet refused to be consecrated in the episcopal habit, without which Cranmer objected to perform the ceremony.

Bucer's answer, in which Peter Martyr joined him, satisfied Hooper; for though, they told him, in the business of religious rites they were for keeping as close as possible to the holy scriptures and the most uncor-

rupt ages of the church, yet they could not apprehend the substance of religion was affected by the cloaths we wear; which they thought were things of a nature wholly indifferent, and left to our liberty by the word of God.

Bucer died of a complication of disorders on the 27th of February, 1551, aged sixty-one years, and was buried at St. Mary's in Cambridge, with great funeral solemnity. He was a plain man both in person and apparel, and was therefore, at his own request, privately created doctor without any solemnity. Bossuet says he was pretty well learned, of a flexible spirit, and more fertile in distinctions than the most refined scholastics: a fine preacher, somewhat heavy in his style, but respected for his stature and the sound of his voice.

Bishop Burnet, in his history of the reformation, informs us, that "Bucer was a very learned, judicious, pious, and moderate person; perhaps inferior to none of all the reformers for learning; but for zeal, true piety, and a most tender care of preserving unity among the foreign churches, Melancthon and he, may, without any injury done to the rest, be ranked a party by themselves." And even Cochläus, though an antagonist in religious controversy, acknowledged, that Bucer and Melancthon were very learned.

In order the better to know that moderation which procured Bucer his surname of, The Moderate Reformer, his writings should be consulted, as printed in Germany: not the Geneva

neva editions, as they have been invidiously corrupted.

His works, according to Vossius were very moderate; and we are told, that he used (as often happens among learned men as long as they live) to revise his lucubrations; and add or take away, and even retract some things.

Five years after his death, in the reign of queen Mary, his body was dug up and publicly burned, and his tomb demolished; but it was afterwards set up by order of queen Elizabeth. His first wife was a nun, by whom he had thirteen children; she dying of the plague he married another, and, according to some, on her death took a third wife.

A list of his numerous writings may be seen in Moreri, to whom we beg leave to refer our readers, desirous of further satisfaction respecting this celebrated man.

HUGO GROTIUS.

HUGO GROTIUS, or GROT, which is his proper name, was born at Delft, the 10th of April 1583. He was the son of John de Grot, doctor of laws, burgomaster of Delft, and curator of the university of Leyden, and of Alida Averschrie, of a family of the first distinction. He came into the world with the most happy dispositions. Nature bestowed upon him great penetration, a solid judgment, and a wonderful memory. His father forgot nothing which might

cultivate these good qualities. He was himself his governor: and gave equal attention to the forming his understanding and his heart.

His intention was much less to make him a learned than a good man. The preceptor he chose (named Luffen) was chiefly employed to second him in the last particular; and this man had sufficient understanding and virtues to teach him, at the same time, the divine and human sciences.

At the age of eight years, Grotius gave striking proofs of his progress in the Belles Lettres, by some very pretty elegiac verses; and a vigorous and constant application gained him an infinite stock of learning.

On his arrival at Paris, our learned youth found he was advantageously known there before. He was sought after by all men of letters, and by several persons of distinction.

Grotius took the advantage of his stay in France to get himself created doctor of law; and, after having seen there the most distinguished persons, for their rank and learning, he returned to Holland, well pleased with his journey.

On his return to France, while the study of law and poetry employed one part of his time, he spent the other in publishing the works he had prepared for the press.

The most learned critics, many of whom were good versifiers, agreed that Grotius excelled in poetry. Casaubon being informed that Grotius had written some verses on the death of Theodore Beza, says, that he heard, with infinite pleasure, that so great

great a man had his elegy written by so great a poet.

At this time he thought only of following the bar, and becoming an able advocate: he had pleaded his first cause at Delft, when but seventeen, with that universal applause, which he ever maintained whilst he continued in the profession.

His ardor, however, for the study of the law, soon abated. He was even upon the point of quitting it, when he was nominated advocate-general of the fisc for Holland and Zealand.

He took possession of this important office in 1607, and filled it with so much reputation, that the states augmented his salary, and promised him a place in the court of Holland.

At the time of his marriage he was employed on a work of great importance, which was not published till the year following. This was his freedom to the ocean, on the trade of the Dutch to the Indies: dedicated to all the free nations in Christendom; in which he proves it to be unjust in the Portuguese to appropriate to themselves the exclusive right to trade in the East-Indian sea, under a pretence that they were the first who sailed thither; shews, that by the law of nations, navigation is free to all the world; that the ocean is immense and common to all mankind; that it is absurd to imagine that those who first navigate a sea, should be judged to have taken possession of it; that by the law of nations, the commerce between nations is free, and cannot be prohibited without injustice; and lastly

that the pope could not grant the Portuguese an exclusive trade to the Indies. This work was printed without his knowledge and published against his consent.

Being raised to the most eminent posts in the republic, our philosopher was obliged to pay attention to the glory and interests of his fellow-citizens.

He had, on this account, some quarrels with the English, respecting the fishery in the North-sea. He even went to England to confer with the ministry upon it, who did not give him the satisfaction he expected: however he had reason to be pleased with the politeness of king James, who, Casaubon informs us, gave Grotius a most gracious reception, and was charmed with his conversation.

On his return to the states, Grotius was obliged to discuss a point respecting privateers, as delicate as important, which greatly took up his attention.

Amidst all the affairs, and multiplied avocations with which his place as pensionary was attended, Grotius lived a very quiet life; discussions of temporal matters, generally terminating without rage and violence. It is not so in religious matters.

Grotius unluckily engaged in a controversy wherein he appeared to favour Arminius, and on his death in 1609, made his elogium in verse. By this means he was involved in the scheme of revenge formed by the implacable adversary of the deceased: the affair was full of events, and one cannot read in the history of Holland without

without extreme surprize, the vast disturbances it raised in that republic.

Maurice, prince of Nassau, entertained a mortal enmity against the grand pensionary, who took arms and lighted the flame of civil war. His troops were victorious. He caused Barnevelt and Grotius to be tried by persons devoted to his interest. The former was beheaded: the king of France interfered without success in his favour, but a deaf ear was given to his solicitations.

After this sentence, the malecontents proceeded against Grotius: he was detained in prison at the Hague, and treated very roughly. His wife petitioned for leave to stay with her husband till the end of the process; or at least to see him when he was sick; or lastly, even to speak to him in the presence of his guards: all this was inhumanly refused her.

His estate also was confiscated, and himself carried to the fortress of Louvestein, in South-Holland; this was done on June 6, 1619.

Twenty sols per day were allotted him for his maintenance; but his wife declared she had fortune sufficient to support her husband, and chose, therefore, to do without any assistance, which renders a man superior to the greatest adversities.

He devoted himself to the study of morality; he extracted from the best Greek authors their finest sentences: adding to this employment, a diligent reading of treatises on the truth of the christian religion.

The commandant of Louvestein going to Huesden to raise recruits, Gro-

N^o 21.

tius's wife made a visit to his lady, and told her, that she was desirous of sending away all her husband's books, for that he was in so weak a state of health, it gave her great uneasiness to see him study with such application. After this, that people might not be surprized at not seeing him, she spread a report of his being really ill.

Having thus prepared the commandant's wife and the guards;---on March 21, 1621,---a day ever memorable for the glory of the fair sex---in concert with their valet and maid, who were in the secret, shut him in the chest: two soldiers carried it: one of them finding it heavier than usual, said, "There must be an Armenian in it;" a kind of proverb then in use. Madam Grotius, who was present, answered with great coolness: "Indeed there are some Armenian books in it."

The chest was then brought down on a ladder with great difficulty; the care which was first taken to prevent any accident, and the extraordinary weight of the chest made one of the soldiers suspect something: he therefore demanded to have it opened; and upon being refused the key, he went and complained to the commandant's lady: but, whether she was willing to wink at the thing, or through negligence, she told him that Grotius's wife had assured her there was nothing but books in the chest, and that they might carry it to the boat. It is affirmed that a soldier's wife, who was present said there were more than one exam-

5 N

ple

ple of prisoners making their escape in boxes. The chest, however, was put into the boat, as ordered, and Grotius's maid followed it,

When it came to Gorcum they wanted to put it on a sledge, but the maid telling the boatman there were some brittle things in it, and begging of him to take care how it was carried, it was put on a stand, and brought by two chairmen to the house of Mr. David Dazelaer, a friend of our author. When every body was gone, the maid opened the chest. Grotius had felt no inconvenience in it, though its length was not above three feet and an half. He got out, dressed himself like a mason, with a rule and a trowel, and went, by Dazelaer's back door, thro' the market-place, to the gate that leads to the river, and stepped into a boat, which carried him to Valvic, in Brabant.

There he hired a carriage to Antwerp, taking the necessary precautions not to be known by the way. He alighted at Antwerp at the house of Mr. Grevincovius,---who had been formerly a minister at Amsterdam, to whom he made himself known.

In the mean time it was believed at Louvestein that Grotius was ill; and to give him time to get off, his wife gave out that his disorder was dangerous; but as soon as she learned by the return of her maid that he was in Brabant, and consequently in safety, she told the guards the part she had acted.

They immediately informed the commandant, who hastened to our author's apartment; where on his threatening Mrs. Grotius, she fairly related

the matter. The commandant in a rage went to Gorcum, and acquainting the magistrate with his prisoner's escape, both came to Dazelaer's, where they found the empty chest.

Desperate at not being able to recover his charge, the commandant, on his return to Louvestein, confined Mrs. Grotius more closely; but on April 5, 1621, she presented a petition to the states general, for her enlargement, which was granted. On the 30th, Grotius wrote to the states a justification of his conduct and departure from prison.

He arrived at Paris on April 13, 1621. The king was then at Fontainebleau. M. Boissire, who had been ambassador extraordinary in Holland at the time of Barnevelt's trial, M. de Vic, and the president Jeanning, received him with the greatest demonstrations of friendship, and recommended to him the conduct he should preserve at court. The learned men and the ministers strove who should shew him the highest civilities.

Our philosopher shared with his lady the satisfaction which all these favours procured him. Mrs. Grotius arrived at Paris soon after him.

There is room to believe he would have passed the rest of his days in that capital, could his enemies have been cautious enough to conceal their hatred to a man, who enjoyed the most eminent distinction throughout all Europe.

The states-general being informed of the reception he met with in France ordered their ambassadors to do him the worst offices, and the latter executed

cuted their orders with the utmost zeal.

The only revenge he took was by speaking of his country like a good citizen; and by seeking every occasion to serve her. This gained him the applause of the king who could not help admiring the greatness of his proceeding.

This moderation did not disarm the states general, whose ambassadors continued vigilant in their machinations against our illustrious author. They shamefully and barefacedly calumniated him: and they found at court but too many attentive hearers. Grotius felt the effects of their chicanery in the suspension of his annual allowance.

To complete this misfortune, M. d'Aligre, who then had the seals, was disgraced, and succeeded by M. Mavillace, an implacable enemy to the protestants. This was another disagreeable circumstance to Grotius.

Though he liked Paris, and the acquaintance he had formed there, he could not think of staying any longer; accordingly he went immediately to Holland, where prince Maurice being dead, he hoped to be well received by the new Stodtholder, and prince Frederic Henry, who had a great regard for him. But the event did not answer his expectations.

The utmost his friends could do, was to obtain a restitution of his effects, which, on account of his being a burges of Delft, could not be seized.

Grotius finding so much opposition, judged it proper to quit Holland. He

set out for Amsterdam, March 17. 1632, on his way to Hamburg. Here his wife joined him, his great consolation under all his troubles and calamities. Salvius, vice chancellor of Sweden, a great statesman, and a man of letters, was then at Hamburg.

Grotius made an acquaintance with him, and saw him frequently. M. Salvius conceived a great esteem for him and made so favourable a report of his great merit to the lord high chancellor Oxenstiern, as determined the latter to invite Grotius to come to him.

The king his master had an affection for men of learning; he had read the treatise of The right of war and peace, with the highest admiration; it gave him the most favourable opinion of the author, whom he regarded as the first man of the age.

He was persuaded that one who could write so well on the law of nations, must be an able statesman: in short he resolved to gain him; and, accordingly, he conferred with the high chancellor upon the subject, whom he found of the same opinion with himself.

Gustavus was on the point of putting his design in execution, when he was slain, Nov. 6. 1632, in a famous battle against the Imperialists, in which the Swedes gained a complete victory. A little before his death, as if foreboded of his end, this great prince, amongst other things, ordered that Grotius should be employed in the Swedish ministry.

Accordingly he left Hamburgh, and set out for Francfort, where that minister

minister then resided; wholly ignorant for what employment he was designed.

The subject of this embassy was of the greatest importance; namely, to engage France to declare war against the emperor Ferdinand II. who had gained considerable advantages over the Swedes; and by this diversion and her assistance, to re-establish the affair of Sweden.

Grotius made his public entry into Paris, March 2, 1635. All the inhabitants of that city saw him with pleasure in so honourable a department, tho' little suited to a philosopher who shunned splendor and honors. Only the ambassador of Holland was chagrined at it.

He wrote to the states general to know in what manner he should behave. They answered him, that they intended he should shew the same regard to Grotius, as to the ambassadors of other powers in friendship with them.

During the course of his embassy, Grotius supported himself in France with great dignity. The nobleness and rectitude of his conduct gained him the friendship of the other ambassadors, and the veneration even of his enemies.

Cardinal Richlieu was perhaps the only one who did not do him justice. However he did not make the less court to the king, who always gave him gracious audience.

Our philosopher had divers opportunities of displaying to the courtiers the vast extent of his genius. In these he shewed how much a man

of study is superior, in the management of affairs, to men of unsettled minds.

The cardinal was forced to carry it fair with him in public; he even engaged our author to mediate in some quarrels between the kings of France and England. Grotius executed his commission to the advantage of the French, and the satisfaction of the English.

He expected some acknowledgement from the cardinal, but he was paid with ingratitude. The wisest conduct, the most extensive understanding, and the most signal services could not conciliate the regard of his eminence in his favour, or shut the mouth of his enemies. They continued to stir up against him fresh and fatiguing broils. He could much have wished to be freed from the honorable burden of his embassy. "I am satiated with honour, says he, in a letter to his father, I love a tranquil life, and should be well pleased to employ the rest of my life only for God, and in what might be of advantage to posterity."

But the interest of Sweden required that he should not leave France: and he had them too much at heart to forsake them. Notwithstanding this, queen Christina sent to Paris a sort of adventurer, named Cerisant, who had gained credit sufficient to procure him to be nominated an agent, and afterwards vanity and weakheadedness enough to disgust every body.

Grotius was highly dissatisfied: his patience was at length worn out. He wrote to the queen to beg a recall; and the

the queen granted his request. Accordingly he left Paris, and set out for Sweden. He passed on to Holland, where he was extremely well received, after which he went to Stockholm.

Leaving Stockholm (the queen being then at Upsal) he went to a seaport about two leagues distant, in order to embark for Lubec.

They had scarcely set sail when the ship was overtaken by a violent storm, which greatly troubled our traveller, obliged him to put in, (on Aug. 17.) four miles from Dantzic.

He then set out in a covered waggon for Lubec; but on coming to Rostoc in Mekelbourg, he found himself so ill that he was obliged to stop there.

He then ordered a physician, who declared that his indisposition proceeded from weakness and fatigue, and that with rest and restoratives he might recover; but, on seeing him next day, and finding his weakness increased, with a cold sweat and other symptoms of exhausted nature, he judged his end was near.

Grotius then asked them for a clergyman: one came, who, not knowing him, made use of the common expressions used to the lower sort of persons---Grotius, to cut short this kind of exhortation, said to him: "I am Grotius."---"What! answered the minister, are you the great Grotius?" This fine passage in the life of our philosopher is related by M. Menage; but suspected by Mr. Burigny.

N^o 22.

The minister who closed his eyes was John Guistorpius. He came to see him at nine in the evening, and finding him at the point of death, repeated a prayer suitable to his condition: he then asked Grotius from time to time whether he understood him: to which, having frequently answered yes, he added: "I heard your voice, but found it difficult to understand what you said."

These were his last words: soon after which he expired just about midnight, or rather in the morning of Aug. 29, 1645, aged sixty-two years. His body was delivered to the physicians; who took out his bowels: after this his corpse was carried to Delft and deposited in the tomb of his ancestors. He wrote for himself the following modest epitaph:

Grotius hic Hugo est, Batavum captivus et exul,
Legatus regni, Suecia magna, tui.

Grotius had the precaution to make his will at Paris, on March 27, 1645, a little before his departure. He had a very agreeable person, a good complexion, an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, and a serene and smiling countenance. He was not tall, but very strong and well built.

 THEODORE BEZA.

THIS great man was a minister of Geneva, and one of the chief pillars of the reformed church, being one of its most zealous promoters and defenders.

He was nobly descended by both his parents; and was born on the 24th of June, 1519, at Vezelai, a city of Burgundy in France, where his family was held in great esteem.

His father was Peter de Beza, and was bailiff of Vezelai. His mother's name was Mary Bourdelot. He was sent to Paris very young, where he was tenderly educated under the care of his uncle Nicholas de Beza, counsellor of the parliament at Paris, till December 1528, when he was sent to Orleans to study under Melchior Wolmar, a German, and professor of the Greek tongue.

He lived seven years in Wolmar's house; with whom he made an extraordinary progress in classical and polite learning, and imbibed from him those principles of the protestant religion, which afterwards so gloriously displayed themselves in his life and conduct.

His uncle intended him for the bar, and he accordingly began to study the law; but that not suiting his disposition, he bestowed most of his attention to the reading of the Greek and Latin authors, and the composing verses.

He distinguished himself in a very

particular manner by his poetry, which made him careased by the most learned men of the university, and highly extolled by the best poets of that time.

His uncle, the counsellor, died in 1532; but another uncle, who was abbot of Froidmont, had a like regard for this nephew, and intended to resign his abbey to him, which was 15000 livres a year.

In 1539, Beza took his licentiate's degree, being then twenty-one years of age; and soon after went to Paris, where such good preferments were provided for him, as he might well expect from the interest of his friends, his great talents, and uncommon reputation. "The allurements of pleasure, the sweets of fame and the hopes of the greatest honour," as himself expresses it, gave him very pleasing sensations, and combated for some time the resolution he had taken to follow Wolmar, and make a public profession of the reformation.

Beza published some poetical pieces which were esteemed worthy even of the Augustan age. But some new pieces of his being censured as licentious free and some envious persons calumniating his life, he quitted a priory, which he had at Lonjumeau, and retired to Geneva 1548, where he faithfully performed his promise by marrying Claudia Denossa, with whom he lived forty years lovingly and honorably; for she was a lady of great merit; and her diligent attention, frugality, and particular care of her husband, contributed in the most amiable manner to render their union happy.

The

"The first piece which Beza published at Laufanne, and which soon rendered him very famous, was a French tragi-comedy, intituled, *La Sacrifice d' Abraham*. Jacomet turned it in Latin in 1598. Almost at the same time James Bruno translated it into the same language at Amsterdam; and it has been reprinted several times. Pasquier thus speaks of it, "About this time was Theodore de Beza a brave French and Latin poet; he composed the *Sacrifice of Abraham* in French verse; which was drawn in so lively a manner, that the reading of it has made tears fall from my eyes."

Beza frequently went to Geneva to visit Calvin, during the vacations. Calvin professed himself delighted with his poetry; but exhorted him to dedicate his talents to the service of the church, and particularly advised him to finish what Marot had begun, which was a translation of the psalms of David.

This advice Beza followed, and translated into French verse the hundred psalms which remained unfinished by Marot. "This translation of the remains of David's psalms, says Pasquier, in his *Recherches de la France*, l. vii. p. 615, shews what Beza could do, though he has not so happily succeeded as Clement Marot in his fifty."

Beza continued to teach Greek for about ten years at Laufanne, and then returned and settled at Geneva, where he became a protestant minister.

Having settled here in 1559, he adhered to Calvin in the strictest man-

ner, and in a little time became his colleague in the church and university. He succeeded Claudius Pontanus as minister; and composed his *Confession of faith* in Latin, which he had formerly wrote in French, to justify himself to his father, and with a view of converting the good old man; this he dedicated to his preceptor Wolmar, and published it in 1560.

Some time after this Beza went to Nerac, at the incitement of some great persons of the kingdom, to convert Anthony of Bourbon, king of Navarre, and confer with him upon affairs of importance.

The protestant doctors spoke with great freedom, particularly Beza, whose extraordinary abilities had here a fine opportunity to display themselves.

Through the whole of this grand conference Beza behaved himself as a man of great capacity. But the assembly at last separated without coming to a conclusion; the catholics not being disposed to make concessions in any one article.

On his return to Geneva he succeeded Calvin in the ministry: here he wrote an apology for the Latin translation of the New Testament which had been censured by Castalio, whom Beza charges with openly endeavouring, in a preface on the perversion of the sacred books, to destroy the sufficiently evident authority of the divine word.

It seems there had been a book of German theology translated into Latin, which translation Beza was persuaded was the work of Castalio; yet he would not affirm it in a public work, before he

he had informed himself whether it could be possible to produce good proofs of it in case Castalio should deny it; a necessary and wise precaution; for Castalio did deny, before the ministers of Basil, that he had any share in that book: though the truth of the fact, as charged on him, is confirmed by a letter which St. Aldegonde wrote to Beza, assuring him, that Castalio was the real translator of that dangerous performance.

The religious war in France breaking out, thousands were destroyed on both sides; Beza returned again to that kingdom in 1571, to assist at the national synod in the Rochelle, of which he was elect moderator.

The papists had broken the peace 1568, by the massacre of Paris in 1571, in which above thirty thousand protestants were murdered; and the king of Navarre, with the young prince of Conde, the only two persons saved, were compelled to abjure the reformed religion.

No sooner had this war, in a degree, subsided, than it was recommenced by the Huguenots with great animosity. Beza, in 1572, assisted at the synod of Nismes, where he opposed the faction of John Morel, who had designed to introduce a new discipline.

The royal army besieged Rochelle which was so gallantly defended by the protestants, that peace was granted them in 1573.

The fifth civil war began the next year, when the prince of Conde sent for Beza to Strasburg that he might carry on a negotiation with prince

John Casimir, administrator of the Palatinate; a circumstance which shews that the extensive talents of Beza carried him farther than the ability of writing lectures and the study of books.

This was well known and understood by the prince of Conde; under whose embassy Beza succeeded so well, that Casimir brought an army from Germany to assist the Huguenots, who obtained a peace upon terms more advantageous than any of the former.

In 1586, some gentlemen having left France for the sake of religion, and fled to Montbelliard in the Franche-Comte: the count of that district in compliance with their desire, requested the canton of Bern to nominate deputies, in order to confer with the divines of Wirtemberg; and also intreated the republic of Geneva to send Beza to the conference.

Accordingly Beza came to Montbelliard, with Anthony la Faye, as deputies from Geneva: Musculus and Huberus, on the part of the Swiss; and James Andreas, and Luke Osiander, were the chief deputies of Wirtemberg. The dispute was left wholly to Beza and Andreas, a divine of Tübingen. Beza desired this controversy might be held by arguments in form; but was obliged to recede in compliance with his adversary, who was unwilling to be confined by rules of syllogism: Andreas accordingly used a long and declamatory method, which Beza was obliged to follow. The dispute was not, however, cleared up, though it lasted many days: yet

yet each party boasted a victory, and published an account of their success.

This conference was held, as it is judged, rather for political than theological reasons. The count of Montbeliard had been an Ubiquitarian till he heard Beza's sermons and lectures, when he altered his opinion, and gave protection to the above refugees: but his chief aim in holding this conference was to clear himself from the suspicion of Calvinism, that the emperor might favour his succession to the duchy of Wirtemberg.

Beza lost his excellent and most amiable wife in 1588, but this domestic affliction did not keep him from the synod of Bern, where the doctrine of Samuel Huberus, relating to our justification before God, which, he said, consisted in an inherent quality, was condemned.

Beza was now near seventy, and the same year after his first wife's death, he married again to Catherine de la Plane, a widow, who was also tender and careful of him till his death.

In 1590, he published his treatise, *de Excommunicatione & Presbyterio* against Thomas Erastes; and some time after he examined Saravia's book *de Ministrorum Evangelii gradibus*.

The infirmities of old-age beginning to fall heavy upon him in 1597, he could seldom speak in public. In that year a report was spread throughout Italy, Germany, and Holland, that he had renounced his religion before the senate, and had exhorted the magistrates to reconcile themselves

to the church of Rome; and that, by a special order from the pope, the bishop had absolved him.

This falshood was easily confuted by the ministers of Geneva, who published two pieces, the one in Latin, the other in French, attended with all the authenticity necessary to the refutation of so foolish a lie.

Beza himself contradicted it in a letter to William Stuckius: and Clement du Puy, who was looked upon as the inventor of this fable, drew a shower of satyrical verses on himself in particular, and on his order in general, which Beza's muses, old as they were, made very formidable.

The last time that Beza preached was on the day that peace was proclaimed in 1598, when he expounded the 85th psalm, "Thou Lord hast made peace with thy people."

The last verses he composed were a *Votiva Gratulatio* to Henry IV. after a kind reception from that monarch near Geneva, in December 1600. This king had been obliged to embrace the Romish religion in 1593; but in 1598, he published an edict at Nantz, to quiet the minds of the protestants, by securing to them the free exercise of their religion.

He concluded a peace with Spain at Vervins, and then attacked the duke of Savoy, whose dominions he had almost conquered, and lay incamped at St. Catherine's fort, about two leagues from Geneva; he received the deputies at Luyfel, a quarter of a league from the fort. Dr. Spon relates the speech which Beza made to that prince, and the king's answer.

he had informed himself whether it could be possible to produce good proofs of it in case Castalio should deny it; a necessary and wise precaution; for Castalio did deny, before the ministers of Basil, that he had any share in that book: though the truth of the fact, as charged on him, is confirmed by a letter which St. Aldegonde wrote to Beza, assuring him, that Castalio was the real translator of that dangerous performance.

The religious war in France breaking out, thousands were destroyed on both sides; Beza returned again to that kingdom in 1571, to assist at the national synod in the Rochelle, of which he was elect moderator.

The papists had broken the peace 1568, by the massacre of Paris in 1571, in which above thirty thousand protestants were murdered; and the king of Navarre, with the young prince of Condé, the only two persons saved, were compelled to abjure the reformed religion.

No sooner had this war, in a degree, subsided, than it was recommenced by the Huguenots with great animosity. Beza, in 1572, assisted at the synod of Nismes, where he opposed the faction of John Morel, who had designed to introduce a new discipline.

The royal army besieged Rochelle which was so gallantly defended by the protestants, that peace was granted them in 1573.

The fifth civil war began the next year, when the prince of Condé sent for Beza to Strasburg that he might carry on a negociation with prince

John Casimir, administrator of the Palatinate; a circumstance which shews that the extensive talents of Beza carried him farther than the ability of writing lectures and the study of books.

This was well known and understood by the prince of Condé; under whose embassy Beza succeeded so well, that Casimir brought an army from Germany to assist the Huguenots, who obtained a peace upon terms more advantageous than any of the former.

In 1586, some gentlemen having left France for the sake of religion, and fled to Montbelliard in the Franche-Comte: the count of that district in compliance with their desire, requested the canton of Bern to nominate deputies, in order to confer with the divines of Wirtemberg; and also intreated the republic of Geneva to send Beza to the conference.

Accordingly Beza came to Montbelliard, with Anthony la Faye, as deputies from Geneva: Musculus and Huberus, on the part of the Swiss; and James Andreas, and Luke Osiander, were the chief deputies of Wirtemberg. The dispute was left wholly to Beza and Andreas, a divine of Tübingen. Beza desired this controversy might be held by arguments in form; but was obliged to recede in compliance with his adversary, who was unwilling to be confined by rules of syllogism: Andreas accordingly used a long and declamatory method, which Beza was obliged to follow. The dispute was not, however, cleared up, though it lasted many days: yet

yet each party boasted a victory, and published an account of their success.

This conference was held, as it is judged, rather for political than theological reasons. The count of Montbeliard had been an Ubiquitarian till he heard Beza's sermons and lectures, when he altered his opinion, and gave protection to the above refugees: but his chief aim in holding this conference was to clear himself from the suspicion of Calvinism, that the emperor might favour his succession to the duchy of Wirtemberg.

Beza lost his excellent and most amiable wife in 1588, but this domestic affliction did not keep him from the synod of Bern, where the doctrine of Samuel Huberus, relating to our justification before God, which, he said, consisted in an inherent quality, was condemned.

Beza was now near seventy, and the same year after his first wife's death, he married again to Catherine de la Plane, a widow, who was also tender and careful of him till his death.

In 1590, he published his treatise, *de Excommunicatione & Presbyterio* against Thomas Erastes; and some time after he examined Saravia's book *de Ministrorum Evangelii gradibus*.

The infirmities of old-age beginning to fall heavy upon him in 1597, he could seldom speak in public. In that year a report was spread throughout Italy, Germany, and Holland, that he had renounced his religion before the senate, and had exhorted the magistrates to reconcile themselves

N^o 22.

to the church of Rome; and that, by a special order from the pope, the bishop had absolved him.

This falshood was easily confuted by the ministers of Geneva, who published two pieces, the one in Latin, the other in French, attended with all the authenticity necessary to the refutation of so foolish a lie.

Beza himself contradicted it in a letter to William Stuckius: and Clement du Puy, who was looked upon as the inventor of this fable, drew a shower of satyrical verses on himself in particular, and on his order in general, which Beza's muses, old as they were, made very formidable.

The last time that Beza preached was on the day that peace was proclaimed in 1598, when he expounded the 85th psalm, "Thou Lord hast made peace with thy people."

The last verses he composed were a *Votiva Gratulatio* to Henry IV. after a kind reception from that monarch near Geneva, in December 1600. This king had been obliged to embrace the Romish religion in 1593; but in 1598, he published an edict at Nantz, to quiet the minds of the protestants, by securing to them the free exercise of their religion.

He concluded a peace with Spain at Vervins, and then attacked the duke of Savoy, whose dominions he had almost conquered, and lay incamped at St. Catherine's fort, about two leagues from Geneva; he received the deputies at Luysel, a quarter of a league from the fort. Dr. Spon relates the speech which Beza made to that prince, and the king's answer.

5 P

Beza

Beza praised the piety of Henry, in rescuing the churches of God from oppression; and contented himself with saying, and applying to human things, what Simeon said of divine; "Now Lord! let thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; seeing that mine eyes have beheld, before I die, not only the deliverer of us, but of all France, and of the faithful in general." The king answered, "Father, these few words, which signify much, are worthy the reputation you have acquired." He then granted the deputies what they desired, which was the demolition of St. Catherine's fort. And Thuanus says, that the king made Beza a present of five hundred crowns; but Collier says it was five hundred pistoles, for the good service he had done his father and mother.

He preserved his good sense to the last. His memory was so very good as to things he had learned during the vigour of his mind, that he could repeat all the psalms in Hebrew, and all St. Paul's epistles in Greek, by rote: but it was very bad as to things present.

He continued in this condition almost two years: and Causaubon affirms, that in point of erudition, Beza shewed himself in the latter years of his life such as he had appeared twenty years before.

He conversed so clearly upon ancient history, that it seemed as if he had just been reading Plutarch, and the like authors; but after having amply discoursed of the new king of England, he would frequently ask in the same

conversation, whether it was true that queen Elizabeth was dead?

His strength visibly declined for some weeks, and there was nothing sudden or unexpected in his death: he expressed great sentiments of piety with his last breath, which he yielded up on the 13th of October, 1605, at the age of eighty-six years, three months, and nineteen days.

He was interred in the cloister of St. Peter's at Geneva; and dying without ever having had any children, left his wife, Catherine de Plane, sole heiress of his estate, and a truly exemplary character of conjugal care and fidelity.

Beza was a man of extraordinary merit, and one who did great services to the protestant cause, having been very zealous, and instrumental in conducting the reformation. He was esteemed chief of the protestants of France and Switzerland. The romans commonly called him, "The Huguenot pope;" and pope Sixtus V. caused two conferences to be held, at which he was present, to deliberate about the means of depriving the protestant party of the great support they had in the person of Beza.

They would have assassinated or poisoned him, if it had been possible that any enterprise against him could succeed. What more can be said to the honour of this minister, than the representing him as a man, who made the pope and cardinals in Junto uneasy, as to affairs of state.---For there was no controversy in the case in question?

Beza wrote a great number of books, besides

besides those already mentioned, particularly the Icones of illustrious persons, who assisted in the reformation; and the "Ecclesiastical history of the Reformed Churches."

This last work is very curious, and extends from 1521 to the peace of the 13th of March, 1563.

A more particular account of his writings may be met with in Anthony la Faye's catalogue, at the end of his work, *De Vita et Obitu Theodori Beza*.

His poems, intituled, *Juvenilia*, have raised a great noise and clamour. They were printed at Paris in 1548, by Badius, with a privilege of the parliament for three years. He dedicated these poems to his professor, Melchior Wormar. They consisted of *sylvæ*, elegies, pictures, icones, and epigrams: they have been thought; and, perhaps, cannot be denied, to contain verses too free, and not well suited to the chastity of a christian muse.

He himself, however, afterwards expressed grief for the publication of them, and placed them amongst those errors of his youth, for which he asked pardon of God and the world; this, together with the age of twenty nine, at which he wrote them, should methinks, have been a sufficient excuse with even those censorious persons, who afterwards made a poor handle of this performance, to calumniate and detract him, in his more advanced years.

The Life of JUSTIN MARTYR.

THIS great reformer, was a native of Palestine in Syria, being born at Neapolis in the province of Samaria, about the year one hundred and three.

He was one of the most learned of all the early writers of the Eastern church, having had a very liberal education bestowed upon him by his father, whose name was Priscus, a Pagan.

In his youth he travelled into foreign countries, for increase of knowledge; and, being of a very inquisitive disposition, he applied himself for instruction to each of the several sects of philosophers of those times.

His first teachers were the Stoics, with whom he was soon dissatisfied, and went from them to a Peripatetic tutor, whose covetousness quickly gave him so much disgust, that he departed from him and applied himself to a Pythagorean; but being disappointed in his expectations there likewise, he, lastly, went among the Platonists, with whom he continued some time, being much pleased with their notions, as esteeming them the only way to true happiness, and giving himself up, in consequence of his conjunction with that sect, to study and contemplation.

As he was walking one day in a private place by the sea side, he was met by an ancient man of a venerable aspect, (it is conjectured by some that this

this was an angel) who entered into conversation with him concerning the excellency of philosophy in general, and of Platonism in particular.

In the process of their discourse the stranger endeavoured to convince him of his mistake in esteeming the Platonists to be the only guides to true happiness, and informed him, "That long before his admired philosophers existed there were certain holy and blessed men called prophets, who were true lovers of God, and, moreover, divinely inspired, in consequence of which they had foretold events which afterwards came to pass; that these alone had understood the truth, and declared it to the world; whose books being still extant, they would instruct any one in what it was proper for a philosopher to know: that the accomplishment of their prophecies, together with the miracles which they wrought, had put their testimony beyond all possibility of exception: that they magnified God, the great Creator of the universe, and published his Son, Christ, as the Saviour of mankind." He concluded his discourse with adding, "And as for thyself, above all things, pray that the gates of light may be set open to thee, for these things are not discerned and understood by any, unless God and Christ grant to a man the knowledge of them." Having said this, he immediately departed from him.

The discourse of this person having made a very strong impression on the mind of Justin, he set himself very seriously to examine the Christian religion, in consequence of which he

was soon convinced of the truth thereof. He declares, that he found it to be the only certain philosophy, and that he could not but commend it, as containing in it a certain majesty admirably adapted at once both to terrify and persuade those who were out of the right way, and to beget the sweetest peace and serenity in the minds of those who were in it.

Nor were the exemplary conduct and heroic constancy of the Christians of those times without their share of influence in the conversion of this great man, of which himself takes notice to the emperor: (happy times of Christianity! when the lives of its professors pleaded thus powerfully the cause of their Master) "For my own part," says he, "being yet detained under the Platonic institutions, when I heard the Christians traduced and reproached, and yet saw them fearlessly rushing upon death and venturing upon all those things which are most dreadful to human nature, I concluded with myself, that it was impossible for these men to wallow in vice; for who that is a slave to pleasure can cheerfully bid death welcome, and would not rather endeavour to prolong his life, and conceal himself from the Magistrate instead of offering himself to a public execution."

It was in the year 133, and the thirtieth of his age, that Justin was converted to the Christian faith; and, as before that happy event, he appears to have been no less a sincere lover of, than a diligent enquirer after the truth, so, afterwards, he became a very eminent example of distinguished

guished virtue and elevated piety. He was endowed with good natural parts, which were improved by a large stock of learning.

He loved his Creator sincerely, and earnestly endeavoured to promote his glory. His temper was remarkably kind, even towards his most inveterate enemies; the excellency of his disposition, will, in some measure, appear from the few following lines from his own writings: Apology to the emperor, &c. "It is the voice of reason, and ever attended to by men truly pious, that truth alone is the thing to be had in the highest honour, and to hold the first place in our affections. The same right reason dictates also---that a lover of the truth must, by all means, square his words and actions by the rules of justice, cost him what it will. For it is a maxim among us Christians, that we cannot suffer any real hurt, if we cannot be convicted of any crime. "You may kill, indeed, but you cannot hurt us! It is in our power, at any time, to escape your torments, by denying the faith when you question us about it; but we scorn to purchase life at the expence of a lie; for our souls are winged with a desire of a life of eternal duration,---and of an immediate conversation with God the Father and Maker of all things."

Some of the most considerable of the Gentiles being much concerned at the loss of so extraordinary a person as Justin from among them, he wrote an oration to the Greeks, in which he informed them, that he had not rashly, and without deliberation, departed

from their religion, but because he could find nothing in it really sacred and worthy of the Deity.

"The matters among you," says he, "as your poets have ordered them are monuments of nothing but madness and intemperance, and if a man apply even to the most learned of you for instruction, he will be entangled in a thousand difficulties, and become the most confused person in the world."

After which he proceeds, with a great deal of wit and eloquence, to expose the folly and absurdity of the pagan notions, concluding with the following exhortation: "Come hither, O ye Greeks, and partake of a most incomparable wisdom, be instructed in a divine religion, and acquaint yourselves with an immortal King,---become as I am, for I was once as ye are. This is the doctrine which expels all corrupt affections out of the soul, from which being freed, it enjoys a state of tranquillity, and mounts up to its Creator."

About the year 150, Justin went to Rome, where he undertook to defend the Christian religion against the opposers of those times, and particularly against the heretic Marcion, who taught, that there were two Gods, the one good, and the other evil; and the Christians being very severely dealt with at that time by Antoninus Pius, the Emperor, Justin set himself to plead their cause; accordingly he published an Apology, inscribed to the Emperor and Senate of Rome, in which he defended his brethren with great strength of reason against the

common objections of their enemies, shewing, at the same time, the divinity of their faith, and urging, moreover, the unreasonableness and injustice of proceeding against them after the then usual method.

This address had its desired effect, and wrought so powerfully in their behalf, that the emperor published a letter, in which he strictly commanded, that the Christians should not be any more molested merely on account of their religion, unless they were also found guilty of some crime against the state.

A short time after this, Justin removed from Rome, and went to Athens, where he became acquainted with the celebrated Jewish Rabbi Tarphon, or Trypho, a man of great eminence among his own people; with him he entered into a dispute concerning religion which lasted two days, in which he most admirably defended the Christian cause against Judaism; and the issue was, that the Jew declared himself highly pleased with his discourse, acknowledging, moreover, that he had urged stronger arguments in behalf of Christianity than he expected to have heard, and requested that he might enjoy his friendship, in what part of the world soever he was.

After Justin had continued some time at Ephesus, he returned back again to Rome, and meeting there with a philosopher named Crescens, he had frequent debates with him concerning religion.

This man was in considerable repute at Rome; he was a Cynic by

profession, and, according to the genius of that sect surly and ill-natured, proud and conceited, a philosopher in appearance, but at the same time, a notorious slave to vice and wickedness of every kind; he endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to render the Christians odious, though he was utterly ignorant of their principles, and sought to procure the death of Justin (which he length accomplished) for his free reproofs of him for his abominable wickedness.

In the year 167 some Christians at Rome having been put to death for the profession of their faith, Justin presented a second apology to the Emperor Marcus Antonius, in which he urges the injustice and cruelty of taking away men's lives merely on account of their religion, he answered, moreover, the objections usually made against the Christians, and requested, that, after they had considered the affair, they would prefix his apology to their own determination, and publish them together to the world, that all mankind might have an opportunity of judging of the justice of their cause.

This zeal and activity of Justin in behalf of his brethren awakened afresh the malice of his adversary Crescens against him, who, as he was not able to confute what he had wrote, resolved to attack him a more effectual way; an event which Justin himself had before looked for, and accordingly had told the Emperor, "He expected that Crescens, or some other of their titular philosophers, would lay snares to get him tormented or crucified:" nor
was

was he at all mistaken in his conjecture: for the envious wretch at length procured him to be cast into prison, where, it is said, he underwent divers torments, after which he (together with six other Christians his companions) was carried before Rusticius the Prefect of the city, who endeavoured to prevail with him to obey the gods, and comply with the imperial injunctions.

He returned for answer, "That no one could justly be found fault with who obeyed the commands of Christ his Saviour."

The Governor then demanded of him, "What kind of education he had?"

He replied, "That he had made it his business to understand the opinions of all the several sects of philosophers, but had finally embraced the Christian doctrine, how little soever it was esteemed by those who were immersed in errors and false opinions."

"Wretch that thou art," said the Prefect, "art thou, then, wedded to those notions?"

"I am," answered he.

"What is the doctrine which you hold," said the Prefect?

He replied, "The doctrine which we piously profess is this---We believe the one only God to be the Creator of all things, visible and invisible, and confess our Lord Jesus Christ to be the Son of God,---and the Saviour of all those who are duly instructed by him, and that he shall come hereafter to be the Judge of mankind."

The Prefect next asked, "Where

do the Christians usually assemble?" and being told that the God whom they worshipped was not confined to a particular place, he enquired farther, where it was that Justin was used to instruct his disciples? on which Justin informed him where he dwelt, and told him that he there preached the Christian doctrine to all that came to him.

The Governor then began to examine, severally, the companions of Justin, and having concluded with them, he addressed himself again to him in the following manner: "hear thou that art noted for thy eloquence, and thinkest that thou art in the truth, if I cause thee to be scourged from head to foot, dost thou think that thou shalt go to heaven?"

He replied, "That, although he should suffer the before-mentioned punishment, he hoped to enjoy the portion of all true Christians, as knowing that the divine favour was extended to such and would be so to the end of the world."

Being again asked, "Whether he should go to heaven and receive a reward?"

He answered, "That he did not only think so, but knew, and was certain of it."

The Governor finding that it was to no purpose to argue, commanded both him and the others to go together and sacrifice to the gods, to which Justin replied, "No man in his right mind will desert the true religion to fall to impiety:" and being threatened that, unless they complied, they should

common objections of their enemies, shewing, at the same time, the divinity of their faith, and urging, moreover, the unreasonableness and injustice of proceeding against them after the then usual method.

This address had its desired effect, and wrought so powerfully in their behalf, that the emperor published a letter, in which he strictly commanded, that the Christians should not be any more molested merely on account of their religion, unless they were also found guilty of some crime against the state.

A short time after this, Justin removed from Rome, and went to Athens, where he became acquainted with the celebrated Jewish Rabbi Tarphon, or Trypho, a man of great eminence among his own people; with him he entered into a dispute concerning religion which lasted two days, in which he most admirably defended the Christian cause against Judaism; and the issue was, that the Jew declared himself highly pleased with his discourse, acknowledging, moreover, that he had urged stronger arguments in behalf of Christianity than he expected to have heard, and requested that he might enjoy his friendship, in what part of the world soever he was.

After Justin had continued some time at Ephesus, he returned back again to Rome, and meeting there with a philosopher named Crescens, he had frequent debates with him concerning religion.

This man was in considerable repute at Rome; he was a Cynic by

profession, and, according to the genius of that sect surly and ill-natured, proud and conceited, a philosopher in appearance, but at the same time, a notorious slave to vice and wickedness of every kind; he endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to render the Christians odious, though he was utterly ignorant of their principles, and sought to procure the death of Justin (which he length accomplished) for his free reproofs of him for his abominable wickedness.

In the year 167 some Christians at Rome having been put to death for the profession of their faith, Justin presented a second apology to the Emperor Marcus Antonius, in which he urges the injustice and cruelty of taking away men's lives merely on account of their religion, he answered, moreover, the objections usually made against the Christians, and requested, that, after they had considered the affair, they would prefix his apology to their own determination, and publish them together to the world, that all mankind might have an opportunity of judging of the justice of their cause.

This zeal and activity of Justin in behalf of his brethren awakened afresh the malice of his adversary Crescens against him, who, as he was not able to confute what he had wrote, resolved to attack him a more effectual way; an event which Justin himself had before looked for, and accordingly had told the Emperor, "He expected that Crescens, or some other of their titular philosophers, would lay snares to get him tormented or crucified:" nor was

was he at all mistaken in his conjecture: for the envious wretch at length procured him to be cast into prison, where, it is said, he underwent divers torments, after which he (together with six other Christians his companions) was carried before Rusticius the Prefect of the city, who endeavoured to prevail with him to obey the gods, and comply with the imperial injunctions.

He returned for answer, "That no one could justly be found fault with who obeyed the commands of Christ his Saviour."

The Governor then demanded of him, "What kind of education he had?"

He replied, "That he had made it his business to understand the opinions of all the several sects of philosophers, but had finally embraced the Christian doctrine, how little soever it was esteemed by those who were immersed in errors and false opinions."

"Wretch that thou art," said the Prefect, "art thou, then, wedded to those notions?"

"I am," answered he.

"What is the doctrine which you hold," said the Prefect?

He replied, "The doctrine which we piously profess is this---We believe the one only God to be the Creator of all things, visible and invisible, and confess our Lord Jesus Christ to be the Son of God,---and the Saviour of all those who are duly instructed by him, and that he shall come hereafter to be the Judge of mankind."

The Prefect next asked, "Where

do the Christians usually assemble?" and being told that the God whom they worshipped was not confined to a particular place, he enquired farther, where it was that Justin was used to instruct his disciples? on which Justin informed him where he dwelt, and told him that he there preached the Christian doctrine to all that came to him.

The Governor then began to examine, severally, the companions of Justin, and having concluded with them, he addressed himself again to him in the following manner: "hear thou that art noted for thy eloquence, and thinkest that thou art in the truth, if I cause thee to be scourged from head to foot, dost thou think that thou shalt go to heaven?"

He replied, "That, although he should suffer the before-mentioned punishment, he hoped to enjoy the portion of all true Christians, as knowing that the divine favour was extended to such and would be so to the end of the world."

Being again asked, "Whether he should go to heaven and receive a reward?"

He answered, "That he did not only think so, but knew, and was certain of it."

The Governor finding that it was to no purpose to argue, commanded both him and the others to go together and sacrifice to the gods, to which Justin replied, "No man in his right mind will desert the true religion to fall to impiety:" and being threatened that, unless they complied, they should

should be tormented without mercy."

He answered, "there is nothing that we more earnestly desire than to endure torments for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, for this will promote our happiness, and procure us confidence before that dreadful tribunal of our Lord and Saviour, at which, by the divine appointment, the whole world must appear."

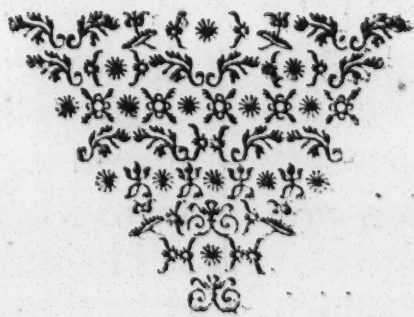
To this answer the rest assented likewise, adding, moreover, "Dispatch quickly what thou hast a mind to do, for we are Christians, and cannot sacrifice to idols."

The Prefect, on hearing this, immediately pronounced the following

sentence: "They who refuse to sacrifice to the gods, and to obey the imperial edicts, let them be first scourged, and then beheaded, according to the laws."

After which they were led back again to prison, rejoicing and blessing God that they were appointed to suffer for his sake; and the sentence upon them was executed accordingly.

Such was the manner in which this famous apologist for Christianity finished his course in the year 167, and of his own age the sixty-fourth: his remains, together with those of his faithful companions, were taken away by the brethren and properly interred.



R E F U T A T I O N

O F T H E

E R R O R S of P O P E R Y, &c.

TH E Romish church having usurped the title of Catholic, and affirmed that out of her communion there is no salvation; to convince the unprejudiced and instruct the ignorant reader concerning the just claim she has to such pretence, we now propose, according to promise, to consider how far her doctrines and practices correspond with the word of God, the only rule by which we can possibly judge in all matters of revealed religion.

To accomplish this design, it will be necessary in the first place to lay down an Abstract of the Roman Creed, and then consider each particular article by itself, making the sacred scriptures the sole guide of our resolves with respect to their truth and foundation.

Abstracts of the Roman Creed.

Article 1. I most stedfastly admit, and embrace the apostolical, and ecclesiastical traditions, with the rest of

N^o 22.

the constitutions and observations of the Roman Church.

2. I also receive the holy scriptures according to that sense, which the holy Mother Church, [whose sole right it is to interpret] hath held and doth hold nor will ever understand, or interpret them otherwise, than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers.

3. I profess, that there are seven true and proper sacraments of the new covenant, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and necessary to salvation, (though not all of them necessary to every man) viz. Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Matrimony; all which do confer grace, and whereof Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders cannot be repeated without sacrilege.

4. I likewise receive and admit all the received and approved rites of the Catholic church in the solemn administration of all the aforesaid sacraments.

5. I profess, that in the mass is offered to God, a true, proper, and propitiatory

5 R

pitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, there is really and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is a conversion made of the whole substance, of wine into his blood, which conversion, the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation.

6. I confess, that under either kind or species only, whole and entire Christ, and the true sacrament is received.

7. I constantly hold, that there is a purgatory; and that the souls there detained, are helped by the suffrage of the faithful.

8. I believe most firmly, that the saints, who reign together with Christ are to be worshipped and prayed to, and their relicks to be venerated.

9. I positively assert, that the images of Christ, of the blessed Virgin, and of the other saints, are to be had and retained to them.

10. I also affirm, that the power of indulgence was left by Christ to his church, and that the use of them is most salutary to christian people.

11. I acknowledge the Holy Catholic, and Apostolic Roman church to be the mother and mistress of all churches; and I promise and swear true obedience to the pope of Rome, who is Christ's vicar, and successor to St. Peter, the prince of the apostles.

12. I also without doubt, receive and profess of all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canon and councils, especially by the holy Synod of Trent, and all things contrary to them, with all heresies,

condemned, rejected, and cursed by the church, I likewise reject, condemn and curse.

Lastly. This true Catholic Faith, without which no man can be saved, which at present I freely hold, and profess, I will (by God's help) constantly retain and confess, entire and inviolable, to my latest breath, and take care to the utmost of my power, that the same shall be taught, held, and professed by all under me, and whose care shall belong to me in my office; so help me God, and the holy Evangelists.

This is a summary of the Roman faith, as set forth by the infallible authority of a pope and a council, and these are the points in controversy between the Romish and Reformed churches, into the validity of which we are now to examine.

Traditions.

The church of Rome having deprived the laity of the bible, by forbidding them to look into those sacred writings, obliges all her disciples to take for truth whatever she teaches them, without permitting them to examine the same by the word of God, and by this means keeps out all light, and leads them wherever she pleases.

Now, from the first article, the rest naturally follow, as a first root of error, the admitting of traditions and human constitution as the foundation of faith.

This article is evidently repugnant to the whole tenor of scripture, which strictly

strictly enjoins us to build our faith upon no man's opinion, "to call no man master (in spiritual concerns) upon earth; to try the spirit; to beware of false teachers;" intimating upon the whole, that we are not absolutely to resign up our judgment to any mortal creature, so as not to reserve an implicit regard to the word of our heavenly Father; nor so blindly to follow the dictates of any guide or teacher, of whatsoever venerable name or authority, as all men are fallible and subject to error; but to bring all their declarations to the standard of God's infallible word, and believe or disbelieve them as they appear founded upon the same.

The Sacraments.

To the two sacraments instituted by Christ, the Romish church has added five more, and to those two of Christ's institution she has made great alterations and additions; for to the Sacrament of Baptism, in which Christ has appointed nothing but water, she has added salt, oil or spittle, because she will not suffer none of Christ's institutions to pass without a mixture of her own inventions.

In the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, she has both added and diminished, and has made very important alterations. Where Christ has commanded bread and wine to be received in remembrance of him; she forbids the cup to all, but her clergy.

The laity have only the bread administered to them, and even that,

not after the manner ordained by Christ, who broke bread and gave it his disciples; instead of which the church of Rome administers to her members not bread, but a wafer, and that not broke, but put whole by the priest into the mouths of the communicants.

The wafers that are made for this use, are much smaller than those taken by the priest, who with it drinks the sacramental wine alone, to which the rest of the congregation have as good a right from the institution of our blessed Lord, who said, "Drink ye all of this, Matt. xxvi. 27."

The Sacrifice of the Mass.

In the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which according to the appointment of our Saviour, is to be done in remembrance of him; and as St. Paul observes, to "shew forth the Lord's death untill he come;" they pretend to sacrifice to him afresh, and to offer up the Son of God, a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice to God the Father for the living and the dead, therein contradicting all St. Paul's arguments in his Epistle to the Hebrews, Chapters ix. and x. wherein he shews the perfection of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, above those that were offered by the Levitical priesthood, which were continually repeated because of their weakness and insufficiency, whereas the death of Christ, was a full and complete sacrifice, "In which he hath by one offering, perfected forever them that are sanctified,"

"tified," and who, being both priest and sacrifice, did through the eternal spirit, "offer himself without spot to God," and whom no priest on earth either did or can offer; no other priest being capable of offering him, but himself alone, "who is a priest forever after the order of Melchizedec, and who being raised from the dead dieth no more."

Transubstantiation.

To this false doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass, they have added that of transubstantiation, in which they pretend, that under the forms of bread and wine, is contained the true and real body of Jesus Christ, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary, was crucified for us, and now sitteth at the right hand of God: this very body they teach, is contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of consecration are pronounced by the priest, yet not so as to be visible, but deceiving the senses and conveying under those forms, the blessed Son of God into their mouths and stomachs.

Their whole argument for this monstrous doctrine is founded on those words of our Saviour, "This is my body;" which words they affirm must be taken in a literal sense, tho' at the same time it is plain and undeniable, that our Saviour upon this very subject uses another expression full of figures, where he says, "This cup is the New Testament in my blood," where if any substantial change is

made, it must be of the cup, and not the wine, and that not into blood, but into a testament in blood, which if they can explain without a figure, will be very extraordinary, though with a figure, nothing can be more easily understood, according to the common forms of speech.

If the protestants could once see the cup swallowed down by the Communicant, they might then be induced to believe this doctrine of Transubstantiation;---But why are those particular words, "This is my body," to be taken in a literal sense, any more than those concerning the cup? our Saviour says, "I am the true Vine, I am the Door," and St. Paul says, "Put on Christ," and there are many such figurative expressions used in scripture.

Does not the same Apostle say, "Our Fathers did all eat the same same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink, for they drank of the rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ; for we being many, are one bread, and one body."

Can we from hence infer that the natural bodies of Christians are transubstantiated into bread as they would persuade us the natural body of Christ is? does not St. Paul speak of the mystical body of Christ and his church, who are all one bread and one body?

St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. iii. 9. that "He had fed them with milk;" can that be taken literally? Col. i. 20. he says, "Christ made our peace through the blood of his cross?" do they understand that

that material piece of wood, on which our Saviour suffered death, to have poured out blood? in short are not the sacred writings full of these figurative expressions? and in the common forms of speech in ordinary converse, do we not use them? what then can be more absurd, than forcing such a literal sense upon our Saviour's words, "This is my body," contrary to the common stile of scripture, and the most obvious sense and meaning? this doctrine therefore from the whole tenor of scripture, the ancient and modern modes of writing, and general acceptance of words, appears without prejudice to be a gross error, and one of the most palpable absurdities, and contradictions, that could be devised by the invention of man.

But the most conclusive and material argument against this doctrine is derived from the end and design of the institution of the Lord's Supper; which is threefold.

1. By a visible action to form societies of Christians into one body
2. As a means of grace, upon the due receiving the same, and
3. As a remembrance, to stir up men to bless God for that unspeakable love, which in the death of Christ appeared to mankind.

Now to these three important ends, the corporal presence is of no effect, because they are all sufficiently answered by a mystical presence.

Why therefore must we strain passages of scripture, or interpret our Saviour's words in a literal sense, when the meaning is both clearer and more

natural, when taken in a figurative one as well as exactly correspondent with other parts of scripture, where the like figures are used?

The case is this; the church of Rome in the dark ages of ignorance and superstition blundered into this monstrous error, and now to support her usurped precedence, she is obliged to maintain it; for having assumed to herself not only supremacy but infallibility, she cannot by any means confess that she has erred, but is bound to uphold every doctrine she has broached, without so much as examining into its truth and validity, arguing in this childish manner; the Holy Mother Church saith it is so, ergo it must be so.

Purgatory.

The Romish church by this doctrine, hath traced out a path to Heaven, not marked in the word of God, framing a table of a place where souls are cleansed after death from the stains and imperfections of this mortal life.

Strange, that the imperfection of their faith and repentance should be supplied by their own sufferings, and that what (according to their doctrine) the blood of Christ did not completely effect, should be wrought for them by the torments they are to undergo in this purgatory, in order to reconcile a wicked life with the hopes of heaven. This church, supposing that many die, that are neither good enough for Heaven, nor bad enough for Hell, hath provided this intermediate space

for them; and instead of assuring her members, that, as the tree falleth, so it lieth, and that there is no device, nor invention in the grave whither they go, and that therefore they should give all diligence to make their calling and election sure, and work whilst they have the day before the night of death overtake them, in which no man can work: causes them to hope, that by passing through this purgatory they cannot fail to arrive at Heaven, it being very easy to get there, and avoid going to Hell by passing through this middle state.

Their pretended warrant from scripture for this doctrine are the words of our Saviour Mat. v. 25, 26, and Luke xii. 59, "Agree with thine adversary quickly whilst thou art in the way, &c. lest thou be cast into prison, verily, I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou hast paid the last mite," and also the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. iii. 15. "He shall be saved, yet so as by fire."

By paying this last mite or uppermost farthing, they understand satisfying the remainder of God's wrath by their sufferings in purgatory; for they think the death of Christ delivered only from eternal, but not this temporary punishment, that he paid but part of the debt, and left the other to be satisfied by the sinner.

But this notion is very derogatory to the fullness of the satisfaction made by Christ, who is able to save, to the uttermost those who come unto God by him.

As no sufferings that man can un-

dergo, can pacify the wrath of God, or make satisfaction to his justice; by paying the last mite must rather be understood, the remaining for ever in prison, as never being able to pay it, for which reason may that warning be given, to agree with the adversary whilst in the way, to prevent being cast into prison, whence there is never any coming out.

But their greatest stress is laid upon the other text, 1 Cor. iii. 15. though unless they can prove that the terms, wood, hay, stubble, &c. are to be taken in a literal sense, they cannot prove that the fire is not to be understood allegorically as well as the other.

The gold and silver, wood, hay, and stubble and also the fire are all metaphors, signifying what different superstructures may be raised upon the sure foundation of the Christian faith.

Some build upon it the pure works of faith unfeigned, precious as gold tried in the fire, and as silver refined from dross, such as will be able to abide the day of his appearing.

Others may build upon the same sacred and sure foundation unprofitable works and superstitious errors, of no avail in God's account; which works may suffer loss, and miss of the expected reward; though themselves may be saved, and it nearly concerns the members of the Romish church to consider whether this text, of which they make so much use, be not a warning to them, and whether great part of their services, in which they place so much perfection, are not composed of this hay and stubble, to be con-

consumed when the day comes that shall be revealed by fire.

Indulgences.

Admitting the doctrine of purgatory to be true, how inconsistent must it be with that of Indulgencies? for if, according to the Romish doctrine, there are defaults unexpiated by the blood of Christ, and left for the sinner to satisfy in his own person; how can they be taken away by any other? If the blood of Christ did not take away this debt; if the Saviour of the world has left this score unpaid; how can masses, penance, prayers for the dead, and the application of the merits of saints by indulgencies, remove it; or free the miserable sinner, before he has paid the last mite?

Therefore these two doctrines of Purgatory and Indulgencies, that may belong to, and depend on each other, are manifestly contradictory to, and inconsistent with each other.

Penance.

To countenance this pretended sacrament, by making the ignorant believe that it receives conformation by scripture, Romish translators have in several parts of the New Testament rendered the Greek word, which signifies Repentance, penance; thus for instance, in Matt. iii. their version has, "Do penance and live." Substituting their penances, which are

an exercise of bodily service, corporal mortifications and pagan austerities, instead of real repentance and renovation of life, which is the thing that God requites, who has commanded that we should "rend our hearts and not our garments," and would, that "through the spirit we should mortify the deeds of the body," and not by slavish and abject penances abuse the body, instead of being "renewed in the spirit of the mind."

Extreme Unction.

To confirm this pretended sacrament, the church of Rome affirms, that it was instituted by St. James, in the fifth chapter of his epistle, verse 14, where he writes, "Is any sick among you; let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anoint him with oil, in the name of the Lord."

This ceremony they perform by anointing the bodies of dying persons, the small of the back, arms, hands, noses, &c. and that only as near as they can at the very last extremity and point of death. Hence it is called the Extreme Unction, being performed not in order to their recovery, but to make their death safe and comfortable.

Whereas the apostle speaks of the use of it as in order to recovery, which is evident from the fifteenth verse, "And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and God shall raise him up." But this is in no respect suitable to their purpose, who use the

the ceremony with a quite different view.

Whatever might be the use of oil in those days, whether it was only a ceremony accompanying the miraculous gift of healing in those apostolic times, or whether it might have a natural use in those hot countries, as we find, 2 Chron. xxviii. 15. when Peah, king of Israel, had taken so many of the people of Judah captive, at the word of the prophet, they cloathed them, fed them, and also anointed them. And Luke x. 34. the Good Samaritan taking care of the wounded man, poured oil into his wounds.

In either of these cases it was used as a means of restoring life, and not a preparation for death. Besides, as it is not on any other occasion mentioned or commanded, it appears not to be of any obligation now that no such miraculous gifts of healing remains not in the church, nor do the Papist themselves pretend to use it to that end.

Matrimony.

This is another of their Sacraments, and yet though they hold it to be a sacrament, they hold it not necessary for all; as if sacraments which are seals of a covenant between God and man were not necessary to all who are capable of entering into that covenant--an absurdity in the nature of things.

Orders.

Ecclesiastic orders are with the church of Rome a sacrament, and just what they please without either proof, warrant, or example from scripture, but as their disciples take all upon trust; the authority of the church may impose what they think proper.

Confirmation.

The Romish church has no more authority for their pretended sacrament, than for the other four, which together with this they have added to the two instituted by Christ.

They can produce no rule given to practise it, or any federal rite belonging to it; as there is for Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

We find the apostles laying hands on such as were baptised, and praying that they might receive the Holy Ghost, and accordingly that they did receive the Holy Ghost; but those extraordinary effects being ceased, there is no pretence for using that ceremony now, any otherwise than as the Protestant church uses it; which is to have their baptized persons, who have received that sacrament in infancy, when they come to age, ratify and confirm it as their own act and deed, presenting themselves solemnly in the congregation for that end, before the bishop, who there prays for them, laying his hand upon their heads. Thus much for the sacraments.

Image

Image-Worship.

This is an article of Roman faith, by which their Church hath filled the Temple of God with idols, and set up idolatry, which is an abomination in the sight of the Lord of Hosts.

She pretends to no scripture authority for this; but only observes, that images are useful for teaching the ignorant, and are the books of the unlearned; but will not own that she worships them, though it is an express article of their creed.

Under this head may be properly ranked the idolatry of the mass, where the consecrated wafer or host, as they call it, is held up by the priest to the view of the congregation, who all fall down and worship it, and in Roman countries it is carried about with great pomp in their streets in procession, where all that meet it kneel down and adore it, as the Israelites did their calves of gold, figures which they made to themselves, and for which they were so severely reprimanded by Moses, the chosen servant of God.

It is to be wished that Protestant professors would seriously reflect upon an abominable custom of the Papists relative to the frequent use of the mass: this they insolently presume to offer in honour of saints and angels.

Can impiety itself exceed this method of profanely offering the son of God in honour of a creature? what a preference do they give to a creature,

N^o XXIII.

and that once a sinful one too, when they thus offer the all-glorious Saviour a victim, and destroy Christ sacramentally in honour of a saint? what can be more derogatory to the honour of our blessed Lord and his sacrifice, than this horrid, yet constant doctrine and practice of the church of Rome? may the pious reader contemplate this subject, till it excites his just indignation.

Creature-Worship.

Another article of the Romish faith is the idolatry of Creature-worship and invocation of saints and angels; making them joint intercessors with Christ, exalting them into a kind of partnership with the beloved Son of God, whose office it is alone, to be mediator between God and man, there being, as but one God, so but one Mediator.

Nor do they for this, any more than for their image-worship, pretend much authority from scripture; but only that they think it to be a part of the communion of saints; and that as we desire our friends on earth to pray for us, so we should desire those in Heaven to do the like; and that as in the courts of earthly princes, we should be glad to use the help of some favourite courtier to introduce us into the presence of the prince, and to assist us in presenting our petitions, and procure his favour towards us; so, thinking God to be altogether such a one as themselves, and because a finite, moral creature cannot attend

to many things at once ; but must use the intermediate officers of his ministers, to convey to him the requests of others of his subjects ; therefore they vainly conclude it to be the same, with the infinite and omniscient God, who knows our thoughts afar off, and from whom no secrets are hid ; who being a God abundant in goodness and mercy, has promised to his faithful people, that before they can speak, he will be ready to hear them, and who having declared himself to be a God hearing of prayer, hath required that to him, all flesh should come : notwithstanding all this, do they boldly and impiously dare to address their devotions to creatures, and ask of them those things, which are solely in the gift of God, and which he dispenses to those who ask in his Son's name.

Prayers to the Virgin Mary.

In all the Romish worship, the blessed Virgin is a principal object of devotion. She is stiled, Queen of Heaven, Lady of the World, the only hope of sinners, queen of angels, patroness of men, advocate for sinners, mother of mercies, under which title, they desire her by the power of a mother to command her son.

In some of their prayers, they desire of God to bring them to Heaven by the merits and prayers of the perpetual Virgin Mary and all her saints, and that they may enjoy perpetual soundness both of body and mind, by her glorious intercession.

In some prayers in the Roman breviary are these words ; “ Let every thing be excused which we bring unto God by thee ; and let us obtain whatever we ask with a faithful mind ; accept that we offer, give that we ask pardon what we fear because thou art the only hope of sinners. We hope for the pardon of our offences by thee, and in thee is the most blessed expectation of our reward.

“ O Holy Mary, succour those that are miserable, uphold those that are faint hearted, comfort those that weep, pray for the people.”

In another place they say to her, “ By thee the Holy Trinity is sanctified, and the precious cross celebrated and adored throughout the world.”

From such exalted strains, it might be imagined, that they had found the scriptures describing the blessed Virgin as equal to Jesus Christ, and no less a Saviour of the world.

A Papist, that should read the bible might expect to find it full of the mention of the Blessed Virgin, and that Mary was as much spoken of in scripture as Jesus, whereas on the contrary, there is little said of her, as if it was purposely designed to give them no colour for such a practice, and to leave them without excuse.

We do not find Christ in any part of scripture called the Son of Mary, nor that he at any time calls her mother ; and though we read he was subject to his parents ; as he was in all things a perfect pattern of righteousness ; yet the answer he gave to Mary, when she spoke to him at the Marriage at Cana, John ii. 4. “ Woman, what

what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come;" shews that she had no interest in what concerned his office, wherein he acted all things according to the eternal purpose of his father's will, and to finish the work he gave him to do.

His answer likewise to the woman who cried, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee and the paps, which thou hast sucked; yea rather blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it," plainly shews that he allowed not any prerogative to the relation in the flesh; but that she who had the honour to be the mother of his human nature was blessed, not so much from that cause, as from believing in his divine nature, and from keeping his words, as it is said she did, "pondering them in her heart," Luke ii. 19.

Nor does our Saviour own any relation but that of a disciple; as where his mother and brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him, and the Jews said to him, "Behold thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee;" this answer seems to carry a reproof with it, where he says; "Who are my mother and my brethren? and, looking round about upon his disciples; he saith, behold my mother and my brethren; for whosoever shall do the will of my father which is in Heaven, the same is my brother, sister and mother."

Prayers to Saints.

Of the like strain are also the prayers of the Romish Church to other saints and angels, by whose merits and intercessions they desire to be helped.

On the festival of St. Joseph, the husband of the blessed Virgin, they have this prayer: "We pray thee, O Lord, that we may be helped by the merits of the spouse of thy Holy Mother, that what our weakness cannot obtain, may be given unto us by his intercession."

In some of their prayers they ask of the saints, and for the merits of the saints alone, those blessings and graces, which are only derived to Man thro' Jesus Christ.

In some they join Christ and the saints together, as on the feast of St. Nicholas, they say, "God, who hast graced St. Nicholas the bishop, with many miraculous graces, we beseech thee that we may be delivered from Hell-fire by his merits and prayers, through Christ our Lord."

Likewise they pray to St. Michael, St. Gabriel, &c. "Help us, pray for us, &c."

Thus doth this church blasphemously derogate from the honour of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and transfer his offices to others, making them joint intercessors, and authors with him of that salvation purchased by him, and conferred upon the account of the merit of no other, nor any other intercession, but his alone.

This

This therefore is a manifest transgression of the law of God, as well as a flagrant violation of the absolute right of the ever-blessed Redeemer, and nothing less in fact, than a sharing of God's honour with his creatures, and giving his praise to brazen images.

The Romish church seems to be conscious of this idolatry, from their suppressing as much as possible the second of the ten commandments.

In many of their little catechisms and manuals, they leave it quite out, and in others they contract it; pretending, that as it is not a distinct commandment, but only a part of the first, it is needless to set it at full length, give any distinct explanation of it by itself, or make it signify more than what is comprehended in the first, Thou shalt have none other Gods but me. So that while they believe but one God, and use images only as helps in their devotions to him; if they do not take those images to be every one a god itself, they are in no danger of idolatry in worshipping them; for the worship which they direct to God by an image, has God alone for its ultimate object and terminates upon him.

But of this the circumstance of the golden calf in the wilderness is a sufficient refutation; for it is plain that Aaron and the Israelites, did not pretend by that to worship any other God, but the same one only true God, the Lord Jehovah, who had brought them out of the Land of Egypt; and that in the absence of Moses, while he tarried on the mount they would have some symbolical representation

of the Divine Presence to be a help to their devotion, by some visible object to direct their adorations to the Supreme God, upon whom alone they should ultimately terminate.

That this was the case, will be evident to all that will but consult the history of Jeroboam, and his successors the kings of Israel, where they will find that the idolatry of the calves, was not a worship of any other God, but only the God of Israel, and was a distinct from the worship of Baal and other abominations of the Heathen.

Certainly the Lawgiver himself should best understand his own commands, and best able to explain them; and if he has signified his meaning to be, that he will have no images used in his service, nor any similitude made of his remembrance: it is therefore reasonable to believe him upon his own declaration, that he will be offended and avenged of all such, as shall thus provoke him to jealousy, for daring to pollute his service with idols, upon any specious pretences of piety, in opposition to his strict commands, and such severe denunciations and examples of his wrath against it.

Ave Mary.

Another corruption in the Romish church is that of vain repetitions, in so much that they have a string of beads, by which to keep account in order to know when they have done.

The salutation of the angel to the blessed Virgin, and of her cousin Elizabeth to her is by them used as a prayer to her, and as such to be said ten

ten times following, and then the Lord's prayer or Paternoster, and this round again and again, according to the length of the string, which usually is five or else ten Pater-nosters, and accordingly fifty or one hundred Ave-Maries.

This saying their beads is a brief part of their private devotion, and as it happens that their rules direct, or as they find themselves disposed, so their beads are said so many or so many times.

In one of their books of devotion which they call the Jesus Psalter, the name of Jesus is repeated, Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, thirty times together.

Now this is evidently contrary to the use and design of prayer, which as St. Paul directs, is "to make our requests known unto God," and according to the examples of Holy men in scripture to use words properly setting forth petitions, according to our several wants and necessities.

Latin Prayers.

Similar to what was last observed is the Latin service: performing the public worship of God in an unknown tongue to the common people, contrary to the rule laid down by the apostle that all things should be done to Edification.

Ceremonies.

Another corruption of the Romish church is, the number of rites and
N^o 23.

ceremonies, wherewith they have clogged the worship of God, and rendered religion no longer a reasonable service; but a collection of carnal ordinances, and an exercise of external performances, bringing Christian professors back again to the non-age of the Jews, on whom carnal ordinances of typical ceremonies were only imposed till the time of Reformation by the glorious mission of the Son of God: The law of Moses being but a School-master, Gal. iii. 24. to bring us to Christ.

The blood of bulls and goats, and the ashes of an heifer, the meats and drinks and divers washings, &c. Heb. ix. Being of no other use, nor instituted to any other end, than to signify the great sacrifice of atonement to be made by the death of Christ, through whom by the Eternal Spirit, the consciences of those that believe in him should be purged from dead works, to serve the living God, Heb. ix. 10.

Celibacy and abstaining from meats.

The forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, is a great abuse, and directly repugnant to scripture, where we are told, "that the kingdom of God is not meat and drink," 1 Cor. viii. 8. And that, "meats commend us not to God," neither is it that "which goeth into the mouth that defileth the man." Yet this commandment to abstain from meats, together with the forbidding to marry, is what the
S U Papists

Papists much value themselves upon, and at the same time a plain proof of the apostacy of the times; the law of God laying no such restraints upon men, neither as to the one or the other.

With respect to the forbearing to marry, though the scriptures mention some who have avoided wedlock in order to follow with less interruption the concerns of their souls; the scripture likewise declares, "That all men cannot receive this saying, save those to whom it is given." The church of Rome nevertheless has laid this restraint indifferently upon the whole order of those men who are to minister in holy things.

These are obliged to vow a single life, however unable they may be to keep it; and none are admitted to serve at their altars, nor supposed to attain to the perfection of the christian life, neither men nor women, but such as are devoted to perpetual celibacy. Though we are told in scripture, that "marriage is honourable to all," and the "bed undefiled." And it is recorded of Enoch, Gen. v. 22. that "he walked with God, and begat sons and daughters."

It appears from the New Testament that St. Peter was a married man; St. Paul giving directions about the wives and children of the clergy, evidently proves that these vows of celibacy were not in use in those days, and it is very strange that any authority should be pretended to introduce them since.

Nor can it be found in any part of sacred writ, that the perfection of

godliness consists in such or such a state of life, or in eating or forbearing this or that sort of meat, but that every man "in that calling, wherein he is called, therein should abide with God. He that is called in the Lord, being a servant is the Lord's freeman; and he that is called, being free, is" Christ's servant, 1 Cor. vii. 22. "Neither if we eat are we the better, nor if we eat not are we the worse, 1 Cor. viii. 8.

Nor is fasting or eating, marrying or not marrying, better or worse in themselves, but as they serve more or less for the discharge of our duty both to God and man: there is therefore no religion in this boasted practice of the Romish church, and for people to tie themselves up with vows, to things which God has not commanded, and which for that reason they have no ground to expect he should give them strength to perform; to shut up so many in cells and cloisters, is but to deprive the world of those, who might in an active life, have been useful to it, to serve their generation after the will of God; and to place the height of piety and Christian perfection in such things as cannot be common to all orders and degrees of men and women in the world, as it is not consistent with every state, nor can be practised by every one in every rank, is very different from those commands of Christ, who has in general required of all his followers, to "be perfect as their Father in Heaven is perfect," and who has made no such distinction, but that in all varieties

ties of station and condition it may be attained in a degree, by having a regard to the divine law, and practising the commands of God, from motives of genuine obedience.

Merits and Works of Supererogation.

The former corrupt and slavish practices are upheld by the doctrines of merit and works of supererogation: for these celibate or unmarried fraternities and virgin votaries are supposed by them to be persons who can do more than work out their own salvation; they arrogate to themselves a redundancy of merit from these good works of theirs, which they assign over to be paid into the future rewards of eternal life to those others who living in the world, are not capable of acting so meritoriously: and the great and just God, who according to his inspired word is debtor to no man, is to pay this debt arising from the performance of more duties than required (as the term supererogation signifies) to whomsoever his Holiness the Pope shall please to assign it, by associating them into the merits of these societies.

Now all this is both absurd and impious, contrary to scripture, and the great basis and fundamental points of the Christian faith, which pre-emptorily set forth; that the salvation of sinners is the free gift of God, thro' the merit of the redeemer's sacrifice, and that our goodness extendeth not to him, but that when we had done our

utmost, we must say in the words of the apostle we are but Unprofitable Servants and have done no more than was our duty to do, and must "count
" all things but loss, that we may
" win Christ and be found in him,
" not having our own righteousness,
" which is of the law, but that which
" is through the faith of Christ, the
" righteousness which is of God by
" faith."

But the nature of these good works in which so much merit is placed, and by which Heaven is bought and sold, may be gathered from the present practice of their religious orders, and from the lives of their saints in their legends, those libels against the honor of Christ's doctrine, which not only reflect disgrace on christianity, but even the reason of mankind, by representing such as saints, who seem not to possess the smallest degree of common sense, and who, if the accounts of their silly legends are true, have been fitter to be confined for lunacy, than handed down to posterity as examples of faith and piety.

Popish Restrictions.

We find throughout the whole scriptures both of the Old and New Testament that the rules of life there laid down to men, are also adapted to the state and condition of such as live in the world as supposing them to dwell in societies, and not in solitudes and deserts: accordingly we find the examples of the prophets and apostles, even of the Blessed Jesus himself, are
of

of going about and doing good, always exercised in an active station, for the benefit and relief of others, in brief for the general good of mankind, promoting the welfare both of their bodies and souls.

Now in absolute contrariety to this, the church of Rome has framed her rules, making those only faints and holy ones, not who live in the world, and overcome it by their faith; but who run out of the world, shut themselves up from all civil society, and leave it to be governed by the worst of people; if those only are the best who are thus secluded in their cloisters; and these by the fantastic rules under which they live; the disguising habits which they assume, and the Pagan and barbarous austerities, with which they pretend to mortify themselves, most scandalously misrepresent the religion of Jesus, and instead of the "doctrine of God their Saviour, render it ridiculous" and odious to the unbelieving part of the world.

Thus miserably has the church of Rome changed the face of the Christian religion, and rendered it quite another thing, than what it is as instituted by Christ, by turning it into an outward bodily service, making it nothing but a system of vain opinions and a rubric of forms, placing it in the belief of a multitude of groundless and absurd opinions, and the observance of numberless superstitions and unprofitable services; and in short diverting the human mind from all that is noble and manly, spiritual and heavenly, and worthy of Beings created in the image of God.

Popery a complex System of Absurdity and Idolatry.

Because the Son of God was graciously pleased to take upon him our nature, to be born and die for man; the church of Rome has thought fit to exhibit these important truths to her people in divers ludicrous forms.

At the feast of Christmas in commemoration of the nativity of our Blessed Lord, she has in her churches a cradle with an image of an infant in it, which is rocked with great devotion by some of her pious congregation.

On Good-Friday they have the figure of our Saviour on the cross, and then they perform the service which they call, *The Tenebres*, having abundance of lighted candles, all of which they extinguish one by one, till they are all in darkness; and this is celebrating our Saviour's passion, and the darkness that was over all the land at the time of his crucifixion: after this, the body is taken down from the cross and put into a sepulchre and men stand to watch it; with much more of this kind that might be related, as if the Son of God came down from Heaven to furnish men with a subject for dramatic representation.

Amidst the whole of the Popish religion, there is a mixture of idolatry that goes throughout the whole, and makes up an essential part of her public and private worship.

Besides the pomp and idolatry of these ceremonies; there are as before ob-

observed, in their common devotion, that of mass, creature-worship, and images.

The people go to church to see fine paintings and images, rich altars, and costly ornaments, to hear exquisite music, prayers said in Latin; but not to receive any truly Christian instruction to their souls health; and can only stare, and gaze, and listen, without finding any thing to help a rational and serious devotion, or means to hear the voice of God in his word, or being led to entertain any spiritual converse with Heaven.

Circumstances proving Popery a crafty Design.

The following doctrines and practices, if duly attended to will convince the unprejudiced mind, that the whole scheme of popery is a crafty design to establish a dominion over the minds and consciences, and over the persons and purses of its followers.

Priests power to forgive sins, and necessity of confession.

The doctrine of the priests power to forgive sins and the trick of auricular confession, obliging every soul among them to put his conscience under the direction of a confessor and to discover to him the inmost thoughts of his heart, because the smallest sin if concealed from him may prove damnable; is well adapted to keep men's consciences in awe and esta-

N^o 23.

blish the dominion and tyranny of their guides.

Papal Sovereignty supported by Purgatory.

Purgatory is a very necessary doctrine for supporting the papacy, as it serves to make people need indulgences, of which the Pope is sovereign dispenser.

Now if of all that die, all should be supposed to go only to Heaven, or to Hell, as the first would have no need of relief, so the last would be capable of none: hence arose the expediency of this fable of a third place, this prison of purgatory, of which the Pope keeps the keys.

Our blessed Lord we know as he has told, Rev. i. 18. has the "keys of Hell and death," and likewise "the key of David and openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth," Rev. iii. 7.

But this place of purgatory that the pope himself hath built by the might of his power, and for the honour of his majesty, and therefore he alone is master of it, and controuls it according to his will.

This purgatory according to the description of some men, who pretend to have had visions of it in their life time (though the scriptures are silent upon the subject) is a most dreadful place of torment.

There are, says they, in it three degrees of punishment, but in each the torment is exquisite; insomuch that a dying man who can be brought

5 X

to

to credit this fable, will give his whole fortune to the church from his heirs to purchase an exemption from it, or even have the time of his continuance in it shortened.

This is in the power of the Pope, who dispenses the indulgence, and commands the treasury of merits, by which the pains are mitigated, and the deliverance hastened.

For these sufferers in purgatory his priests, monks and friars say masses, all of whom must be paid for their trouble; there being no penny, no paternoster, by which bubble the church of Rome amasses great wealth.

Relicks.

Another source of riches is the noble treasure of relicks with which that church abounds, and these are likewise to be bought, and are of great efficacy both for soul and body.

Our Saviour hath said, "The flesh profiteth nothing," John vi. 33. but here the flesh profiteth all.

They have the finger of one saint, the tooth of another, the garment of another; some of the Blessed Virgin's milk, the linnen in which our Saviour's body was wrapt in the sepulchre, a handkerchief with which he wiped his face, and left thereon the print of his fingers, afterwards bestowing it as a gift upon St. Veronica, and these have multiplied themselves into one or two more, which are kept as sacred deposits, from which they pretend to derive great virtue.

Thus doth the church of Rome

cheat those committed to her charge, giving them "a stone instead of bread and for fish a scorpion," the drift of all this trade being to enrich her clergy, and keep the people poor, maintaining swarms of lazy Monks and Friars upon their spoil.

Religious Orders and Mendicants.

The several orders of their religious, as they term them, are so many burthens upon those countries where they live; the Mendicant ones especially, who devote themselves to perpetual beggary, and under a pretence of charity, from the practice in the apostles time, of "having all things common, and distributing to every one according to their needs," and our Saviour's trial of the young man's sincerity in saying, "If thou wilt be perfect, sell that thou hast and give to the poor," give away all their estates, and some there are who never had any; but as a state of greater perfection, they enter themselves into this order of Mendicants, and live all their lives upon the labour of others, contrary to that rule of the apostle, that "if any would not work, neither should he eat."

Thus the whole frame of the Romish church appears to be one continued scene of fraud and tyranny, and every way destructive of the liberties and welfare of mankind.

One would think it almost impossible, that persons who know any thing of the Christian religion, and the

the foundation of its doctrines, could ever admit things so contrary to it.

Several Popish objections to the Protestants considered.

The Papists often urge upon the Protestants, that they say in the creed, they believe the Holy Catholick church, for which they reckon they are self condemned, if they do not own the Romish church, and submit their belief to hers.

But surely it by no means follows, that because they believe a Catholic church, the church of Rome must be that church, and that all she teaches is true.

The word Catholic is used to signify Universal or General, and so to express by Catholic doctrine that which is universally consented to in opposition to innovations and heresies privately introduced, and in that sense perhaps the church of Rome assumes to herself the title, but without any right to it, till she can prove either the truth, the antiquity or universality of her doctrine.

It is amazing that the learned among the papists can satisfy themselves and think they overcome their Protestant adversaries with such weak arguments, as where was your church before Luther? what causes so many differences in religion but the reading of the bible? how do you know the bible to be the word of God but by tradition? how can you understand the true sense and meaning of it, but

by the authority of an infallible guide? and St. Peter being the prince of the apostles, Christ founded his church upon him.

To the first of these queries it may be answered, that the church before Luther was where it was afterwards, just as the wheat is in the flour before it is winnowed from the chaff.

So it is the same church still and in the same place, only then corrupted but now reformed; they did not make a new church any more than Josiah a new temple, when he cleansed the old, and reformed the Jewish worship by the book of the law. "He brought out of the house of the Lord, all vessels that were made for Baal, and broke down the houses of the Sodomites, that were by the house of the Lord, and took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun:" And yet with all these alterations, he did not deface, nor remove the old temple nor change the true worship, but restored it and commanded the people to keep the passover unto the Lord, "as it is written in the book of the covenant."

As to the other, who built the church? nothing more can be inferred from it, but that our ancestors lived before us, and that their posterity of the succeeding generations make use of what they find provided to their hand; but it argues nothing for the purity of their worship, or that we should tread in their steps whether right or wrong.

It appears from some of their structures

that their worship was corrupt enough; being rather adapted for the saying mass, worshipping saints and relicks, than for the convenience of Christian assemblies in prayer and preaching the word.

If the Romish church will boast its antiquity, we must take the liberty to aver, that our church was before theirs in the institution of Christ and his apostles, who delivered those truths which protestants maintain, before there was any such thing as popery in the world.

To say that differences in opinion spring from the free use of the bible, argues no more than saying because some men stumble in the day-time, therefore it is better for all to walk in darkness.

The bible is to the church, as the sun is to the firmament, some men's eyes are weaker, and some better by its light than others, yet it is generally useful to all.

The holy bible is so written that all may understand some of it, and yet few can understand all on this side the grave, for in this state of mortality, "we see but through a glass darkly, and yet that does hinder, but that all should read it, and our Saviour's command in this respect is general, and without the least distinction, "Search the scriptures," John v. 39.

Besides, are the scriptures in our days harder to be understood by Christians, than they were formerly by the Jews? yet they were commanded to teach them to their children; their women and children, all, small and great, were often called together to be

present at the solemn reading of them, as appears from sundry passages.

If the reading of scripture be a cause of differences in opinion; the ignorance of scripture is much more a cause of dangerous mischiefs, being a certain source of error and delusion.

The different sects of Christians also pretending to ground their opinions upon scripture, shews the universal regard they all pay to it, and that all own it to be their rule of faith.

The wisdom of God hath seen fit to leave some things not clearly determined, and to give room as it were for different expositions, in order perhaps to exercise men's charity and mutual forbearance of each other. St. Paul writes, Romans xiv. &c. "One believeth that he may eat all things, while another who is weak eats herbs, One man observes one day above another, and another esteemeth every day alike," and grants that each may do it "to the Lord," requiring only that "every man should be fully persuaded in his own mind," and that one man should not judge another.

While men know but in part, none can be deemed infallible in their judgment; and the higher or more perfect degrees of knowledge in some, and lesser or more imperfect degrees of it in others, ever did and ever will occasion diversity of opinions concerning non-essentials amongst professing Christians.

To affirm that tradition gives sanction or authority to the scriptures, or is necessary to the understanding of them, is contrary to the true meaning and

and import of the same; tradition being no more than the means which convey them, and the scriptures themselves carry with them, their own evidence, as the sun is seen by its own light.

Tradition alone would have stamp'd no value on the bible, if its intrinsic merit had not supported its authenticity throughout all ages.

To set up tradition as a supplement to the bible, is to divert the attention of mankind from a certain and invariable rule, to a doubtful and uncertain one, there being nothing more obscure, and less to be depended on; for instance, we may observe how the knowledge of the true God was lost in the world, and how confused and perplexed it become, where there was only tradition to preserve it.

In the earlier ages of the world, when mens lives were of so great a length, that one man could see his children's children to the tenth generation; tradition might carry in it some degree of certainty; because four or five persons could deliver down the history of above two thousand years, by clear and fresh testimony: but in after ages, when it seemed meet unto divine wisdom, to abridge the life of man; it pleas'd the Almighty, to cause all that he would have known unto the world, to be written down, for a more certain and minute conveyance to posterity, and all these things were written, as St. Paul observes, 1 Cor. x. 10. for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come, that we who live in ages so remote, might know the great works

N^o 23.

of God and his wonders of old time, and be instructed in things long pass'd, by the certainty of a written record, as the same apostle writes, Rom. iv. 4. "What soever things were written afore time, were written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the scriptures, might have hope;" he does not say of tradition, but of scripture.

Nor were the ten commandments, delivered orally to Moses and to be kept in remembrance by tradition; but in written tables; and when Moses had broken those first tables, he was oblig'd in their stead to make new ones, wherein the same law was again written.

We also find in the New Testament, that the history "of all that Jesus began both to do and teach, as much as was necessary to be known and believed in the world, was written down;" "These are written that ye might believe, John xx. 31.

We see in the present day, how little those nations, who are ignorant of letters, know of themselves or their original; and what authentic account can they have of their kings, government, &c. who have no books to preserve them? There are two texts which the Papists cite as infallible proofs of the validity of tradition; the first is the words of the apostle, 2 Thes. ii. 15. "Hold fast the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle;" the next are those of the same apostle; Chap. iii. of the same Epistle, ver. 6. "With- draw from every brother that"

5 Y

walketh

disorderly, and not after the tradition which "he received of us."

Here it is to be observed, that while the apostles were living, and going about preaching amongst the different nations, they might have many things from them, that were not then written down; and while they were teaching continually from place to place, the tradition might be carried from one church to another; but it does not follow from hence, that after their decease, any thing was left to be believed and practised in the church, which is not to be found written down.

The scriptures themselves are their own best expositor, by comparing one passage with another, and the help that is to be derived from antiquity for better understanding them is sought in written records, and such as carry in them characters of genuine antiquity, and not in such an inconstant, variable, and doubtful guide as tradition, which instead of assisting in the discovery of truth, is a fountain of error, corruption and deceit.

Infallibility in sacred things.

The necessity of an infallible judge to determine controversies, is not once mentioned in the sacred writings, nor do they inform us where such a one is to be found: the only infallible guide to which they direct, being the Holy Spirit of God, who shall lead into all truth, those who sincerely apply to him for his gracious aid and assistance.

Primacy of St. Peter, and immediate Successorship of the Popes.

The text from which the Papists infer the primacy of St. Peter, the church being built upon him, and the Popes being his immediate successors, and deriving their authority from him, is Mat. xvi. 18. "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church:" but that implies not the superiority of Peter to the other apostles; being plainly spoken of his faith, of which he had just made confession, saying, Ver. 16. "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."

With respect to his person; he was no more than a single stone in the same building with the rest of his brethren, the prophets and apostles, who were all workers together with him.

However, admitting that Peter was superior to the rest of the apostles, what foundation is there for asserting that the popes are his immediate successors? there is no scripture authority for it, and it is very absurd to make that point an article of faith, upon any authority less valid: yet the main stress of this great pillar rests upon nothing better than meer human authority and that forged and vain; for there is no proving from scripture either Peter's primacy or his having been at Rome, much less is there any colour of pretence for the Pope's supremacy, or his having been

been St. Peter successor, any more than others of his fellow bishops, who are equally successors to St. Peter, and the rest of the apostles, as much as the bishops: so that it appears to be a very sandy foundation for so mighty a building to stand upon, and to support the weight of an article of such consequence; especially after they have been shewn by the Protestants all the steps by which the Papal greatness rose, and that it was by the favour of the emperors of Rome, and that city being the seat of their residence, that made the bishops of Rome any more considered than other bishops; and it was through the munificence of the emperor, and afterwards by the encroachments, by which the Popes grew up to their greatness, and not from any divine privilege or prerogative derived from St. Peter's master, nor was such supremacy pretended to for some hundred years after our Saviour.

It appears from the general method in which the Papists conduct the argument in favour of this point; that they lay down no plain or certain rule, by which to evince the truth of their positions; instead of which they endeavour to perplex the reader with cavils and captious questions, and to make all things doubtful in religion, if you will not take them from them upon the authority of their pretended infallibility.

Whether this infallibly be in Pope or council, in each or neither separately or jointly, or whether in the whole diffusive body of Chris-

tians, are points yet in dispute and undetermined amongst them, they only affirm it is somewhere or other, but have not ascertained where:

Those therefore must be in a very dangerous situation who trust the salvation of their souls to such a tottering support, and for ought that hath yet appeared, the bible is as difficult to be understood by the Popes as by people; for with all their high pretences to infallibility, they have never yet given any infallible comment on the bible, or put any one book into the hands of the people with the stamp of universal authority, that can be a sure preservative from error.

If the scriptures are, as they say, obscure and dangerous for the people to read, why do not the popes, if they understand them better, explain them, and give an exposition of them that might render them more easily understood, and let their whole body of people have one authorized volume, that should contain the whole of their doctrines, and be universally read by them all, as the bible is by the protestants?

But instead of an open, ingenuous conduct, they shuffle and evade, perplex their doctrines with ambiguous terms, and have recourse to sophistry and every chimerical measure to obscure truth and propagate error and superstition.

Thus they proceed without any fixed standard, by which to be judged, or any one stamped with a public character, as being acknowledged by the whole church, and to be read by all in general; so that there can
be

be found no rule of their own by which to try them; nor have they instead of the bible, any one book, by which to instruct every one what they are to believe and practice in order to obtain eternal salvation.

Now for want of this unerring rule, there must, according to their own principles, when well examined be found much obscurity, confusion and uncertainty in their notion of infallibility, and both that and the name of the church are terms made use of in a very indefinite and undetermined sense, and of very uncertain signification.

Difference in opinions prevails in the Church of Rome more than in the Church of Christ.

With respect to the differences in opinion, which they charge upon the Protestants, that accusation upon due enquiry will be found to retort not a little upon themselves; as they have as many differences as the other.

For instance, the Franciscans maintain with great heat the doctrine of immaculate conception, which the Dominicans with as much vehemence deny; the efficacy of grace taught by the Jesuits, is zealously opposed by the Jesuits, who assert the doctrine of free-will. The Regular clergy condemn and undermine the Secular; while the Secular expose the iniquity of the Regulars, and all in high dispute concerning the credit of their images and relicts up-

on which their profits depend; one extolling the miracles in such a place, from whence his gain arises, another decrying those and magnifying something belonging to his peculiar office, to draw the wealth on his side; beside great emulation prevails among them about precedency, antiquity, and the merits and pre-eminence of the founder of one order above another.

The only points in which they all agree, is that of acknowledging the Pope for their head, and being in slavish obedience to they know not what, under the name of the church, in joining in an unintelligible service in a language, which the far greater part understand not; and in persecuting and destroying all that stand in their way.

These are the main matters of the union of which they can boast; whereas the Protestants can prove, that as great a union prevails among them, and not only extended as far, but established upon much better grounds.

The Protestants are universally agreed in owning the authority of the Scriptures, in acknowledging Christ sole head of the Universal Church, and in detesting the errors of the Romish religion, and the usurpation of the Papacy.

The Protestants have not a pope to interpose between them and the Sun of Righteousness; but look up immediately "to the Father of lights, from whom cometh every good," and every perfect gift.

They acknowledge the usefulness of

of the labours of learned men, gladly use their assistance, and pay a due deference to them, "who are over them in the Lord, and esteem them very highly for their work's sake." They esteem the assistance of such spiritual guides, who explain to them, "what is the good and acceptable, and perfect will of God;" without looking upon them as having dominion over their faith, but as helpers of their joy, they examine the doctrines they teach them, "whether they be of God," and require them to prove by scripture, that what they teach them is the word of truth; and being not unwilling to follow their guides, they only desire to go with their eyes open.

Several peculiar advantages of the Protestant Religion, in points differing from the Romish faith.

The Protestant religion teaches, that the Son of God, when he left this world to go to his Father, promised to send down the Spirit of Truth, by which he would be for ever present with his church, that is, all that are saved by Christ, the whole body of sincere believers, who are all made partakers of that one Spirit; and that this is not a promise to the clergy, exclusive of the laity; but that all, both laity and clergy, have an equal right to the promise of their Saviour to send unto them that "Spirit of Truth, that should guide

N^o 23.

"them into all truth," and their part in that prayer he made to his Father, John xvii. 20. not for his disciples only of those days, and the men of that generation, "but for all them as should hereafter believe on him through their word," the promise being made, "to them that were nigh, and to them that were afar off, to us, and to our children, even as many as the Lord our God shall call."

That the invitation made by Christ is without distinction to every one to "seek, and they shall find, to ask, and they shall receive," the Holy Spirit which their heavenly Father will give them that ask him. So that having the word of God in the scripture for their outward rule, and the Spirit of God enlightening their heart for their inner rule, they have every one the means of salvation nigh unto them.

But the word is nigh unto us, even in our mouths, and in our hearts. So nigh, that the captive in the dungeon, and the forlorn one in retirement may know it as well as the prince, or the most learned of the earth; and it is necessary it should be so, since all souls are equally precious, being bought with the same price, and every man must give an account of himself to God, and shall be saved by his own faith, and not by that of another.

In these respects the Protestants are upon a better foundation than the Papists, and tread in a more even and steady path. Whereas the Papists going off from Scripture, and taking

5 Z

in

in Tradition as a supplement to the scriptures, are upon a most uncertain and unsteady foundation, resting themselves upon human testimony, human authority, and human infallibility.

As their faith is built upon a doubtful bottom, so the hope of their calling is no less unsure; while they are taught to rely upon other helps for salvation, besides the faith of Christ, and the unfeigned fruits of it in righteousness and true holiness, they may weary themselves with pilgrimages and penances, works of supererogation, and exhaust their purses in purchasing indulgencies, relicks, masses, and yet never procure a well-grounded hope on which to repose the safety of their eternal state.

As they must be doubtful and fearful in their deaths, so they must be likewise while they live amidst so many objects of their trust and worship; and having so many other advocates besides Christ Jesus, "the only Mediator between God and man," as well as the only hope of sinners, they are led into continual difficulties, and never know when they have made proper application to them all.

What can such a numerous train of mediators minister, but destruction instead of assistance to the suppliant? Certain then it is, notwithstanding all prejudices to the contrary, that the Protestants are of the surer side in this particular, in that they have the Scriptures to assure them, that "if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ

"the righteous; and that he is the propitiation for their sins;" nor need they seek a better patron than he that "Hath loved them, and has washed them from their sins in his own blood."

Reflections cast on the Reformation by the Papists considered impartially, together with the Grounds of the same.

The professors of the Romish church because they cannot with any force of argument refute the positions urged in vindication of the Protestant cause, endeavour by various artifices to blacken the reformation; by objecting to its promoters many instances of impiety and injustice.

They make a prodigious outcry against the vices of Henry VIII, the passion of Luther, the flexibility of and the irregular manner in which they pretend, the reformation established itself.

Not to enter here into the particulars of that affair, of which enough has been said by abler pens, which have recounted the history of the reformation, and sufficiently vindicated it from the mis-representations of Popish adversaries, it is enough at present to observe, that the Protestant religion has no dependence upon historical passes, nor is answerable for the real or supposed vices or failings of the reformers.

There was by the confession of the
Papists

Papists themselves, so much scandal in the lives of the clergy, and such a general corruption throughout the whole church, that there was an universal cry for a reformation.

A certain celebrated author of their own profession acknowledged at that time, "That though the true Christian doctrines did remain in the church fundamentally, yet they were not sufficiently explained to the people; but that instead of the grace of Christ, too many did preach up indulgences, pilgrimages, and the like."

This very declaration is sufficient to justify the reformation to all impartial people; for this (as the above-mentioned writers observe) made people call out from all quarters for a general council, to proceed on the means to remedy these evils, and tho' the writer would insinuate, that without permission from the Pope and consent of council, the evils could not be remedied; he allows that both doctrine and manners were become very depraved; and if the Pope and governing powers would not give redress, men must seek it for themselves where it was to be found.

This was the condition of the church, and this the course they took; the Pope would not reform the church; therefore the church reformed without him, as was certainly most just and necessary.

What contributed not a little to promote the reformation, was Pope Leo the Xth's setting up to sale a greater number of indulgences to raise a portion for his niece; and

sending out his friars with their pedlar's pack of this choice merchandise to all, to make him as much money as they could: hence Martin Luther a Friar in Germany about the year 1513 took occasion to preach against so abominable a traffic.

This incensed the Pope so highly against him, that Luther was summoned to appear and a rigorous prosecution commenced against him: he was by this means induced to study the controversy more attentively, in order to plead in his own behalf.

This led him to unravel the iniquities of the Romish church, and being a man of a sanguine disposition, the more rigour they used towards him, the more he was exasperated against them, and the more exposed their errors to the view of the world.

At length he translated the New Testament into the German Language, and by that means gave light into the difference; so that the corruptions that were before so visible in the Roman church, being thus openly attacked and detected, it was no longer possible to keep men under her yoke; insomuch that many states in Germany reformed from their abominations, and departed from the communion of so corrupt a church.

About the same time, King Henry VIII. of England, having a quarrel with the Pope, broke off from his obedience, and by that means brought on a reformation in his kingdom.

It may be seen in the foregoing part of this work, with what fury Satan and his emissaries endeavoured to

to put a stop to the reformation, and extinguish this light of truth in order to keep men still in darkness and the shadow of death.

It is of no import, what were the motives on King Henry VIIIth's part to make this breach with the See of Rome; God was pleased to employ as the means to overthrow these strong holds of Satan, and to open the prison doors; and though that prince reformed no farther than pleased his humour, and served his own turn; though he burnt both Papists and Protestants in the same fire, and continued himself in the Romish communion to the end of his days; yet he was an instrument in the hand of God, to bring about the ends which his providence had appointed though he designed it not.

We find in the prophecy of Isaiah, how the Assyrian was the staff in God's hand, and did his work though he meant it not, neither did his heart think so.

Nebuchadnezzar in his service against Tyrus, is said to have wrought for God. Ezek. xxix. 20.

So the English monarch being of a turbulent impetuous temper served to clear the way for that further reformation, which afterward, happily ensued: he dissolved monasteries, pulled down images, cast off the Pope's Supremacy, and did many things, which a prince of a milder disposition would not have dared to have done, and by that means prepared things for the restoring religion to its purity, and building up the house of

God, which through the blessing of the Almighty was brought to pass under the reign of his successors king Edward the sixth, and queen Elizabeth.

This we presume is the true state of the case, which the advocates for Popery have so greatly misrepresented, not only in deviating from the truth in point of historical facts, but also traducing some worthy characters, who were instrumental in the great work of the reformation; and having by diligently searching the scriptures, discovered the egregious errors of the church of Rome, in the faith of which they had been educated, resolved, at the hazard of their worldly interests, to forsake the same, and at all events, to assert and maintain the doctrines and practices instituted by Christ, and followed by all his true disciples.

But admitting the truth of the charges brought by the Papists against some who were concerned in the reformation; cannot the Protestants with as much justice call on them to review impartially the lives of their Popes? Will they not only on such survey find many of them to have been the vilest of miscreants, capable of prostituting the most sacred cause to the most impious purposes?

If we consider the Papacy in a mercenary light, we shall not wonder at their concern and displeasure on account of the revolt of so many states and principalities from their obedience; for before that time the Pope had the arbitrary disposal of crowns and

and scepters, he was sole umpire in all controversies, and could command the lives and fortunes of princes and people; all countries within his communion were tributary to him, and he could exact from them whatever sums his avarice or caprice might induce him to demand.

Further to observe his purpose, he would publish his crusades, and send thousands on a ridiculous plan of combating with the Turks and Saracens, it being deemed a most meritorious act in those days of blindness and superstition to conquer the Holy Land, and rescue it from the hands of infidels; so that the Pope no sooner caused the trumpet to be sounded, than princes and people took arms, together with the badge of the cross upon their backs, and repaired from all parts of Christendom to the land of Canaan; by which means the Popes had an opportunity in their absence of encroaching upon the civil power, and obtaining great sway over those states and principallities, whose princes he had sent on these wise errands.

Upon the whole, it evidently appears that a reformation was absolutely necessary to purge the church from those corruptions and abuses which had been introduced in direct repugnance to scripture and common sense.

We beg leave to add further, that the Papists very unjustly charge the Protestants with innovation, or setting up a new religion; the Protestant religion being no more than Primitive Christianity.

N^o XXIV

That the church of Rome has erred, and that she is not infallible, has been proved from Scripture; yet it may not be improper to enquire, whether infallibility be essential to the being of a true church or not? and whether there was this infallibility in the church of the Jews, or not? If answer be made in the affirmative; we can cite from the writings both from the Old and New Testament, many instances of depravation, and such description of her pastors as are very inconsistent with infallibility.

Our Saviour reproves some in the severest terms of "serpents, a generation of vipers," and such as made their disciples "twofold more the children of hell than themselves;" from whence we may conclude, that their infallibility, whatever it was, was security to the souls of their followers.

If they reply in the negative, they give up the point, viz. that infallibility is not necessary to the being of a true church; but that there may be a true church without it, in which case perhaps the reformed church may be found to have as good a claim to the truth as the church of Rome.

But whether they follow or deny the infallibility of the Jewish church, they must confess that the ruling powers of that church were the greatest opposers of our Saviour and his doctrines; that the people were much more disposed to receive him than their priests; that they had reason to depart from the opinion of their rulers;

6 A

lers; and that had they not done so, they would never have embraced the Christian religion, nor become the disciples of Jesus Christ; for the High Priests, the Scribes and Pharisees, were those that made the greatest opposition to the Son of God; and because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets "that were read in the synagogues every sabbath-day;" and yet these were the persons who assumed to themselves a right to judge for all the congregation, and made it an argument against others believing in Christ, because they did not.

"Have any of the rulers, or the pharisees believed on him," John vii. 48. The case of the Jews then was much the same with that of the Papists now. They that led them caused them to err. And if persons will not take the liberty to search after truth for themselves, and to dissent from the dictates of their teachers, where they find them dissent from the truth, they may blindly follow them into the ditch, and wander on in darkness without attaining "the end of their faith, even the salvation of their souls."

Conclusion.

How far these arguments in vindication of the Protestant religion, from the various aspersions and charges of the Papists are founded on scripture on which alone as Protestants we profess to build our faith; we refer all to the word and to the testimony, desiring them to receive or reject them, as they may receive confirmation from that warrant.

Our general design is "To open men's eyes, and turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may obtain an inheritance among those that are sanctified; to confirm weak and unlearned Christians in their most holy faith, and to guard all who profess the faith of Christ crucified from the truth and simplicity of the everlasting gospel, and submit the whole to the judgment of the candid reader, imploring that divine blessing which is necessary to crown every spiritual attempt with such success as may redound to the glory of God and eternal welfare of mankind."



The following particular account of the cruel persecutions of the Protestants in France, is inserted at the earnest request of many of our Subscribers, particularly the Reverend J. Fleetwood, Theologus, James Wilson, M. A. and others.

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

R O M I S H P E R S E C U T I O N S i n F R A N C E .

THE commencement of these horrid cruelties in France, took place about the year 1553, under the government of Francis I. That king had entered into a defensive alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany, against the emperor Charles V. who was then thought to aspire to universal monarchy. The view, therefore of Francis, in acceding to this league, was not out of any regard to the protestant religion, but merely to check the power of that emperor.

One remarkable proof of the hatred which Francis I. bore to the reformed religion was, his executing many of his subjects for professing it; and his commanding a detachment from his army to burn the city of Cabrieres, together with the town of Merindol, and many other towns and villages.

On this occasion masters of families were burnt alive; their goods plundered; and their wives and children turned out to starve. His soldiers, in order to extirpate what was falsely called heresy, committed unheard of barbarities. And yet it is well known that Francis I. saved the republic of Geneva, which was the metropolis of protestantism: and did great service to the protestants in Germany.

What an inconsistent conduct have we here! to protect the chief seat of the Protestants in a foreign country; and yet burn Protestants in his own. But this is one of the scenes of the grand farce of this world. Princes have, in all ages, sported with religion in this manner; though religion ought of all things to be the least sported with.

His son and successor, Henry II.
revived

revived his edicts against the protestants.

The greatest disturbances, however, which broke out in France were in the reign of Francis II. It was then that began the fatal emulation between the houses of Montmorenci and Guise or Lorrain, which occasioned infinite distractions in the kingdom.

The change of religion contributed likewise to these intestine feuds; when the duke of Guise was looked upon as the head of the papists; and the constable of Montmorenci, and admiral Coligni, (head of the Chatillon family,) the chiefs of the protestants.

This constable, a stubborn and inflexible man, was the most unfortunate general of the age.

Coligni, admiral of France, was son of Gaspard de Coligni, marshal of France, and of Louisa de Montmorenci, sister to the constable. Francis II. was a weak prince both in body and mind, and no ways qualified to govern a kingdom.

Hence three factions endeavoured to get the administration into their hands, viz. that of the house of Guise; of the constable Montmorenci, and of the princes of the blood; but the intriguing and ambitious queen-mother, (Catherine de Medicis) relict of Henry II. adhereing to the Guises, this party carried all before them.

Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, first prince of the blood (father to the renowned Henry IV. of France;) and the prince of Conde, his brother, were also banished, in a manner; and admiral Coligni, and Dandelot, his brother, were looked upon with an evil eye.

Hereupon these gentlemen, with several other persons of distinction, united against the court. Observing that the protestant religion began to spread all over the kingdom; and that its professors had been cruelly persecuted under the late reign, principally by the machinations of the Guises, they therefore greatly hated them: and thereupon resolved to join their interest with that of the protestants, as this would very much strengthen their party; not to mention the support, which they expected from the English queen Elizabeth, and the protestant princes of Germany.

It was agreed, that the princes of Conde should have the direction of the enterprize, but not avow it openly till matters should be riper. In pursuance of these resolutions, soldiers were raised, and parties formed in every part of the kingdom.

The consequence of this was that the king caused the lords, both spiritual and temporal, with the lawyers, to assemble, in order to deliberate upon the then state of affairs, and particularly with respect to religion.

On this occasion admiral Coligni presented a petition to the king, in behalf of his protestant subjects; informing his majesty, that though it was not signed by any one, there yet were fifty-thousand, in the province of Normandy, ready to sign it.

The king, demanding the opinion of the assembly as to that article; the cardinal of Lorrain (brother to the duke of Guise) declared this petition to be seditious, foolish, scandalous, heretical and impudent; and that, if there

there were fifty thousand factious people who would sign it, he himself would answer for a million of substantial persons in France, who were ready to chastise their insolence.

It was afterwards agreed, that the states of the realm should deliberate upon these matters. The above cardinal was a man of great abilities; but he made very ill use of them, to the great prejudice of France, merely to satiate his violent thirst after riches and honours. As to Francis duke of Guise above mentioned, brother to the cardinal, he was one of the most renowned captains of his age. His ambition and that of his brother the cardinal, brought desolation upon the kingdom, whilst that the sanguinary spirit with which they were fired against the Protestants of France, gave rise to civil wars, which more than once brought that kingdom to the brink of ruin.

It is observed, that matters were so disposed at the time Francis II. died, that the ruin of the protestants seemed inevitable. The learned Beza tells us, that it was in the reign of Francis II. successor to Henry, that Satan's rage rose to an extreme height. So that one might say of this reign, which lasted but seventeen months, what Christ says in St. Matthew, viz. that unless those days had been shortened, no man could be saved; but that for the elect's sake, they were shortened.

Francis II. was succeeded by his brother Charles IX, who on his accession to the throne, being but ten years of age, his mother Catherine de Medici was appointed regent during his

N^o 24.

minority. From this power she had the address to secure both parties to her interest, by flattering each of them with the hopes of her countenance and protection. Not long after the constable of Montmorency forsook the Protestants, and joined with the Guises.

In September 1561 a conference was opened between the Protestant and Popish doctors at Poissy, in presence of the king, the queen mother, the princes, and a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal.

Beza, a man of vast learning and eloquence, then present, being admitted to speak in behalf of the Protestant principles, he was heard very patiently, till he had almost finished his speech; wherein having repeated the profession of his faith, agreeable to the apostle's creed, and explained some articles thereof pursuant to the doctrines of Calvin, he thence took occasion to say, 'That Christ's body was as far removed from the bread and wine in the sacrament, as heaven was from earth.'

This occasioned a general murmur; when cardinal De Tournon rose up and inveighed bitterly against this blasphemy, as he termed it, he besought the king not to suffer himself to be imposed upon by these new doctrines, but to command them to depart the kingdom; adding, that they only corrupted the people. Beza begged leave of the king, but in vain, to answer the cardinal.

Not long after these conferences, the Guises had the art to draw over the king of Navarre, a weak prince,

6 B.

10

revived his edicts against the protestants.

The greatest disturbances, however, which broke out in France were in the reign of Francis II. It was then that began the fatal emulation between the houses of Montmorenci and Guise or Lorrain, which occasioned infinite distractions in the kingdom.

The change of religion contributed likewise to these intestine feuds; when the duke of Guise was looked upon as the head of the papists; and the constable of Montmorenci, and admiral Coligni, (head of the Chatillon family,) the chiefs of the protestants.

This constable, a stubborn and inflexible man, was the most unfortunate general of the age.

Coligni, admiral of France, was son of Gaspard de Coligni, marshal of France, and of Louisa de Montmorenci, sister to the constable. Francis II. was a weak prince both in body and mind, and no ways qualified to govern a kingdom.

Hence three factions endeavoured to get the administration into their hands, viz. that of the house of Guise; of the constable Montmorenci, and of the princes of the blood; but the intriguing and ambitious queen-mother, (Catherine de Medicis) relict of Henry II. adhering to the Guises, this party carried all before them.

Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, first prince of the blood (father to the renowned Henry IV. of France;) and the prince of Conde, his brother, were also banished, in a manner; and admiral Coligni, and Dandelot, his brother, were looked upon with an evil eye.

Hereupon these gentlemen, with several other persons of distinction, united against the court. Observing that the protestant religion began to spread all over the kingdom; and that its professors had been cruelly persecuted under the late reign, principally by the machinations of the Guises, they therefore greatly hated them: and thereupon resolved to join their interest with that of the protestants, as this would very much strengthen their party; not to mention the support, which they expected from the English queen Elizabeth, and the protestant princes of Germany.

It was agreed, that the princes of Conde should have the direction of the enterprize, but not avow it openly till matters should be riper. In pursuance of these resolutions, soldiers were raised, and parties formed in every part of the kingdom.

The consequence of this was that the king caused the lords, both spiritual and temporal, with the lawyers, to assemble, in order to deliberate upon the then state of affairs, and particularly with respect to religion.

On this occasion admiral Coligni presented a petition to the king, in behalf of his protestant subjects; informing his majesty, that though it was not signed by any one, there yet were fifty-thousand, in the province of Normandy, ready to sign it.

The king, demanding the opinion of the assembly as to that article; the cardinal of Lorrain (brother to the duke of Guise) declared this petition to be seditious, foolish, scandalous, heretical and impudent; and that, if there

there were fifty thousand factious people who would sign it, he himself would answer for a million of substantial persons in France, who were ready to chastise their insolence.

It was afterwards agreed, that the states of the realm should deliberate upon these matters. The above cardinal was a man of great abilities; but he made very ill use of them, to the great prejudice of France, merely to satiate his violent thirst after riches and honours. As to Francis duke of Guise above mentioned, brother to the cardinal, he was one of the most renowned captains of his age. His ambition and that of his brother the cardinal, brought desolation upon the kingdom, whilst that the sanguinary spirit with which they were fired against the Protestants of France, gave rise to civil wars, which more than once brought that kingdom to the brink of ruin.

It is observed, that matters were so disposed at the time Francis II died, that the ruin of the protestants seemed inevitable. The learned Beza tells us, that it was in the reign of Francis II. successor to Henry, that Satan's rage rose to an extreme height. So that one might say of this reign, which lasted but seventeen months, what Christ says in St. Matthew, viz. that unless those days had been shortened, no man could be saved; but that for the elect's sake, they were shortened.

Francis II was succeeded by his brother Charles IX, who on his accession to the throne, being but ten years of age, his mother Catherine de Medici was appointed regent during his

minority. From this power she had the address to secure both parties to her interest, by flattering each of them with the hopes of her countenance and protection. Not long after the constable of Montmorency forsook the Protestants, and joined with the Guises.

In September 1561 a conference was opened between the Protestant and Popish doctors at Poissy, in presence of the king, the queen mother, the princes, and a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal.

Beza, a man of vast learning and eloquence, then present, being admitted to speak in behalf of the Protestant principles, he was heard very patiently, till he had almost finished his speech; wherein having repeated the profession of his faith, agreeable to the apostle's creed, and explained some articles thereof pursuant to the doctrines of Calvin, he thence took occasion to say, That Christ's body was as far removed from the bread and wine in the sacrament, as heaven was from earth.

This occasioned a general murmur; when cardinal De Tournon rose up and inveighed bitterly against this blasphemy, as he termed it, he besought the king not to suffer himself to be imposed upon by these new doctrines, but to command them to depart the kingdom; adding, that they only corrupted the people. Beza begged leave of the king, but in vain, to answer the cardinal.

Not long after these conferences, the Guises had the art to draw over the king of Navarre, a weak prince,

to their party. A war afterwards breaking out between the protestants and papists, sieges were carried on, battles fought; but the duke of Guise being shot at the siege of Orleans, a peace was concluded Anno 1563, in which several concessions were made in favour of the protestants.

After this, both parties uniting, they drove the English out of Normandy, and all France. In 1564, a severe edict was published against the protestants. The year following, Henry, duke of Guise, son to the abovementioned, was reconciled to outward appearance, to admiral Coligni. the prince of Conde observing the partiality of the queen-mother to the popish party, concluded an alliance with the prince of Orange, and such of the protestants of the Netherlands, as were nicknamed Gueux, or beggars.

After this the prince of Conde, and admiral Coligni drew the sword, and waged war (in which the constable of Montmorenci lost his life) against the Roman catholics; but a treaty was concluded in 1568, after that France had suffered numberless calamities.

This truce, however, was of no permanence; for the French court being now governed by the treacherous queen mother, Catherine of Medicis, she concluded this truce with no other view than that of destroying both the prince of Conde and the admiral, who were now both become so jealous of her, that they did not think it prudent to reside at court, but withdrew to their respective estates among their friends and vassals.

After this the king attempted to

seize in the most treacherous manner the prince and the admiral, but failed in this design; when this alarming the protestants, they assembled troops in all the provinces for their defence. Immediately the queen-mother advanced to Rochelle with a strong body of forces, when the winter was employed in little skirmishes.

In 1569 the duke of Anjou, the king's brother, who commanded the royal army, engaging the prince of Conde at Jarnac, the latter was basely killed by baron de Montefquieu, and his army defeated; notwithstanding which the admiral made a good retreat.

The excellent Jane d'Albert, queen of Navarre, with her son Henry, prince of Bearn, afterwards the renowned Henry IV. whose father had lost his life at the siege of Roan, and Henry, son to the late prince of Conde, meeting with the admiral, it was agreed, that the prince of Bearn should be declared head of the protestant party; whereupon they all took an oath to stand by him with their lives and fortunes, till they should obtain an honourable peace.

This war got hotter, and the young duke of Guise being admitted into the council, the admiral was proscribed, and a price set upon his head, upon the supposition that if he once could be taken off, the Protestant interest must necessarily sink.

The project not succeeding, the duke of Anjou gave the admiral battle, and defeated him, after which the conditions of peace were again insiduously offered him by the court; and although the admiral suspected that

that all this was done in a treacherous view; yet his circumstances were such that he thought it prudent to enter once more into a treaty (called of St. Germain's;) abstracted from the concessions granted to the protestants by former pacifications; the several towns were specified, in which they permitted to hold their assemblies for divine worship; (the cities of Rochelle, La Charité, Montaubon, and Boignac, being granted them for cautionary towns;) the protestants were now declared capable of holding public employments; and the prince of Orange was put in possession of the principality so called. All these conditions were more advantageous than the protestants could naturally have expected, had their affairs been even in the most flourishing state.

In the year 1571, the king having solemnized his marriage with Elizabeth of Eustria, daughter to the emperor Maximilian; he, in order to draw the chiefs of the protestant party to court, proposed another marriage, between Henry, prince of Bearn, son to the queen of Navarre, and his sister, the princess Margaret; which offer Jane d'Albret accepted with pleasure, and set out, with her son, for Paris, in order to be present at the nuptials.

The king went as far as Blois to meet her; and, at their first interview, gave her the strongest testimonies of his friendship and confidence; and was so overjoyed with the horrid scene he had in view, that he asked the queen-mother, with a smile, whether he had not played his part well; to which she answering, that it would

signify nothing to begin well, unless he went through; the king replied with an oath, that he would catch them all in the net.

The next step was to draw the admiral into the snare: when the king, to induce the protestants to put the greater confidence in him, said, that he would declare war against Spain; which court was well known to be the great support of the house of Guise; the authors of most of the severities exercised upon the Protestants in France.

The French king went so far, as to let the prince of Orange raise troops in the last mentioned country, to oppose the Spaniards in the Netherlands; besides other actions, which seemed to argue a real design in the French king, to break with Spain.

Upon this, the admiral sent count Nassau to his majesty, to offer his counsel and assistance on that occasion. The king insidiously told the count, that he considered the admiral as the most experienced soldier in his kingdom, and the man who could best advise him in an affair of such great importance; and that, should he engage in war with Spain, he would intrust him with the command of the army; he suspecting the other generals (meaning the Guises and their faction) because of their holding a correspondence with that court; but that it would be proper for the admiral to come to him, in order that they might concert together, upon the measures proper to be taken in so important a juncture.

Count Nassau going back to the admiral

admiral, was earnest with him to lay hold on this favourable opportunity, as it might raise him to the most exalted pitch of power; and enable him to serve his friends, both in France and in the Netherlands.

After some deliberation the admiral resolved to set out for Paris. The king, on his arrival, received him with great outward marks of kindness; defrayed his expences; appointed fifty gentlemen for his guard, and admitted him into his council.

He gave as amicable a reception to count De la Rochefoucault, la Nouë, and the rest of his friends; and seemed to converse as freely with these noblemen, as with any others about his court. The better to cloak his execrable design, Schomberg was sent to the protestant princes of Germany, in order to conclude an alliance with them.

The negotiation with the queen of England, concerning her marriage with the duke of Anjou, was also revived; and a treaty concluded with that princess, purporting, that in case his catholic majesty should seize or detain in his harbours, the ships of either nation, (which frequently happened) they then should mutually aid each other, in order to obtain satisfaction: and as the Spanish king took umbrage at these steps, and actually recalled his Ambassador from the French court; these several circumstances firmly persuaded, both the admiral and the protestants, that the king was in earnest.

But whilst preparations were making at court, for solemnizing the

nuptials of the prince of Bearn with the king's sister; his mother, the queen of Navarre, was taken ill, and snatched away in a few days, notwithstanding suspicion of being poisoned.

However, as it was declared, upon her being opened, that she died of an ulcer in her side, neither the admiral, nor her son (who now assumed the title of king of Navarre) took much notice of it.

But two or three days after, as the admiral was going home, and reading a petition, he was wounded from a window, by a musket loaded with bullets; when standing still, and observing whence it came; --- "behold" (says he) the effects of my reconciliation with the duke of Guise!" The assassin, having a horse ready, fled through one of the city gates.

The king coming soon after to visit the admiral, swore that he would punish the author of so villainous an attempt; at which the admiral was so firmly persuaded of the King's sincerity, that he would not listen to his friends, who were urgent with him to retire to a place of safety.

The rest of the Protestants, however, were so much alarmed, that they began to consult how to defend themselves, in case they should be attacked; which coming to the ear of the queen-mother, she advised her son, the king, to hasten the blow.

In consequence of this advice a cabinet council was immediately held, at which it was resolved, that the admiral, and all the protestants in France, should be butchered, the young king of Navarre, and the prince
of

of Condé, excepted; and that this horrid design might be the more effectually perpetrated, the duke of Guise, their mortal enemy, was appointed to see it put in execution.

The duke never received a commission with more joy; and thereupon he ordered the prevot of Paris to require the captains of the several wards to raise the citizens; and that on the ringing of the alarum-bell in the Palais, in the night between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of August, 1572, they should illuminate their windows; break into the houses of the protestants; and kill them without mercy. This was done accordingly, with the utmost secrecy and dispatch.

The horrid massacre is thus described by Voltaire, a celebrated French author and a Roman Catholic. The nuptials (says he) of the young king of Navarre, with the French king's sister, were solemnized with pomp; and all the endearments, all the assurances of friendship, all the oaths sacred among men, were profusely lavished by Catherine, the queen-mother, and by the king; during which the rest of the court, thought of nothing but festivities, plays, and masquerades.

At last, at twelve o'clock, one night (the eve of St. Bartholomew) the signal was given. Immediately all the houses of the protestants were forced open at once. Admiral Coligni, alarmed by the uproar, flew out of bed; when a company of assassins rushed into his bed-chamber. They were headed by one Bésme, who had been

bred up as a domestick in the family of the Guises. This wretch thrust his sword into the admiral's breast, and also cut him on the face.

Bésme was a German; and being afterwards taken by the protestants, the Rochellers would have bought him, in order to hang and quarter him in the great square; but he was killed by one Bretanville.

Henry, the young duke of Guise, who afterwards framed the catholic league, and was murdered at Blois, standing at the door, till the horrid butchery should be compleated, asked aloud, "Bésme! is it done?" Immediately the ruffians threw the body out of the window. Coligni fell, and expired at Guise's feet. The young man trampled upon him; not that he was drunk with the furious catholic zeal of persecution, which at that time intoxicated half France; but he was animated by the spirit of revenge, which though, commonly, not so unmerciful as the fury of religion, yet often leads to base actions.

Count De Taligny also fell a sacrifice. He had married, about ten months before, Coligni's daughter. His countenance was so sweet, that the ruffians who first advanced, in order to kill him, were struck with compassion; but others, more barbarous, rushing forward, murdered him.

In the mean time all the friends of Coligni were assassinated throughout Paris; men, women and children were promiscuously slaughtered; every street was strewed with expiring bodies.

Some priests, holding up a crucifix

in one hand, and a dagger in the other, ran to the chiefs of the murderers; and exhorted them, in the name of God, to spare neither relations nor friends.

Tavannes, marshal of France, an ignorant, superstitious soldier, who joined the fury of religion to the rage of party, rode on horseback through Paris, crying to his men, "Let blood! Let blood! bleeding is as wholesome in August as in May." Tavannes had been one of the pages to Francis I.

In the Memoirs, writ by his son, we are told that the father being on his death-bed, and making a general confession of his sins, the priest said to him, with surprize: "What! no mention of St. Bartholomew's massacre?" Tavannes replied; "I consider it as a meritorious action, that will wash away my other sins." Such horrid sentiments can a false spirit of religion inspire!

The king's palace was one of the chief scenes of the butchery; the king of Navarre had his lodgings in the Louvre, and all his domesticks were protestants.

Many of these were killed in bed with their wives; others, flying away naked, were pursued by the soldiers on the stair-cases, through the several rooms of the palace, and even to the king's anti-chamber.

The young wife of Henry of Navarre, awaked by the dreadful uproar, being afraid for her consort, and for her own life; seized with horror, and half dead, flew from her bed, in order to throw herself at the feet of the

king her brother. Scarce had she opened her chamber-door, when some of her protestant domesticks rushed in for refuge. The soldiers entered after; pursued them in sight of the princess; and one who crept under her bed was killed there. The others being wounded with halberts, fell at the queen's feet, so that she was covered with blood.

Count De la Rochefoucault, a young nobleman, greatly in the king's favour for his comely air, his politeness, and a certain peculiar happiness in the turn of his conversation, had spent the evening till eleven o'clock with the monarch, in pleasant familiarity; and had given a loose, with the utmost mirth, to the fallies of his imagination.

The monarch felt some remorse; and being touched with a kind of compassion, bid him, two or three times, not to go home, but to lie in the Louvre. La Rochefoucault said, that he must go to his wife; upon which the king pressed him no farther, but cried; "Let him go! I see God has decreed his death." This young nobleman was butchered two hours after.

Among those who escaped this horrid slaughter was one La Forcé, a youth of ten years old, the circumstance of which is somewhat remarkable. His father, his elder brother, and himself, were seized together by the duke of Anjou's soldiers.

These murderers flew at all three, and struck them at random; when the father and the sons, covered with blood, fell, and lay one upon another.

The

The youngest did not receive a single blow ; but making as though he was dead, escaped next day ; and his life, thus wonderfully preserved, lasted fourscore and five years. He was the famous marshal De la Forcé.

During this interval, many of these victims fled to the water-side ; when some swam over the Seine, to the suburbs of St. Germain. The king saw them from his window, which looked upon the river ; and (an almost incredible circumstance, but too true) fired upon them with a carabine, which had been loaded for that purpose by one of his pages.

The queen-mother, undisturbed and serene in the midst of the slaughter, looking down from a balcony situated towards the city, encouraged the murderers, and laughed at the dying groans of the slaughtered.

This barbarous queen was fired with a restless ambition, and she shifted perpetually her part in order to satiate it. She was accused of a loose commerce with certain gentlemen ; and was weak enough to believe in magick, as appeared from the talismans found after her death.

Her maids of honour, and some ladies of the court, went down into the street ; and with an impudent and barbarous curiosity, worthy of that abominable court, surveyed the naked and bloody body of Soubise, who was suspected of impotency ; and had been just killed, after making a most gallant defence, under the queen's windows.

The court now endeavoured to palliate these barbarities by establishing

new forms of law. They pretended to justify the massacre by a calumny ; and accused the admiral of a conspiracy, which no one believed.

The parliament was commanded to proceed against the memory of Coligni ; and his dead body was hung in chains at Monfaucon gallows.

The king himself went to view this shocking spectacle ; when one of his courtiers advising him to retire, and complaining of the stench of the corps ; the king cried, (like Vitellius) " A dead enemy smells sweet."

Though it cannot be proved, that the admiral's head was sent to the pope (as it certainly was, to the queen-mother, with the history of his times, in his own hand writing ;) yet it is well known, that the massacres, on St. Bartholomew's Day are painted, at Rome, in the royal Sallon of the Vatican, with the following inscription under the picture ; Pontifex Colignii necem probat ; that is, " The pope approves of Coligni's death."---How justly is such a pontiff stiled, His Holiness !---The young king of Navarre was spared through policy, rather than from the pity of the queen-mother ; she keeping him prisoner, till the king's death ; in order that he might be as security and pledge, for the submission of such protestants as might escape. That king's mother died two or three days before.

This butchery was not confined merely to the city of Paris ; the like orders having been issued from court, to the governors of all the provinces of France ; so that in a week's time, above an hundred thousand protestants were

were cut to pieces, in different parts of the kingdom. Two or three governors only refused to obey the king's orders.

One among the rest, named Montmorrin, governor of Auvergne, wrote the king the following letter, which deserves to be transmitted, in characters of gold, to latest posterity.

S I R,

" I have received an order, under
" your majesty's seal, to put to death
" all the protestants in my province.
" I have too much respect for your
" majesty not to believe the letter a
" forgery: but if (which God forbid)
" the order should be genuine, I have
" too much respect for your majesty
" to obey it."

These barbarities inflamed such protestants as escaped with rage rather than terror; their irreconcilable hatred to the court, supplied them with fresh vigour, and the spirit of revenge increased their strength.

The king under whose influence this dreadful havock had been committed, never enjoyed his health after the butchery on the eve of St. Bartholomew; but died in about two years, his blood gushing daily through the pores of his skin; so that he expired weltering, as it were, in his gore.

Henry IV. who succeeded his brother Henry III. was a protestant; but at the earnest solicitation of his popish courtiers, and in order to prevent those dreadful commotions which were likely to ensue, he turned Roman catholic, which greatly alarm-

ing the protestants, he promised, under his hand, that to whatever straits the necessity of his affairs might reduce him, they should not fail to be secured, in the profession of their faith and liberties; and during his stay at Nantes, the capital of Britany, in order to content the protestants in some measure, he published the famous irrevocable (as it was called by the French protestants) edict of Nantes, Anno 1598, whereby they were secured in the free exercise of their religion, in all parts of France; (Paris, and its neighbourhood excepted.)

This edict was granted to the protestants, as a reward for their services, in having raised the house of Bourbon to the throne of France. But it was revoked, in 1685, by Lewis XIV. About the year 1600, France was freed from wars both domestic and foreign.

King Henry's reign was afterward's disturbed by many plots, most of them contrived by priests, or bigotted papists among the laity; and a period put to it by one Ravailac, a friar. This wretch stabbed his majesty to the heart, May 14, 1610, as he was riding in his coach through one of the streets of Paris.

On the death of king Henry IV. Lewis XIII. succeeded to the crown; but he being a minor, the queen-mother, Mary of Medicis, was appointed regent, during his minority, she confirmed, by a proclamation, the edict of Nantes; and the protestants were permitted to hold their general assemblies, wherein they used to draw up representations of their griev-

grievances; in one whereof, met at Saumur, there were great contests and feuds; particularly between duke De Sully and marshal Bouillon; on which occasion the famous Du Plessis Mornay was chosen president of the assembly.

Afterwards provincial assemblies used to meet, at which the court was offended; and the protestants were abridged in some of their privileges.

In 1620, the court formed a resolution to extirpate the protestants; for which purpose the king marched into Bearn, where he ordered mass to be said in all the principal churches of that province.

The next year, duke D'Espèron marched against them, whereupon all the protestants of Bearn fled to the mountains; their churches, in several towns, having been burnt by the popish mobs with impunity.

The protestants, upon this, summoning a general assembly to consult for their defence; the king commanded them to break up, which they refusing, it was construed rebellion.

Immediately a war broke out, on all sides, about the year 1622. During this interval the protestants were deserted by most of their chiefs, which reduced their affairs to a low ebb.

A great part of France was destroyed, by the havock perpetually by one or the other party. This war was very bloody. The town of Negrepelisse, in particular, having been taken by the royalists; the king ordered, all the people in the town, and in the castle, to be butchered, the women

N^o 24.

excepted; though these were exposed to the brutality of the soldiers. However, a peace was afterwards concluded.

Some time after, the protestants of Rochelle, being disgusted at the count for not observing all the articles of the late peace, fitted out a fleet in order to make reprisals.

Rochelle was blocked up by the royalists, in 1626; but, making it's submission, good terms were allowed. It afterwards sustained a long siege, which was first commanded by the king, in person; and then by the famous Richlieu, though an ecclesiastick; the besieged being assisted by our king Charles I.

The Rochellers made a glorious defence, and fifteen thousand of them perished by famine; so that, at last, being quite exhausted, they surrendered, upon condition of obtaining a general pardon; and security for their lives, liberties and estates.

Whilst the king was taken up with the siege of Rochelle, the prince of Condé, and duke De Montmorenci, headed (each of them) a body of troops in Languedoc, against duke De Rohan, and the protestants who were in arms there.

The royalists being greatly superior to their enemies, ravaged the country; and used the ill-fated protestants, in the open towns, with great barbarity.

In 1629, the king being returned with his army, from Italy, where he had restored the duke of Mantua to his dominions; marched into Languedoc, in order to put an end to the

6 D.

pro-

protestant war. Duke De Rohan was now chief general of the Protestants. The royalists besieging Privas, in the Vivarez, found a most obstinate resistance; when the besieged neglecting to capitulate, till all their works were taken; they were forced to surrender at discretion; so that most of them were either cut to pieces, or executed in cold blood. The royal army marched afterwards to the Cevennes, and were victorious there also.

At last, cardinal Richelieu, upon these various successes, prevailed with duke De Rohan to submit to the king; promising him, and the rest of the protestants a pardon; with security for their religion and estates, upon condition that they should demolish the fortification of such cities as were still in their power.

The Protestants reflecting on the lowness of their circumstances, thought fit to comply: whereupon a treaty was signed at Alets. June 27, 1629, Duke De Rohan left the kingdom, with his majesty's leave, and retired to Venice.

Soon after, the fortifications of the Protestant towns being demolished, in pursuance of the said treaty, cardinal Richelieu made his triumphant entry into Montauban.

The Protestants having thus given up their cities of security; and being wholly dependant on the pleasure of the ministry, who never kept a promise with them, except when they thought it for their advantage, their party decreased insensibly: and, notwithstanding the submission, and the ready obedience they ever had shewn

to the commands of their sovereign, he was perpetually endeavouring to ruin them; upon a notion, that he was bound in conscience to do so, whenever an opportunity should present itself; but their destruction was not compleated, till the repeal of the famous edict of Nantes, under his successor Lewis XIV; an edict granted to maintain the protestants, in all those rights and privileges, which nature and civil society indulge mankind.

The protestants were so far from occasioning any disturbance in his reign, that they during the civil war, which broke out soon after that monarch was seated on the throne, gave him the highest demonstration of their attachment; a circumstance which the king himself acknowledged in a declaration published in the year 1652: not to mention that the queen-mother confessed, that they had saved the state. But this very circumstance, which should have won them the utmost favour, proved their ruin; by it's being wickedly represented, to his majesty, that as the protestants, by their weight and influence, had done him such signal services; it was also in their power to overturn the government; and from this reflexion, a most horrid political resolution was formed, at court, viz. to even extirpate them, if possible.

Immediately Rochelle, Montauban, Millau, and all such protestant cities as had shewn the greatest zeal for the king, were made to feel the most fatal effects of his vengeance.

After this a thousand machinations and

and artifices were daily employed against them; and these were continued during twenty years, till their destruction was compleated.

The chief methods employed by the persecutors to attain their ends, were these:

1. Prosecutions and chicanery in the ordinary course of justice.
2. Exclusion from post, or preferments of every kind, as well as from all methods of getting a livelihood.
3. Infringement of the edict of Nantes, under colour of explications.
4. New laws, or new regulations.
5. Fraudful and illusive measures.
6. Rouzing the people, and firing them with hatred against the protestants.

A long time was requisite, in order to dispose and bring matters to a head; not to mention the disappointments which the court met with, and interruptions occasioned by the civil wars; the issue of which, in their favour, increased their courage, and confirmed them still more in their detestable views.

During all these machinations, the protestants, dreading the storm that was likely to break over their heads, were not idle; but endeavoured, with inexpressible pains, to defend themselves so far as was consistent with equity. But all this was to no purpose, although they had carried their complaints even to the throne.

The court began to employ open force about the year 1684, at which time soldiers were spread all over France; particularly the dragoons,

these being the boldest and most resolute of all the king's troops.

Before them marched terror, with its hated train; and as the king now declared, that he would no longer permit any protestants in his kingdoms, an universal panick seized those who were to be the ill-fated victims.

The dragoons began with Bearn; after which the other provinces of the kingdom, (not excepting the city of Paris,) had their sad share of these calamities.

The first thing enjoined to various intendants, or comptrollers of the provinces was, for them to summon the several cities and corporations; when they, assembling accordingly all such inhabitants as were protestants, acquainted them with his majesty's will, viz. that they must immediately turn Roman catholicks; and that, in case of refusal, force would be employed.

The unhappy protestants, thunderstruck with such an alternative, replied, that they were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for his majesty; but that, as God had a right over their consciences, they could not dispose of it in this manner.

In consequence of these answers, the dragoons, who were not far off, marched up; when they immediately seized upon all the avenues to, and the gates of the several cities.

Next guards were posted in all the roads; and the dragoons often marched into towns, sword in hand, crying, in a rage, "Turn catholicks! or die! These dragoons, being quartered in the houses of the protestants, where they were to live at discretion:

cretion; strictly commanded all persons not to quit their homes, nor to secure their goods or effects, upon severe penalties; and forbidding all Roman catholicks harbouring, or assisting them, in any manner.

These tyrants used to pass the first days, in devouring all the provision of their respective hosts; and in tearing from them, (had these been even in their bowels) all their money, rings, jewels, and every thing of value.

They next exposed every family to plunder; and invited, not only the papists of the place, but likewise all those of the neighbouring towns and villages, to come and purchase of them all the clothes, furniture, and other things of which they might stand in need.

The next step they took was to fall upon their persons; on which occasion they employed every cruelty, in order to oblige them to apostatize from their religion.

These blood thirsty dragoons, with shouts, oaths, and blasphemies, would hang men and women, by the hair of the head; or, by the feet, to the ceilings of rooms.

They fastened them, like so many criminals who are put to the torture; when, by means of a funnel, they poured wine down their throats; till such times as the fumes of the liquor, intoxicating and depriving them of their reason, they consented to abjure their religion. They beat them with clubs; and after bruising them all over, dragged them to the popish churches; when their forced presence was considered as an abjuration.

They deprived them of their sleep, during seven or eight days together; the persecutors relieving one another, in order to watch them day and night; and keep them awake, either by throwing water in their faces; by tormenting them a thousand ways; or by holding, over their heads, brass kettles, on which they used to make a horrid din, till these victims had quite lost their senses.

Whenever they found men or women, confined to their beds in burning fevers, they had the barbarity to get together a great many drummers, who beat round their beds during weeks together, without ceasing, till the sufferers gave their word to abjure the protestant faith.

In some places they fastened fathers and husband to bed-posts; when they ravished their wives and daughters, before them, with impunity.

In case any persons, after such horrid treatment, still refused to turn, they were imprisoned; and thrown into dark, loathsome, infected dungeons, where every cruelty was exercised upon them. In the mean time their houses were pulled down, their lands laid waste, their timber felled, and their wives and daughters thrown into convents.

When the dragoons had devoured every thing in a gentleman's house in the country, the farmers supplied them with necessaries; and these, in order to indemnify themselves, used to sell, (by authority) the goods and chattels of such gentlemen; and often purchase them for their own use.

If any persons, for conscience sake,
and

and to escape the tyranny of those barbarians, fled from their abode, they were pursued through the fields and woods and shot at like so many wild beasts.

For this purpose the sheriff's officers were commanded to scour the country; and the magistrates in the several districts, were ordered to seize them indiscriminately. They then were carried back to the places they came from, and treated as prisoners of war.

All this shocking usage was not confined merely to people in low life; persons of the highest distinction being treated in the same manner.

Their lands were ravaged; and their houses, both in town and country, plundered, and razed to the ground; their woods cut down; their children carried off, and their persons exposed to the inhumanity of the dragoons.

Neither age, sex nor quality were spared, whenever the command, for turning papist, was not complied with; the same violence being practised universally. Some persons who had employments in the parliaments, were used in the like inhuman manner; and many officers ordered, from their posts, to return home, and treated like the rest.

Several persons of quality, and others fled to Paris, or the court, in hopes of meeting with protection there; instead of which, they were ordered to return, in four days, to their respective homes; and all persons forbid, upon very severe penalties, to harbour them; and others

who presented petitions to the king, were sent to the Bastile, and cruelly persecuted there.

These things were done openly; but the Romanists put to death great numbers secretly, besides those who rotted and perished in loathsome dungeons.

Some they transported to Canada, (as they falsely declared;) but really drowned most of them, when they were got some leagues out at sea; and if any proceeded so far as Canada, they perished in dungeons there. In a word, such a variety of other torments were inflicted, on the French protestants, that only God, and themselves, knew them all.

The most material particulars, with respect to the manner of carrying on these persecutions, are as follows: in almost all the provinces of France, there marched, at the head of these infernal legions, (besides the military commanders) the intendants and bishops, in their respective dioceses, with crouds of missionaries, priests, and friars.

The intendants used to see the orders of the court executed in their full rigour; and would rouse the dragoons to farther cruelty, if any of them happened to be moved with compassion. The missionaries, friars, &c. would excite and encourage the dragoons, to execute a command which was so pleasing to the church; and so glorious (as they declared) to God and the king.

With respect to the bishops, they assisted merely to keep open table; to receive the abjurations; and to be as

so many severe, general inspectors; in order that every thing might be executed agreeable to the intention and inclination of the popish clergy. Farther, whenever a party of dragoons, had forced, by their cruelties, some protestants to comply; the former were sent to, and quartered in the houses of such as still stood; by which means, those protestants, who resisted longest, were quite ruined, by the great number of soldiers quartered upon them.

Again, before the dragoons were sent to any considerable town, the inhabitants had privately taken care, to win over several protestants to the popish religion; who promised to assist in corrupting their brethren, so soon as the soldiers should arrive.

Fourthly, when any master of a family, in order to prevent the dragoons from being quartered upon him, turned Roman catholick; in case any of his family refused to follow his example, or fled; those military tyrants would come and live at discretion in his house.

Fifthly, when some protestants had signed a gentle form of abjuration, which they imagined might be done with a safe conscience; a few days after, another, infinitely more explicit, was brought, and, (a most impudent circumstance) they therein were made to declare, that they embraced the Romish religion freely, and without compulsion.

Having proceeded thus far, if such persons made any difficulty to go to mass; if they did not receive the sacrament; assist at processions; go to

confession; say their beads; or if they, by any involuntary sign, discovered the least reluctance, they were loaded with fines, and the dragoons were again quartered upon them.

Lastly, whilst the soldiers were thus laying waste the provinces; the frontiers and ports were so strictly watched, that few protestants could escape out of the kingdom. Not one of them had leave to depart.

The most exact search was made on board of foreign ships; the coasts, the bridges, the passages of rivers, and the highways were guarded; the night was not more favourable than the day; and some neighbouring states were ordered not to give shelter to any more protestants, but to send back those who had already fled to them; and attempts were even made, to carry off some out of foreign countries.

On the 8th of October 1605, was published the revocation of the edict of Nantes. In this edict, after the preamble, wherein the court endeavours to prove, (but very iniquitously) that there was no farther occasion for the edict of Nantes; the king by the first article of the new edict, revokes the former in all its parts; and commands all the protestants churches, throughout his dominions, to be instantly demolished.

Secondly, he prohibits every assembly, for exercising the said religion.

Thirdly, all noblemen or lords of manors are forbid to follow that worship, upon pain of imprisonment, and confiscation of their estates.

Fourthly, all protestant clergymen are

are to quit the kingdom, in a fortnight after the publication of this edict, upon pain of being sent to the gallies.

Fifthly and sixthly, rewards and advantages are promised to such clergymen, or their widows, as shall become converts to popery.

Seventhly and eighthly, no children are to be educated in the protestant religion; and all children, born afterwards, shall be baptized, and brought up in the Romish faith; and all parents are enjoined to send them to the popish church, upon the penalty of five hundred livres.

Ninthly, four months are allowed those who may have left the kingdom to return to it; upon failure of which, their possessions are to be confiscated.

Tenthly, all protestants, their wives and children, are forbid to quit the kingdom, or carry off their effects; upon pain of the gallies, to the men; and imprisonment, and confiscation of their possessions, to the women.

Eleventhly, the declarations formerly published, with regard to relapsed hereticks, are confirmed.

Twelfthly, the rest of the protestants, till such time as heaven may think fit to enlighten them, shall be permitted to reside in the kingdom; there to follow their several trades and professions; and enjoy their possessions, without being molested, upon pretence of their being protestants; provided they shall not perform any exercise, or hold any meetings, in order to pray, or perform any religi-

ous worship in their way different from the Romish.

The very day after the edict was published, the government began by demolishing the noble protestant church at Charenton. The oldest protestant minister was commanded to leave Paris in twenty-four hours, and the kingdom forthwith.

For this purpose, he was committed to the guard of one of his majesty's footmen; with orders not to leave him, till he had passed the frontiers.

His colleagues met with scarce better treatment; the rest of the clergymen were allowed a fortnight; but during this interval, they were exposed to numberless vexations and cruelties.

In the first place, they were not permitted to sell any part of their estates, nor to carry off any of their goods or effects. Their books and manuscripts were even contested them. Farther, their tyrants would not allow them the assistance of father, mother, brother, sister, or any of their relations; though many were helpless and poor, and unable to subsist without their succour.

Their own children, of seven years of age or older, were denied them; and even those under seven, and who sucked at their mother's breasts: and nurses, for their children just born, were refused them.

In some frontier places they were stoppt, and imprisoned on ridiculous pretences: such as the obliging them to prove, that they did not carry off effects

effects belonging to their respective congregations.

Sometimes, after thus detaining and amusing these ministers, they were told that the fifteen days, allowed by the edict, were expired; that they were no longer at liberty to quit the kingdom, but must go the galleys.

In a word, every chicane, every iniquity was employed, in order to afflict them.

The laity were treated with no less severity. The government commanded guards to be again posted at the several ports, towns, highways, and passages of rivers; all the provinces were overspread with soldiers; and even the peasants were armed, and commanded to stop all persons who should attempt to escape; and, in case of opposition, to treat them ill.

All custom-houses were forbid, to enter, or to let pass, any clothes, goods, merchandises, or other effects, belonging to the Protestants.

In a word, every artifice was made use of, to prevent the escape of these unhappy victims; insomuch that almost all correspondence, with the neighbouring countries, was cut off.

By this means, the several prisons in the kingdom were soon crowded: for the panic raised, in the protestants, by the dragoons; the horrors they felt, on the reflection that their consciences would be forced; the dread of seeing their children torn from them; as well as their being compelled to reside in a country, where they were treated with the greatest injustice and inhumanity; obliged every

one to think seriously of retiring, and to leave their effects, in order to save their persons.

Such as were committed to prison have been used with unheard of rigour; have been thrust into dungeons; loaded with heavy chains; almost starved; and deprived of all conversation, except that of their persecutors.

Several were thrust into convents, and treated, in them, with no less cruelty. Some were so happy as to expire under their tortures; others sunk, at last, under the weight of the temptation; whilst others again, by the extraordinary aid of heaven, resisted them with a courage truly heroic.

These proceedings were in direct opposition to the twelfth article of the new edict, in which it was declared, that Protestants should be permitted to live unmolested in France. On the contrary none of the dragoons, or other soldiers, who had been recalled; so far from it, they still practiced barbarities like to those already described; and also been sent into other provinces.

Even Paris was as roughly treated; though one would imagine, that the article in question of the edict, would have been more strictly observed there as that city is beneath the king's eye, as it were; and almost immediately under the government of the court.

The very day the edict in question was published, the attorney-general, and some other magistrates, sent orders to the masters of Protestant families,

milies, in Paris, to attend him. Being come, he told them in plain terms, that the king would allow of no other religion, besides the Romish, in his dominions; and therefore that they must turn catholicks voluntarily, or they should be forced to it.

At the same time, the elders of the consistories were drove from Paris, and treated very cruelly. One of the secretaries of state also, sending for above an hundred tradesmen of that city, and they being come; he ordered the hall door to be shut; and then declared, that not one of them should stir, till after they had signed an instrument, whereby they not only abjured the heresy of Calvin, but acknowledged that they had done this voluntarily; and so many menaces were employed, that they all set their hands.

But far more severe methods were employed, such as imprisonment, the seizure of effects and papers, the carrying off children, the separation of husbands and wives; and, lastly, the great engine, I mean the dragoons.

The most courageous were committed to the prison, called Fort l'Eveque in Paris, others were confined at home; and many had their houses stript, and their persons seized.

Thus this twelfth article, which promised some mitigation, was an abominable snare, spread to catch the credulous; and to prevent their contriving, how to best escape from France.

The rage of the persecutors went on in it's usual course; and rose to
N^o XXV.

such a height, that, not satisfied with laying waste the kingdom, it spread to Orange, a sovereign principality, in which the king of France has no lawful authority.

There they carried off several Protestant clergymen, and threw them into prison. Thither were sent the dragoons, who practised cruelties of every kind; compelling, by the most violent methods, men, women, children, and even the officers of the prince of Orange, to change their religion.

By this Persecution upwards of five hundred thousand families were plundered by the armies of dragoons; and in 1685, notwithstanding the vigilance of the government, above one hundred and fifty thousand persons had escaped out of France, as three hundred and fifty did afterwards.

These abandoned their dwellings, their inheritances, their effects; and many their wives and children, to go and wander up and down the world, and lead a life of misery.

Many persons of distinction, of both sexes, possessing estates of twelve, fifteen, twenty, and thirty thousand livres a year; voluntarily gave up those estates, not only for themselves, but likewise for their posterity; exposing themselves to the inconveniences and dangers, of a long flight, in a severe season; and reducing themselves almost to beggary.

A prodigious number of persons, of all ranks, fled to England, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and even America.

Notwithstanding which, the prisons were crowded with fugitives, who had been seized.

To prevent other protestants, who had become converts to popery, from escaping, such were obliged to lay down a sum of money, as a security for their stay : not to mention the infamy with which the bodies of those who died protestants were treated, they being refused burial ; were thrown upon dunghills, or dragged ignominiously on hurdles.

Nevertheless their persecutors added this farther inhumanity, viz. to spread a most injurious report, that the protestants themselves had desired the dragoons might be sent for, in order to have a pretence for their turning Roman catholics.

About the year 1675, a sort of banks were openly set up, in Paris, for trafficking souls ; and may got considerable sums by this infamous practice. The becoming a convert to popery, was almost the only way left for a man to obtain regard, applause, court-favour, and to make his fortune.

Thus was the famous edict of Nantes repealed, though granted by Henry IV. in 1598, in the clearest and most solemn manner, and after the most mature deliberation, not only for himself, but for all his successors ; and rendered sacred and divine, as it were, by the reciprocal oath of the whole kingdom.

The observation of the tenor of this edict was become a fundamental law of the kingdom ; a condition inseparable from the succession ; it being

granted as a promise authentic, perpetual and irrevocable ; as a decree flowing from the justice of Henry IV, after both parties had been heard ; a compact between the Romanists and protestants, authorized by the public faith of the whole state, sealed with an oath, and ratified by the execution ; an edict inviolable and irrecoverable in its nature ; out of the reach of all human power ; made as a perpetual treaty between the Protestants and Romanists ; a public promise and a fundamental law of the state, which no authority can infringe.

Lewis XIV, therefore, in repealing this edict, broke through one of the most solemn engagements made at several times by himself, and by his father ; who also granted the edict of Nismes.

Consequently Lewis XIV, in thus sporting with this reciprocal agreement, broke through all the ties of justice, of fidelity and conscience ; and paid no regard to heaven, to his country, or to himself.

However. to give some little colour to the repeal, it was pretended, that the edict of Nantes was grown useless ; as the best and greatest part of the protestants were become converts to popery. But how were they made such ? By force of arms, and by the cruel and furious barbarity of the royal dragoons.

From this repeal it evidently appears, that the protestants of France, were greatly abused, and barbarously treated. Henry IV. grants this edict to the Protestants, with all the solemnity abovementioned. He gives it
as

as a reward for their services; he promises, in the most awful manner, to observe the tenor of it; and to confirm this, engages the state in the same compact. Not satisfied with this he takes an oath; and afterwards causes it to be observed in the best manner he could, during his whole reign.

Lewis XIII, his son, immediately after his accession, acknowledges the edict of Nantes as "Perpetual, irrevocable, and not standing in need of confirmation;" and promises to adhere religiously to every article and circumstance therein.

He sends commissioners into all parts of his kingdom, to compleat the due execution thereof. When he had recourse to arms, he declares that it is no ways his design to annoy the Protestants in any manner: and indeed he permits them to follow their worship even in such cities as he takes by storm.

He grants the edict of Nismes as a triumphant king; and yet therein declares, that it is his intention the edict of Nantes shall be duly observed; which it was accordingly, so long as he sat on the throne.

Lewis XIV. on his succeeding to the crown, confirms the edict; and declares that he will maintain the Protestants in all their privileges.

He afterwards testifies, by another declaration, how highly satisfied he was with their services; and that it is his intention they shall live in the full enjoyment of their rights.

Yet all this was an artifice to en-

trap them; a snare spread merely to cover the resolution he had formed to ruin them, the instant an opportunity should offer.

But what idea does this give to foreign nations of the kings of France? and what confidence shall hereafter be reposed in their promises and treaties? ---If they conduct themselves in this manner towards their own subjects; if they care for them in no other view than to destroy; what can foreigners hope from such princes?

Lewis XIV undoubtedly owed the most signal obligations to his Protestant subjects. They had done him the most important services during the course of the civil war. They had observed an inviolable fidelity, at the time that a great part of his other subjects had taken up arms against him. They opposed the progress of his enemies; rejected the advantageous offers made themselves; preserved cities, and whole provinces, to his allegiance; took his officers and servants into their bosoms, at a time when they could not meet with shelter any where else. For his sake they sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

In a word, they performed with exemplary zeal all that good subjects could do in the most dangerous times. And yet it appeared that the king meditated at this very juncture a design to ruin and extirpate them.

The Protestants in thus doing their duty, were far from imagining that it would be imputed to them for a crime; or that destruction would rush upon

upon them from that very quarter whence they hoped for protection and defence.

The Almighty brought light out of darkness; but the politicians of France, on the contrary, bring darkness out of light. However this be, it cannot be denied but that the king is made to say, in this new edict, that he had projected a design to destroy his protestant subjects, at the very instant that they had signalized and distinguished themselves with great success, in favour of his crown.

This possibly may suggest many reflections to the wise, both within and without the kingdom; may prove to them the use that is made of services, and the reward they may expect from them.

Certain it is, that those monarchs, to whom the fame of being just and equitable is precious, do not govern their people in the manner described above. They are far from studying, how best to throw uncertainty over all things; and to fill every part of their kingdom with fear and sorrow. They do not seek for motives of joy, from the tears and groans of the innocent; nor take a delight in keeping their subjects in perpetual uneasiness, and their lives in a precarious state.

The princes in question, do not desire that their subjects should tremble at their very name; nor do such princes meditate projects, in order to extirpate those who lead sober, discreet lives, and have ever done them all the service in their power.

Much less do they intend to carry

on these projects, like so many mines, during several years; in order to cover them artfully, and under counter-declarations; at the very time that such mines are preparing, and just ready to spring.

The greatest encomiums were paid to Lewis XIV. for this cruel conduct. Many asserted, that it was truly glorious. But what can be less so, in a king, than his abusing his power; and violating, without the least reason or pretence, his royal word; his promise so solemnly given, and so often repeated?

The bishop of Valence (speaking the sentiments of the Romish clergy) extols this breach of promise as a greatness, a glory, that exalts Lewis XIV. above all his predecessors, above time, and which consecrates it to all eternity.

These proceedings Varillas terms, "labours greater and much more incredible, than those of the fabulous Hercules."

This conduct Maimbourg styles, "An heroic action." "The heroic action, (says this groveling flatterer;) "which the king has just now performed; in forbidding, by his new edict, the public exercise of the false religion of Calvin; and his commanding all the churches of it's professors to be immediately pulled down, &c."

Farther, the author of the *Journal des Savans*, did not scruple to give it publicly, as his opinion, "That the catholic religion ought to be planted by fire and sword." And, to prove

prove his assertion, he presents us the edifying example following, viz.

“ That a king of Norway made converts of the nobles of his country, by threatening to murder their young children before their faces, in case they refused to let them be baptized, and themselves also.”

But not writers only were profuse of their applauses, on Lewis XIV, for raising this persecution; painters, sculptors, &c. employing their several talents, purposely to celebrate him on this occasion.

Among other public eulogiums, is the following; copied, (by the writer of this account) upon the spot.

Round the court of the town-house in Paris, are several inscriptions, (thirty in all) in gold letters, in honour of the abovementioned monarch; and expressive of the most remarkable events, of his reign.

Among the rest is the following, under the year 1685. “ The edict of Nantes repealed; and heresy totally suppressed, by the zeal and piety of the king.” The rest of the inscriptions favour equally of false glory, ostentation, and pride.

No monarch was ever more grossly flattered than Lewis XIV; who, at the same time that he deserves the highest panegyrics, on account of his love and encouragement of the polite arts; merits the strongest censure, for his persecuting the protestants, and for the other calamities he brought upon his subjects.

During the time the dragoons were discharging their fury, in town and

N^o 25.

country, on the sad remains of such unhappy protestants as refused to fall down and worship the image; whilst they were treated, as rebels, in their persons, their wives, their children, their possessions, &c. the Romish clergy addressing the king by the mouth of the abovementioned bishop of Valence, declared; that one of the miracles in his majesty's reign, was, his making such conversions, universally, without using compulsion; and the seeing his subjects flock spontaneously, from all parts, in order to reconcile themselves to the catholic church.

All this, says he, was done “ without force, without arms; and much less by the strength of your edicts, than by your exemplary piety.”

If we were to credit most of the abjurations, which these miserable people were made to sign, with a dagger at their throats; they declare, that they signed them voluntarily, and without compulsion being employed.

Maimbourg too writes as follows, in his dedication to Lewis XIV. “ Your majesty may be assured, that after having vanquished all the enemies of France, by the invincible power of your arms, yourself alone will eternally enjoy the glory and felicity, of having extirpated, from the most Christian kingdom, that enemy to God, heresy, [as he is pleased to term it;] without employing against it, in order to compell the Protestants to return to the church, any other weapons, or other force, than that

6 G

“ of

“ of your charitable zeal for their
 “ conversion ; and of the manifest
 “ justice of your ordinances and e-
 “ dict, the effects of which have
 “ been as happy as could be expect-
 “ ed.” And, in his third book :---
 “ The protestants have no reason to
 “ complain of Lewis the Great : for
 “ no violence is practiced against
 “ any person ; and if the government
 “ will bestow favours, on those who
 “ become converts to the catholic
 “ religion ; favours that are not in-
 “ dulged others, and which cannot
 “ be justly claimed by those who
 “ persist obstinately in their heresy ;
 “ yet not the least injustice is done
 “ them, since they are divested of
 “ those things only which they had
 “ usurped contrary to edicts ; and
 “ that the government may lawfully
 “ punish them, when they infringe
 “ the ordinances.

“ In all probability, this method
 “ so gentle, so prudent, and so effi-
 “ cacious, will at last produce the
 “ same effects in France, under Lewis
 “ the Great, in order to bring back
 “ the Calvinists to the church ; as
 “ under Ethelred, king of England,
 “ when he made converts of the Eng-
 “ lish, who, powerfully attracted by
 “ this means, crowded daily to be
 “ baptized ; in like manner as our
 “ protestants now begin to flock to
 “ mass.

In this manner were the people de-
 luded by a set of writers, who did
 not scruple to publish the most noto-
 rious falsehoods, whenever this turned
 to their advantage. But, indeed, the

barbarities exercised against the pro-
 testants of France were so shocking,
 and flowed from so iniquitous a source,
 that it is no wonder, the authors and
 fomentors of them should have had
 recourse to every expedient, in order
 to colour and extenuate them as much
 as possible, and to conceal the genuine
 relation thereof from the knowledge
 of the world.

The expulsion of the Protestants
 from France, was a great loss to the
 kingdom. Such vast numbers were
 drove from it, that the want of them
 was afterwards felt very sensibly ; and
 how could it be otherwise, when de-
 prived of such multitudes of persons
 of probity, who excelled in arts and
 sciences, in arms, and in professions
 of every kind ! The French were
 doubly losers by this persecution, as
 it not only thinned their country of
 it's inhabitants ; but peopled that of
 it's rival neighbours, to whom it car-
 ried many useful arts, the products of
 which these neighbours had, before,
 been obliged to purchase of France,
 to the great profit of that kingdom.

This is particularly evident, from
 our silk manufacture in Spittle-Fields,
 which now rivals that of the French ;
 and keeps great sums of money in
 England, which used, before, to be
 sent over to France, for the purchase
 of silks.

Were we to enumerate the other
 useful articles that were carried out
 of France ; and the various countries
 into which the French protestants fled
 for refuge ; it would appear that the
 French have lost infinitely by the
 above

above persecutions, which must necessarily be greatly prejudicial to the monied interest, as well as to the felicity of every country in which they prevail.

The commerce of France suffered also vastly on this occasion; a great part of the trade, both within and without the kingdom, being carried on by the protestants; who were so interwoven with the Roman catholics, in commercial affairs, that their interest was inseparable.

What a confusion then did the persecution make! How many measures were thereby broke! How many plans destroyed! How many manufactures ruined! How many men made bankrupts! How many poor families reduced to beggary!

Should the Romish principle, of compulsion again prevail, it would have the most calamitous effect on all Europe.

It must be observed, that the Protestant looks upon the Romanist, as no less a heretick, than the Romanist does the Protestant.

Nevertheless, they live together in peace and unity, upon the faith of alliances and treaties; commerce is free, and every one is permitted to follow, undisturbed, the dictates of his conscience. But could the pests of society in question have their will, all things would be thrown into confusion, and people would cut one another's throats.

Such firebrands arm the papist against the Protestant, by inculcating to the former, that his religion obliges

him to betray the latter; to entrap him whenever this may be done with safety; and to beat out his brains in case he refuses to apostatize from his faith.

They arm the protestant against the Romanist; for what harmony could subsist, what correspondence be maintained, with people who not only would make no conscience to break their promise; but who, on the contrary, would make a conscience not to break it, whenever an opportunity might offer for that purpose? Do we then live in an age, in which religion is made to consist in not fearing God? Or can it be supposed, that the fear of God consists in inspiring barbarities? Can it be imagined, that such barbarities could be agreeable to Christ; or that he would have his religion propagated by fraud and guilt? He has indeed declared, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against his church; but then he never said that, for the propagation of his church, he would bring it to the gates of hell. Now if any thing upon earth, ever resembled the gates of hell, they must be the persecutions of France.

That this persecution was of the highest prejudice to France is very evident; for it is certain, that the number of subjects forms the glory of a monarch, and the strength of a kingdom. People are more particularly necessary in France, as it is often engaged in long wars, which drain it of its inhabitants.

For as four or five hundred thousand souls have been forced out of it
by

by the persecution, they consequently left a great chasm (as it were) in their native country; and either peopled the neighbouring states, or served in their armies.

How many parts of France are become desert? in how many places are the women obliged to supply for the absence of the men, in ploughing the grounds; or otherwise working to support their children? Arts and manufactures, together with the artificers, have fled into other countries.

The Brandenburgers, have now no farther occasion to apply to their neighbours, in order to procure subsistence.

Holland, which was merely as the magazine or storehouse for merchandises, is now become the staple of them; and its manufactures are grown so famous, that numberless articles are sent, from thence, into France, which used to be carried from the latter into Holland.

The gold and silver which the French obliged foreigners to pay, for the balance of trade, are now frequently carried out of their country, and return to it no more.

The valour of the French refugee officers and soldiers has been tried in war; and their skilfulness in manufactures is experienced in commerce. Foreign nations have made their advantage of this; and the establishments of various kinds which have been settled, will never return again to the country from which those, who formed them, came originally.

The calamities of the French Pro-

testants did not end with the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The spirit of their persecutors could not be satisfied with any thing less than the extinction of the protestant religion, and its professors.

It was not enough for the persecutors, that they had pulled down all the Protestant churches, tho' founded on an Irrevocable edict; that they had abolished the public worship; taken away all the means by which faith is nourished and preserved; forced the children of the protestants from them, in order to cut to the very root of the tree.

The persecutors will oblige those who have long suffered, for the sake of truth, to abandon it; upon pain of being deprived of all consolation and hope.

Most of the ancient persecutions, whose martyrs, made the Christian church so illustrious, were of a short duration. They were as so many clouds, which disappeared, after having darkened the sky for some time.

Edicts or proclamations were soon repealed, after their publication; and the heathens themselves blushed for the cruelties they had exercised against innocent persons. But the Protestants of France, after suffering above thirty years had the mortification to see new edicts promulgated; which plainly shewed, that the hatred in which they are held, continues as violent as ever.

The complaints of these Protestants reached to the throne of the monarch; but he, instead of enquiring into their justness,

justness, rejected them. The sighs they vented, for their own ease, were punished as crimes.

The reverence which these ever faithful subjects preserved for their sovereign, was stronger than their grief; and notwithstanding the extremities to which they were reduced, by the pulling down of their houses, the desolation of their families, and the seizure of their children, they yet preserved the allegiance due to their prince.

But alas! he was never moved by their obedience and fidelity, nor by the evils they suffered. The intercession of foreign powers, so far from softening their calamities, served only to heighten them. Tho' two treaties of peace have been since concluded, with the protestants; yet the same aversion has been shewn to their religion.

Neither the want in which the French stood of these unfortunate people, in order for them to succour their country; nor the decency which ought to be observed, to neighbours of a different religion, could interrupt, during a moment, the resolution which the French government had formed, viz. to extinguish the protestant religion, and its professors, in France.

The French protestants have perpetually given the strongest demonstrations of their loyalty to their prince, quite down to Lewis XV. They, when the war broke out, between Great-Britain and France, in 1744, exhibited, in their national synod, to

N^o 25.

his Gallic majesty, the most public proofs of their warm attachment to his person, and to his government.

Whilst that king was dangerously ill at Metz; public prayers were ordered, in all their assemblies, for his recovery: and upon the perfect re-establishment of his health, they sung Te Deum in them; and joined with the Papists in all the rejoicings made on that occasion.

Nevertheless, the edict of Nantes being repealed, the protestants were forbid to assemble publicly, upon a religious account; notwithstanding which, they, prompted by the spirit, thought themselves bound in conscience to hold such assemblies; but, at those times, no person was allowed to come with any weapons, not even so much as a stick.

In 1743, the protestants of Languedoc began to profess their religion openly; as did those of Dauphine, and other provinces, in 1744.

This alarming the Romish clergy, they used their utmost endeavours to excite the jealousy of the court, and the bigotry of the people against them.

Upon this Mr. James Roger, a protestant minister, was accused of reading a counterfeit edict to his congregation, but he clearly proved the falsity of the charge.

Their preachers were afterwards unjustly accused of exhorting their auditors “to rebel against the king; to
“pray for the queen of Hungary;
“and the success of the British arms:
“to get by force, their children out
“of the nunneries in which they
6 H “were

“ were confined, and to murder all
“ the nuns ?”

In August 1, 1744, they were slandered, as though they had composed a hymn to be sung in their assemblies, to intreat the Almighty to sink and destroy the French fleet, and to bless the arms of Great-Britain.

But the untruth of this was soon discovered. The priests about Montauban, falsely represented the protestants, as ready to fall, sword in hand, on all the Roman catholicks : and the representations of those priests were strenuously supported by the late cardinal Tencin.

The court continued, for some time, averse to violent measures ; and the first dawnings of these appeared in April 1745, when several bales and casks of religious protestant books were seized and burnt, and the carriers of them brought into great trouble.

The persecutions of the Protestants in Dauphine began the 25th of March 1744, when the senate of Grenoble threw two persons into prison, for having been married by ministers of their own communion.

Soon after, numbers of people, ladies and gentlemen, persons of all ranks and professions, were taken up. The ladies were sent into nunneries, some for life, as the marchioness of Montjoux ; and several for a time only. Men were imprisoned for a longer or shorter space.

It appears by an instrument, drawn up in May 1745, that the number of these amounted to above one hundred and eighty.

Many were sentenced to be whipt ; some to be pilloried ; and others to be branded with a hot iron. Some suffered the ordinary and extraordinary rack ; others were hanged in effigy ; as Mr. Du Perron, a student in divinity, who happily made his escape.

Near two hundred were outlawed ; some were banished, after a long imprisonment. Others fined, two, three or four hundred livres each, and more : and others again lost their whole estates.

A detachment of troops, attended by the hangman, were sent into every part of the province, to search for protestants, and spread terror whithersoever they came.

On these occasions, the protestant ministers were the chief objects of resentment. Many were sent to the galleys.

Such women as had been married by protestant ministers, were declared concubines, and their children bastards, and rendered incapable of inheriting.

In March one Mr. Ranc, was hanged at Die ; when the persecutors forced a young protestant to assist the hangman, in dragging the corpse into a common shore : but a lady, in whom popery had not extinguished all sense of humanity, caused it to be taken out, and buried at her expence.

In 1744, one Stephen Arnaud, who was seized for teaching some young persons to sing David's Psalms ; was branded with a hot iron ; and set on the pillory with his Testament, and Book of Psalms about his neck. Two
barns

barns were pulled down, because some Protestant ministers had lodged or preached in them.

On the 9th of May 1745, the reverend Mr. James Roger was carried to Grenoble, and there imprisoned, being fourscore years of age, and the the oldest of the French ministers.

He had served with indefatigable zeal, the churches of Dauphine during thirty years, and was a truly apostolical man.

Being brought before the judges, they could not but admire his behaviour: nevertheless, on the 22d of May, he was sentenced to be hanged in the piazza of Dubrueil, in Grenoble, merely, "For having performed the duties of a Preacher, in many Protestant assemblies, and in different parts of the province;" and not for having forged an edict, as was falsely laid to his charge.

Being informed of his sentence, in the prison; he took the first opportunity to step into the adjacent yard, whence he could be easily heard by the imprisoned Protestants. He there told them, that the happy day was come, wherein he should seal, with his blood, the great truths he had preached to them; and he exhorted them, to be steadfast and immovable in the religion, which, by the grace of God, they had hitherto professed. He spoke this in so pathetic a tone, that they all melted into tears.

About four that afternoon, he was carried to the place of execution; repeating, with a loud voice, the fifty-first Psalm.

His countenance discovered so much mildness and serenity, that the better sort of Roman catholicks could not help crying: and even two Jesuits, who attended on this said occasion, praised him exceedingly.

Thus died this good man, greatly regreted by his flock; and by all the lovers of truth and virtue.

After his body had hung twenty-four hours on the gallows, it was taken down; dragged through the streets; and thrown into the river Isere, which runs through the town. Such was the burying place assigned this excellent man!

The cruelties exercised on the Protestants of Lauguedoc were not less dreadful than these. In 1744, a great many gentlemen, lawyers, physicians, rich merchants, and trades people, were seized, thrown into prison, and confined a long time; though nothing could be proved against them, except that they were Protestants.

On the 4th of March, twenty-four dragoons, with a quarter-master, were sent in quest of a minister, and a student in divinity. They went to a place called Pe-Boyer; where, living at discretion in the house of the protestants, they committed the most outrageous barbarities.

They not only plundered the unhappy people of their provisions of all kinds, their wearing apparel, and money; but fell foul, with their swords, on the cattle and poultry, destroying whatever they could not carry away; flaving the casks, and

and reserving the best things for their own use.

One of them endeavoured to force a young woman, who, running away from him, and crying aloud, brought about the house several labouring men, who were working in the neighbourhood.

The dragoons being frightened, got on horseback; and, by order of their hot-headed commander, fired; and ran sword in hand on the poor people; killed an old man; wounded a great many, of whom they took eleven; and tying them to their horses tails, brought them to Montauban, where they were imprisoned.

At Puy-Laurens, Castres, Sainte Foi, and Nismes, people were daily taken up; sent to the castle of Ferrieres; to the tower of Lourdes; or to some other prison.

Twenty-four women were confined in the tower of Constance, at Aigue-Mortes; and fifty men, at least, in the galleys.

Not only private persons, but whole towns and districts, were condemned in large fines, on account of religious assemblies. One William Iffoire was sent to the galleys, for selling protestant books.

Sometimes the dragoons, surrounding protestant assemblies, fired upon them. The intendants seemed to sport with the lives and fortunes of these unhappy people.

Their most just, their humblest petitions, could not get access to the throne: nay, the worst constructions were put upon them; and even their

professions of loyalty considered as seditious.

An Apology, for the religious assemblies of the protestants, having been published, it was ordered, by the parliament of Toulouse, to be torn and burnt by the common hangman; as seditious, injurious to the memory of Lewis XIV; and contrary to the orders and intentions of Lewis XV.

The Protestants of the Vivarois were treated in much the same manner as those already mentioned: to avoid therefore entering into particulars, we shall only give the story of Mr. Desubas, a worthy Protestant clergyman.

He was seized near Sainte Greve; when being followed by about two thousand protestants, to Vernoux, they were fired upon by the papists from all quarters, even from the windows; when thirty-six were killed upon the spot, and above two hundred wounded.

Mr. Desubas being removed to Montpellier, was tried there, and sentenced to be hanged. His execution was attended with hard and inhuman circumstances. Though in the depth of winter, he was made to walk to the place where he was to suffer, bare-legged, with only socks upon his feet; and a thin linnen-waistcoat, without sleeves. All his books and papers were burnt before his face, at the foot of the gallows.

Just before he was executed, a crucifix was offered him to kiss; but he put it from him: and died with his eyes fixed on heaven, whither he
was.

was haſting. Drums beat aloud during the whole time of this ſad ceremony, to prevent the ſpectators, from hearing the unhappy victim, as is the cuſtom.

As no marriages are valid, in France, except ſuch as are ſolemnized by the Romiſh prieſts, ſome of theſe proteſtants, not having an opportunity of being joined by a miniſter of their own religion, promiſe, before their relations and friends, to cohabit as man and wife; and to be faithful to each other till they may find an opportunity, of being united in wedlock by one of their clergymen.

In the diſtrict of Montauban, about the year 1744, there were ſolemnly married at the ſame time, in one of the proteſtant aſſemblies, a grandfather, ſon, and grandſon; all three reſpectively to the women they had lived with, till that time, as their wives. To ſuch ſhifts are thoſe unhappy people expoſed!

The Proteſtants were charged, by many Roman catholicks, their countrymen, with diſloyalty; but that this was a falſe accusation, and to ſhew their real ſentiments with regard to their king, we will quote the following extract of a letter.

“ How earneſtly ſoever all of us,
 “ in general, deſire to enjoy liberty
 “ of conſcience; how natural and
 “ reaſonable ſoever this deſire may
 “ appear to us; your lordſhip may
 “ be aſſured, that this deſire will
 “ never induce us to do any thing,

“ which ſhall, in the leaſt, interfere with that fidelity, which we owe to our dread ſovereign.

“ This ineſtimable liberty of conſcience we wait for with entire reſignation. We will aſk it in no other way than by our prayers and tears. And we hope to obtain it, at laſt, only as a reward for our unreſerved obedience to his majeſty's commands in every thing, which flows from his authority; and by ſacrificing our lives and fortunes in his ſervice.

“ Our religion inſpires us with this ſubmiſſion, and engages us to offer him that ſacrifice. But beſides this, the title of father of his people, which he has ſo juſtly acquired, ſecurts him the free homage of our hearts! a homage the more glorious, as it is entirely the effect of his majeſty's merit.

“ If therefore any writings, any attempts ſhould be aſcribed to us, that have not this ſtamp, (as has already been too often the caſe,) your lordſhip may conclude, that the whole is the work of calumny.”

By the French king's declaration, of the 14th of May, 1724, and others, “ All men who profeſs the proteſtant religion, were to be condemned to the gallies for life; all women to be ſhut up in nunneries; and all preachers to ſuffer death.”—What a government is [this to live under! How happy is that of the Britons!

A Description of the remarkable Circumstances attending the Death of Henry II. King of France.

THE prince was so outrageous against the Protestants, that he threatened Anne du Bourg, one of the high court of parliament in Paris, that he would see him burn with his own eyes. But how he came short of his purpose, the sequel of the story will make appear, in the following manner.

King Henry being in the parliament house which was kept at the Friar Augustines at Paris, because the palace was in preparing against the marriage of his daughter, and his sister, and having heard the opinion in religion of Anne du Bourg counsellor in the law, a man eloquent and learned, he caused the said Anne du Bourg, and Loys du Faux, counsellors, to be taken prisoners by the constable of France, who apprehended them, and delivered them into the hands of count Montgomery, who carried them to prison. Against whom the king being wrathful and angry, among other talk, said to the said Anne du Bourg, "These eyes of mine shall see thee burnt:" and so on the nineteenth of June, commission was given to judges to make his process.

In the mean while, great feasts and banquets were preparing at court, for joy and gladness of the marriage that should be of the king's daughter

and sister, against the last day of June save one.

When the time was come, the king employed all the morning in examining the presidents and counsellors of the said parliament against these prisoners, and other their companions that were charged with the same doctrine; which being done, they went to dinner.

The king, after he had dined, for that he was one of the defendants at the tourney, which was solemnly made in St. Anthony's-street, near to the prison where the foresaid prisoners were committed, entered into the lists; and therein jousting, as the manner is, had broken many staves very valiantly, running as well against the count of Montgomery, as divers others.

Whereupon he was highly commended by the spectators. And because he was thought to have done enough, they desired him to leave off with praise: but he being the more inflamed with the hearing of his praise, would needs run another course with Montgomery: who then refusing to run against the king, and kneeling on his knees for pardon not to run; the king being eagerly set, commanded him upon his allegiance to run, and, as some affirm, he also put the staff in his hand, unto whose hand he had



had committed the aforefaid prifoners a little before.

Montgommery thus being enforced whether he would or no, to run againſt the king, addreſſed himſelf after the beſt manner to obey the king's commandment. Whereupon he and the king met together ſo ſtoutly, that in breaking their ſpears the king was ſtruck with the counter-blow, ſo right in one of his eyes, by reaſon that the vizor of his helmet

ſuddenly fell down at the ſame inſtant, that the ſhivers entered into his head; ſo that the brains were periſhed, and thereupon ſo feſtered, that no remedy could be found, although phyſicians and ſurgeons were ſent from all places in the realm, as alſo from Brabant from king Philip, but nothing avail- ed, ſo that the 11th day after, that is, the 10th of July, 1559, he miſerably ended his life, having reigned twelve years, three months, and ten days.

F I N I S.

E - R R A T U M.

In Page 458, ſecond Column, between the Lines twenty and twenty-one, add the following Words: *wiles of thoſe who ſeek to draw them from the.*



Directions to the Binder, for Placing the Copper Plates.

	Page
T HE Primitive Reformers to Face the Title	
Burning of John Rogers — — — — —	13
————— John Hooper — — — — —	18
Burning of George Marth — — — — —	36
Martyrdom of John Cardmaker and John Warne — — — — —	39
Burning of Thomas Hawkes — — — — —	41
Watts parting with his Wife and Children — — — — —	43
Torturing of Robert Samuel — — — — —	57
Latimer before the Papal Tribunal — — — — —	69
Burning of Archbishop Cranmer — — — — —	115
Death of Lady Jane Gray — — — — —	127
Burning of Agnes Potten and Joan Trunchfield — — — — —	129
Burning of C. Lyfter, &c. — — — — —	135
Martyrdom of Ralph Allerton, &c. — — — — —	199
————— William Flower — — — — —	200
Massacre of the Protestants at the River Bann — — — — —	282
The Standards of the Inquisition, &c. — — — — —	321
A Prisoner in the Hall of the Inquisition — — — — —	323
Procession of the Inquisition — — — — —	334
Celebration of the Auto-da-Fee — — — — —	335
Habits of the Penitents who escape the Flames, &c. — — — — —	336
Manner of executing Persons condemned by the Inquisition — — — — —	337
Various Tortures in the Gaols of the Inquisition — — — — —	344
Wickliffs Bones Burnt — — — — —	364
Martyrdom of John Hufs — — — — —	366

